

Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender

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QUEEN

The term *queen* denotes a gender and/or sexual category that is notable for its simultaneous ambiguity and concreteness: It creates a specific image while subtly eliding what, exactly, that image refers to. Its grammatical function mirrors its social one. It is most often used in conjunction with another word, but it is unclear which word is the noun and which is the modifier. Examples are *drag queen*, *drama queen*, and *scream queen*. Its similarity to the word *queer* is not coincidental, and when *queen* is used by itself (in description of a nonroyal personage), it almost always denotes homosexuality. This can take the form of false titles, such as when Michael Holroyd dubbed the British artist and personality Quentin Crisp “the Queen of Queer Street,” or it may be used as a solo adjective, such as in the 1982 film *Victor/Victoria*, in which Robert Preston says of himself “there’s nothing worse than an old queen with a head cold.”

Queen as a gender position denotes flamboyance and extravagance, but also falseness and impersonation. The person in question is not actually a sovereign. The term is sometimes used affectionately or even in admiration in reference to a revered member of a community or one who has persevered through tribulation. In this sense, it does evoke the regal sense of an actual queen, but it always encompasses the metaphorical nature of the title. It may also be used as a term of derision, relating directly to the feminine nature of the title. Gender positions vary widely within the gay community, and the excessively effeminate are often a focus of ridicule, much as is true in the world at large. As with other terms of disrespect, such as *faggot* and *queer*, the word *queen* has been at least partially reclaimed

by the gay community and used as a label proudly. It differs from the other terms, however, in that it is mostly used within the gay community, whereas the other terms are used both within the gay community as well as by outsiders when speaking of members of that community.

The most well-known use of the word queen is in the term drag queen. These are men who dress in exaggerated female garb to mock the obvious gap between their biological sex and their gender expression. In the sense of being overdone, larger-than-life approximations of women who could not actually exist, they are like actual queens wearing formal coronation robes that have never been common fashion. They also encompass the contradictory nature of queenness, in that they are so exaggerated that they clearly are not attempting actual female impersonation, yet they are, at least temporarily, eschewing their maleness, creating instead an undefined space outside normative sex and gender.

As Julian Fleisher notes, the term queen also “connotes someone with a defining attraction to a particular type of person or thing. For example, someone who enjoys, say, Latin lovers is called a ‘Salsa Queen’” (1996, p. 5). Because the nature of this usage is to call attention to an attraction or desire or to make public that which is usually private, it is often coupled with a term that would otherwise be potentially offensive. For example, a person who is attracted to African American men can be called a chocolate queen, and a person attracted to Asian men can be called a rice queen. Queens can be attracted to certain activities (e.g., gym queens, people who spend a great deal of time on physical fitness, and circuit queens, gay men who frequently attend massive circuit parties). The term also applies to attitudes or a

predilection for certain objects: For example, drama queens cultivate chaos in their life and others'; shoe queens take an unusual degree of pleasure in shoes (this is not the same as a shoe fetishist, but merely implies someone who enjoys owning and wearing shoes and probably has quite a collection). The term queen employed in this manner is commonly used in the heterosexual community as well as in the gay community and can be applied to heterosexual men as well as women.

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Brian D. Holcomb

QUEEN OF SHEBA, MYTH OF

Otherwise known as the Queen of the South (*regina austris*), or variously as the Sabaeen, Maqeda (Makeda), Belkis (Bilqis), or Nikaule (Nicaula), the Queen of Sheba first appears in the Old Testament. Competing interpretations of the figure since biblical times have cast her alternatively as a figure of wisdom and faith, or as suspect and even demonized (Ginzberg 1982, VI.292.55). Jacob Lassner has devoted an extensive 1993 study to postbiblical Jewish, and then medieval Muslim, texts and traditions in which she is shown as troubling the natural, binary, gender order of male dominance over women, and being brought to heel by Solomon (Lassner, *passim*, and esp. 80–83). As a wealthy, powerful woman, she attracted negative gendered readings, and she was denounced by some authors for seizing power from a husband she had murdered, while for others she wrested power from an unjust tyrant. Sheba narratives are deeply gendered in a manner disdainful of or hostile to women, stipulating that the queen's desirability must be neutralized by submission to Solomon's powers, which reaffirm the gender order willed by God, against the usurped power of a woman and her wily tricks to blur gender distinctions. Iconography, by stressing the gesture of kneeling before the king, has also made her an image of subjection and subservience.

NARRATIVES

The biblical tale recounts that she hears of Solomon's wisdom and sets out to meet him, returning to her kingdom as a convert to monotheism (1 Kings 10:1–13, largely repeated in 2 Chronicles 9:1–12). In the later texts of Josephus, her love of learning is emphasized, and she is given the name Nikaule (*Antiquities* 8.6.2ff), a tradition continued by Giovanni Boccaccio in his *De claris mulieribus* (c. 1360–1374; On famous women) and Christine de Pizan in her *Cité des dames* (1405; City of ladies). In the New Testament, the Queen of the South is referred to by Jesus along with the Ninevites as an exemplar, contrasted to the lack of faith of the believers who rejected him (Matthew 12:42 and Luke 11:31). In the Jewish tradition, known in the second Targum (Aramaic translation) to Esther, gender boundaries are stressed. The hoopoe (an Old World bird) informs Solomon that the land of Kitor in the East is ruled by a woman, and that its people do not know how to fight or shoot a bow and arrow. When the queen arrives at Solomon's court, she is tricked by Solomon to lift her skirts while crossing to him over a large glass expanse made to look like a pond: "on her bared feet the king noticed hair, and he said to her 'thy beauty is the beauty of a woman, but thy hair is masculine; hair is an ornament to a man, but it disfigures a woman'" (Ginzberg 1982, vol. IV, pp. 142–149). She then put his wisdom to the test with twenty-two riddles. In riddle three, she placed males and females in front of him of the same stature and garb, and told him to distinguish them; Solomon had corn and nuts brought in, and the males seized them with bare hands, while the females took them with gloved hands beneath the garments (Ginzberg 1982, VI, 290–291.46.47).

Historian of religions Alexander Krappe suggested that the warrior queen Semiramis, a masculine woman, coupled with the effeminate Sardanapalus, could be Sheba's alter ego, and that both stories are linked by the motif of donning gender-inverted clothing (Krappe 329).

The medieval Ethiopian *Book of the Glory of Kings*, the *Kebra Nagast*, recounts her departure from her kingdom, her arrival at Solomon's court, verbal interactions with him, and sexual concourse resulting in the begetting of a son, the founder of the Ethiopian dynasty. It was indeed in Ethiopia that she gained the highest importance as Makeda, founder of the royal lineage begun by her son Menelik, even though her biblical kingdom has been ascribed by others to present-day Yemen. The legend of her dynastic foundation was maintained in the tradition of Axum at the beginning of the twentieth century (Littmann 1904). The *Kebra Nagast*, concerned about dynastic history, is sexually specific, and details the trick Solomon plays on her so that she will forgo her virginity and surrender to him. At the same time, it stresses her strength along with her beauty, as the queen first opposes her son's



King Solomon Receiving the Queen of Sheba. MANSELL/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/
GETTY IMAGES.

departure to find Solomon, telling him that she is at once “his mother and his father” (Colin 2002).

In an esoteric Christian tradition, transmitted in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend* (c. 1260), the queen acquires prophetic powers. Seeking access to Solomon’s superior and famed wisdom, because she is herself dedicated to wisdom and philosophy, she is the one who recognizes the wood that will become the True Cross in a makeshift bridge thrown by Solomon’s carpenters across a stream. She refuses to walk on it, and instead kneels to worship it. In a slightly different version, she returns to her kingdom and sends word to Solomon that a tree has been

found that will bring the end of the kingdom of the Jews: he has it buried in the bowels of the earth, but it surfaces anyway as pond called Probatca (Jacobus de Voragine 1993). This may be the basis for her inclusion in church iconography, such as at the south porch of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Chartres, France, where she can be found among twenty-eight figures of prophets.

INTERPRETATIONS

The queen of Sheba became an early form of the Western gendered exotic, and even exoticism itself. It has thus

been argued that the Sheba narrative fits neatly into Western early colonial projects, in England, and, by conflation with the figure of the Bride in the Song of Songs, into an ideological construction of foreign and dark women as dangerous and disturbing temptresses who lead powerful, exemplary male figures astray (Hall 1995). She could indeed be portrayed as black, and was represented as a black woman in Renaissance art (Hall 2000). Her exotic appropriations are most obvious in two Orientalist operas, where she is shown engaged in trysts with a man attached to Solomon's court, and as plotting against the king with her lover who betrays Solomon for her (Gounod 1862; Goldmark 1875). In Karl Goldmark's opera, the wily, seductive queen is clearly counterposited to figures of Jewish identity and religious piety, not only in the plot but through the music as well.

Her stature in Africa stretched beyond Christian Ethiopia. Nigerian folk tradition, perhaps under Muslim influence, conflated Bilqis, lover of Solomon, with the figure of Bilikisu Sungbo, a powerful, childless widow who wanted a funerary monument in her name and was buried at the Eredo of the ancient kingdom of Ijebu-Ode. The Eredo is a boundary site consisting of a thousand-year-old, hundred-mile-long rampart ditch, in places seventy feet deep. There is an annual pilgrimage of hundreds of thousands of Christians and Muslims alike, visiting Bilikisu Sungbo's grave, a magical shrine in a grove of tall trees (Dosumu 1955, Pearce 1999, African Legacy). Yet this worship of the queen remains based on a normative script as the lover of Solomon and mother to a son.

A different positive gendered reading of the Sheba figure was offered in the twentieth century by Afrocentrist critics, who, basing themselves on the narrative itself and on common associations of female figures with wisdom, have interpreted her as an allegory of wisdom and the Afrocentrist heuristic process, harbinger of a distinct, non-Western form of knowledge (Monges 2002).

SEE ALSO *Legends and Myths; Queens; Sex, Race and Power: An Intersectional Study.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

QUEENS

Queens are female sovereigns. A queen regnant rules a kingdom in her own right (or, in rare cases, by sharing power with a king). A queen consort is the wife of a reigning king but is not a part of the government and has no official power to rule. Regardless of their legal authority, many queens consort have held great power. In many cases a queen consort has served as regent following her husband's death until her child comes of age to rule, thus effectively having control of government. More rarely, some queens consort have succeeded their husbands to the throne, either by force or by popular demand. In most cultures patrilineal primogeniture has traditionally applied, meaning that title and power is passed from a male to his oldest son, then to other males. Although rare, women can inherit titles and power, thus becoming queens regnant, if no other males survive to inherit. In some cultures women are specifically excluded from inheriting the power to rule (e.g., in France, this is due to the Salic law), but even in those cultures queens consort have sometimes held actual power, if not in title. The longest continuous hereditary succession without a queen regnant was

the Peacock throne of Persia (Iran), whose last shah was overthrown in 1979. Since 1980 Sweden and Nepal have adopted a rule of absolute primogeniture, meaning that the oldest child of a monarch inherits title and power regardless of sex. Other countries have considered adopting such rules, whereas Japan, which went most of the late twentieth century without a male royal birth, may be forced to amend its constitution to allow women to inherit. The Netherlands has also lacked male royals and has had female sovereigns since 1890.

Kings and queens serve both practical and symbolic functions. Regardless of the amount of political power they hold (if any), their primary role is to parent heirs to the throne, thus assuring stability and continuity of government. Thus, monarchs are distinctly sexualized because their primary function is reproductive. Queens, in particular, are often considered primarily as mothers of future monarchs, and their sexual and reproductive practices become a matter of public concern. The ways that individual queens manage their official and reproductive duties are often definitive of the way they are publicly perceived. Queens are unique among governmental figures in that their sexual lives are fully part of their public lives and often determine their legacy. A number of historical queens are famous as sexual or sexualized beings. Others are known for particularly astute or powerful control over government. A smaller number combine those qualities, and fewer still manage to avoid accusations of their political effectiveness as being based on their sexual control over others.

ANCIENT QUEENS

Hatshepsut Hatshepsut (fifteenth century BCE) is recognized as the first female pharaoh of Egypt. She was married to her half-brother, Thutmose II, and ruled with him as coregent for thirteen years. Upon his death she reigned alone for twenty-two more years, effectively usurping the throne from her nephew. She is known to have fostered very strong trade relations with other countries, bringing a great deal of wealth to Egypt. Her tomb is a massive complex of terraces and balconies built at the foot of a cliff at Deir el-Bahri near the Valley of the Kings and is her most lasting legacy. The removal of names of deceased pharaohs from monuments was common practice in ancient Egypt, but for reasons still unknown, Hatshepsut's name was excised from almost all records. Without the obviousness of her funerary complex, she may have been forgotten. Her unusual status and the lack of concrete information about her have made her the subject of many works of historical fiction.

Nefertiti Nefertiti was the wife of Egyptian Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (later Akhenaten) in the fourteenth cen-

tury BCE. Sources indicate she played a variety of roles, including holding political power. She was likely the stepmother or stepsister of Pharaoh Tutankhamun. She is most famous for a bust of her, which was produced by Thutmose and copied widely by Egyptian artists. It has been seen, along with the Venus de Milo, as a model for feminine beauty for millennia. The original was found in 1912 and is now on display in Berlin.

Helen Helen, a mythological Queen of Sparta, was a beautiful woman whose abduction by Paris is often credited as the cause of the Trojan War. Although archaeological evidence suggests that Troy and other Greek city-states fought a war, probably in the thirteenth or fourteenth century BCE, there is no concrete proof that Helen actually existed or that she was in any way involved in the war. The legends of Helen are numerous, however, with sources including Homer's epic poems *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* (sixth to seventh century BCE), Euripedes's play *Helen* (fifth century BCE), and the Trojan Cycle of the *Cypria* (seventh century BCE).

According to legend Zeus fell in love with Leda and came to her in the form of a swan. The two mated and Leda produced an egg from which Helen was born. Leda married Tyndareus, the king of Sparta, making Helen a royal princess. Her beauty brought her many powerful suitors, and she eventually married Menelaus, who succeeded Tyndareus as king of Sparta. Some years later she was visited by Paris, a prince of Troy, who had been promised Helen as a prize by the goddess Aphrodite. Sources disagree as to whether Helen fell in love with Paris and went to Troy with him willingly or was abducted against her will. Menelaus gathered the kings of other Greek city-states to join him in waging a ten-year war on Troy to secure the return of his queen. Although a political war its direct cause was Helen, who was prized for her beauty. The number of forces engaged in the war led to Helen's label as *the face that launched a thousand ships*. After the fall of Troy Menelaus took Helen back to Sparta, although the state of their marriage from then on differs in almost every account.

Jezebel Jezebel is a name for two different women in the Bible, neither of whom is fully identified. In popular use the two different figures are often merged into a single entity. The first Jezebel was a queen of ancient Israel and is mentioned in 1 Kings. During the reign of her husband, King Ahab, she persecuted the priests and prophets of Israel (most particularly the prophet Elijah) and opened temples to the god Baal, thus leading the people of Israel away from monotheism. After Ahab's death she held power through her sons, who each held the throne for short periods. She is therefore a controversial and divisive figure but not for reasons related to sexuality. In the New

Testament a woman named Jezebel appears in Revelations. She is a figure of complete debauchery, encouraging sexual licentiousness and desecration of sacred offerings, as well as the worship of idols. In popular culture the two Jezebels have become linked, and most identify Jezebel as a queen known for sexual deviance and immorality. The name *Jezebel* is often applied to women who are considered immoral, often for sexual activity.

Queen of Sheba The Queen of Sheba (who is unnamed in the Bible but is sometimes called Makeda, Bilqis, Nikaule, or Nicaula in other traditions) was the ruler of Sheba, an ancient kingdom on the Red Sea, probably in modern-day Ethiopia, Eritrea, or Yemen. In the Hebrew Bible (1 Kings and 2 Chronicles), the Queen of Sheba traveled to Jerusalem to test the famed wisdom of Solomon. Impressed by him she gave a blessing to the God of his people, they exchanged gifts, and she returned to her country. Legends developed from this event, including the belief that Solomon and the queen were lovers. Some even attribute the erotic poetry in *The Song of Solomon* to Solomon's love for the queen, although most assume the dark-skinned female lover mentioned is Solomon's wife. A variety of apocryphal stories emerged, including that Solomon's reaction to the Queen of Sheba's hairy legs gave rise to the use of depilatories by women. First-century CE Jewish historian Josephus claims that Sheba gave birth to a son fathered by Solomon who would become Menelik I, the first emperor of Ethiopia. The line of Ethiopian kings claiming descent from Solomon was unbroken until 1974, when Emperor Haile Selassie was deposed. The link to Solomon is also responsible for Ethiopian claims as a lost tribe of Israel and guardians of the Ark of the Covenant. Little evidence, including a name, exists for the Queen of Sheba, but she remains mythologized as a powerful woman seduced by a powerful man.

Cleopatra Cleopatra VII of Egypt (69–30 BCE) was a pharaoh of Egypt, the last of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, and the final independent pharaoh before Egypt was incorporated into the Roman Empire. Cleopatra and her younger brother, Ptolemy XIII, became corulers when their father died in 51 BCE. Although female corulers were common in Egypt, they were expected to be subordinate to their husbands and were invested only symbolically with power. Cleopatra, however, dominated her younger comonarch, leading him to exile her in 48 BCE. Ptolemy formed an alliance with Rome but in a diplomatic error angered Julius Caesar, who took control of Egypt.

Cleopatra returned from exile rolled into a carpet given to Julius Caesar. When it was unrolled she emerged from it naked, presenting herself to Caesar. Although he

was thirty years her senior, the two became lovers, and she gave birth to Caesar's son, Caesarion, in 47 BCE. Caesar overlooked Caesarion and named a distant nephew, Octavian, as his heir. Cleopatra's brother died under mysterious circumstances in 44 BCE, making Cleopatra and Caesarion corulers. In 42 BCE Cleopatra met Mark Antony on a state visit and became his lover. In 40 BCE she bore him twins, and when he returned to Egypt in 37 BCE, he married her (although he was already married to a Roman woman) and lived in Egypt until his death in 30 BCE. When Roman forces led by Octavian attacked Egypt, Antony committed suicide, followed by Cleopatra a few days later. According to legend she put two asp's into a basket of figs from which she ate, knowing that she would be bitten.

Although there is evidence that Cleopatra was quite plain in appearance, she is nonetheless popularly conceived of as a beautiful seductress. It is true that she convinced two of the most powerful men in the world to be her lovers, at least one through presenting herself to him naked. Some see her actions as opportunistic and self-serving, but others view her as using her savvy and intellect to endear herself, and thus Egypt, to men who had the power to destroy both.

Theodora Theodora (c. 500–548 CE) was empress of the Byzantine Empire and wife of Emperor Justinian I. Her background is poorly documented, although it is known that she was born into the lower classes and rose to fame as an actress specializing in physical, often eroticized comedy. Some sources also claim that she had been a well-known courtesan and was scandalous and ridiculed among the elite. It is unclear how she came to Justinian's attention or why he considered her to be suitable as a bride. They married in 523, however, and he made her coruler. She seems to have been well suited to government and politics, and Justinian endowed her with actual, not merely symbolic, power. Many of her initiatives involved the rights of women. She is the first recorded official Byzantine proponent of abortion; she also publicly proclaimed women's right to commit adultery. In addition to her voicing her opinions, she accomplished a great deal of legislation concerning women, including revoking the ban on nobility marrying lower-class women. She also outlawed forced prostitution, gave women rights in divorce, and established severe penalties for rape, including the death penalty. She is seen by many women as a champion of power and rights for women but is recognized by the Orthodox Church (who made her a saint) as a woman of exemplary morality who opposed prostitution.

Empress Suiko Empress Suiko (554–628 CE) was the first female emperor of Japan. A royal princess from birth she

was consort to her half-brother, Emperor Bidatsu. She bore him several children and eventually became his official wife after the death of his first wife. After Bidatsu's death her brother became emperor for a brief period. Upon his death Suiko was asked to take the throne to avoid a civil war among rival families over the succession. She ruled from 593 to 628, and although princes were established as her regents, she is considered to have held considerable power. In addition to having risen to power via an incestuous marriage, she is remarkable in that after her husband's death, she became a Buddhist nun. She is responsible for official recognition of Buddhism in Japan and ruled as a nun. She also adopted the Seventeen-Article Constitution in 604 CE. Rather than a legal document, it was a treatise on the moral codes underlying the Japanese monarchy, stressing the kind of virtues expected of a monarch and government officials to ensure and legitimate an absolute monarchy.

Zenobia Zenobia (third century CE) was queen of Palmyra, an ancient city located in modern Syria. She is descended from several important families in the ancient Middle East and Greece and claimed Dido of Carthage and Cleopatra of Egypt as ancestors, although these claims are doubtful at best. Beautiful and well educated she married Septimius Odaenathus, King of Palmyra, around 258 CE. In 267 CE, her husband and his son from his first marriage were assassinated, leaving Zenobia as regent until her own son came of age to rule. She did not merely maintain the kingdom but expanded it, leading her army to conquer Egypt in 269. She then conquered much of Asia Minor and the Levant before expanding eastward toward the Euphrates River. Her forces were finally defeated by the Roman Emperor Aurelian, who took Zenobia and her son to Rome as captives. Zenobia entered Rome in golden chains as part of Aurelian's victory procession. He and the Romans were so taken with her beauty that she was freed. She established herself as a socialite and a woman of education and eventually married a Roman senator. She is known for both her beauty and her education as well as being one of the few documented warrior queens who assembled an important empire.

Boudica Boudica (also spelled Boudicca or Boadicea) was a first-century CE Celtic queen in Britain. When her husband died the Romans forcibly annexed his kingdom (in current-day Norfolk), Boudica was flogged and her daughters were raped. In response she led an uprising against the Romans, destroying three Roman cities (including Londinium, now London), burning them to the ground and killing between 70,000 and 80,000 people. The Romans eventually rallied and defeated her, reclaiming their lost territories. Boudica was forgotten through the

Middle Ages (476–1350), but a Renaissance (1350–1600) find of ancient texts helped historians rediscover her. Particularly in the Victorian era she was recognized as a national hero. In 1905 a statue of her was placed on Westminster Bridge next to the Houses of Parliament.

Amalasantha Amalasantha (sixth century CE) was a queen of the Ostrogoths in Italy. As regent for her young son she attempted to bring the Gothic and the Byzantine Empires closer together through negotiations with Justinian I, husband of Theodora. After her son's death in 534, she took her cousin Theodahad as her coruler and was murdered in her bath on his order in 535. Totila, one of Theodahad's successors, sacked Rome in 546.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE QUEENS

Eleanor of Aquitaine Eleanor (1122–1204) was queen consort of France then queen consort of England; in addition, she held the French region of Aquitaine in her own right, making her one of the most powerful women of the medieval period in Europe. She was married to the heir to the throne of France, but the marriage contract stipulated that Aquitaine and France would not be merged until the following generation, keeping Aquitaine in Eleanor's own control. Her husband entered into a series of religious conflicts in France leading to the deaths of thousands of people. To atone he agreed to the Pope's wish for him to go on a crusade to Jerusalem; Eleanor accompanied him, one of the few noble women to go on a crusade. A massacre en route was popularly blamed on a delay caused by her excessive baggage, even though this had little to do with the events, and her popularity in Europe decreased. Her experiences on the crusade led to her opening trade with Constantinople for the Aquitaine and later for England, a major economic development. Her lack of popularity among the French and the lack of a male heir (Eleanor and Louis had two daughters) caused Louis to annul their marriage. The Church granted his request based on the fact that he and Eleanor were third cousins and thus not eligible to marry. Their daughters became illegitimate and Eleanor retained control of Aquitaine.

Immediately after her annulment, Eleanor proposed marriage to Henry of Anjou, Duke of Normandy. Not only did she take the lead in their courtship, but she had been rumored to have previously taken Henry's father as one of her many lovers. In 1154, two years after their marriage, her husband became King Henry II of England. They had eight children, two of whom (Richard and John) would become kings of England. Her husband was openly unfaithful, fathering many illegitimate children and carrying on a long-term relationship with

Rosamund Clifford. Eleanor seems to have accepted Henry's infidelities, although their marriage became strained over Henry's desire to rule Aquitaine independently of Eleanor. In 1173 their son Henry attempted to depose his father, and Eleanor encouraged her other sons to join the revolt. Her husband put down the revolt, captured Eleanor, and imprisoned her in various castles in England for the next fifteen years. It is this period of their marriage and power struggle that was fictionalized in James Goldman's 1966 play *The Lion in Winter*. From 1184 to 1189 Eleanor was free to travel but was kept under guard by Henry. Upon Henry's death in 1189 Eleanor was freed and her son Richard was crowned. He went on the Third Crusade, leaving Eleanor as regent in his absence. After Richard's death and John's accession, she was a trusted advisor and political ally. Eleanor is famed both for her sexual freedom as well as for her political power.

Katun Börte Ujin of Mongolia Börte (twelfth and thirteenth centuries CE) was the wife of Genghis Khan, the founder of the Mongol Empire. Her father married her to Genghis (then called Temujin) at age seventeen to form a political alliance. Immediately after the marriage Börte was kidnapped by a rival tribe, raped, and held captive for eight months. She gave birth to a son shortly after she was recaptured by Temujin; the unknown parentage of the son clouded the issue of succession. After Temujin became Khan Börte was crowned his empress, and she became one of his most trusted advisors. She was left in charge of the Mongol homeland while Genghis was on his military campaigns.

Catherine de' Medici Catherine (1519–1589) was the daughter of Lorenzo II de' Medici, ruler of Florence, and a French princess. She inherited the title Countess of Auvergne from a maternal aunt. Her second marriage was to Henry II of France, who also had a lifelong relationship with Diane de Poitiers, whom Catherine exiled following her husband's early death. She ruled as regent for her young son François II, who died young, and for her second son, Charles IX. She held power for many years and was particularly deft at handling the internal struggles of the French wars of religion between Catholics and Protestants. As Victoria I of England did three centuries later, she succeeded in marrying her children into the most influential dynasties of Europe, thus creating familial ties among many of the monarchs of the day. Her third son, Henri III, took the throne late in Catherine's life, but her power had waned by this point, and he ruled independent of her influence.

Elizabeth I Elizabeth I of England (1533–1603) was the first major queen regnant of England and Ireland. She

succeeded her half-sister Queen Mary (also known as Bloody Mary for her ruthless burning of Protestants) and Queen Jane (also known as the Nine Days' Queen and often not considered an actual queen). She came to power in a period of religious and political turmoil. Her father, Henry VIII, had refused to recognize the authority of the Pope while remaining a Catholic. His son Edward VI was a staunch Protestant and continued his father's religious reforms. Mary was a devout Catholic who reversed the Reformation and reestablished ties with Rome. Elizabeth is known for a hands-off religious polity in which she maintained the authority of the monarchy over that of Rome but chose to not openly support or outlaw most religious practice, herself a practicing Protestant. This stance, combined with her lengthy reign following several short ones, allowed England to settle into a largely peaceful domestic period. Her foreign policy was strong yet restrained. Her predecessors had all but bankrupted the crown through unsuccessful wars with France and alliances with foreign powers. Elizabeth largely focused on maintaining the stability of the English nation without concern for expansion. Her greatest military success was the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Elizabeth is given credit for the victory largely due to her speech to the troops at Tilbury, in which she declared "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a King of England too!"

Aside from her political and military prowess, Elizabeth is well known for her refusal to marry, causing her to be referred to as *the Virgin Queen*. The colony (now state) of Virginia in North America was named after her. Whether Elizabeth was actually a virgin has been a subject of much debate; her status as virgin stems from her unmarried status. She certainly was in love with men throughout her life. Her earliest infatuation seems to have been with Thomas Seymour, the fourth husband of her stepmother Katherine Parr. Rumors of an illegitimate child born of their relationship circulated, but nothing more than some overly affectionate embraces has ever been determined to take place. The most long-term love of her life was with Sir Robert Dudley, one of her courtiers, but they never married or publicly announced their love. As a queen with no heir Elizabeth was much sought-after for marriage, and she often used this to her political advantage in international dealings. She died unmarried and without heir, ending the Tudor Dynasty and passing the crown to James VI of Scotland, the son of her cousin Mary, Queen of Scots. He became James I of England and joined the crowns of England and Scotland into the United Kingdom.

Mary, Queen of Scots Mary Stuart I (1542–1587) is the most famous of all Scottish monarchs, although her fame

derives from scandal more than from political acumen. The only child of King James V of Scotland, she became queen at the age of six days when her father died. Afraid for her safety her French mother sent the child to live with her relatives on the Continent, where she grew up speaking French and eventually marrying François II, making her queen of France. After his death less than a year into his reign, Mary returned to Scotland and reclaimed her throne. She ruled as a foreigner and an outsider, however, and never truly came to understand the Scots. As a descendant of Henry VII of England, she had a claim to the English throne, making her a rival to Elizabeth I. For much of her life Elizabeth (whom she never met in person) promised to name Mary as her heir assuming Elizabeth had no children. Mary made a series of unwise political moves, including marriage to Lord Darnley without the consent of Elizabeth or any of her own advisers. She took a series of foreign officials into her confidence, excluding the Scottish nobility, and was also criticized for having a series of lovers rather openly. She was later implicated in Darnley's death, the first recorded regicide by explosion. She was forced to abdicate by the Scottish nobility and was later tried for treason in England and beheaded at the order of Elizabeth I. Although an unwise ruler Mary is romanticized by many as a woman who put passion ahead of her status as queen.

LATER QUEENS

Christina of Sweden Christina (1626–1689) became queen regnant of Sweden at age six during the turbulent years of the Thirty Years War with Germany. She is often considered a selfish queen, caring more for the arts and her study of the sciences than for her official duties. She refused to marry and provide an heir to the throne, sided with the aristocracy against the lower classes in many disputes, and nearly bankrupted the crown by creating and funding new noble titles. She favored Catholicism and had no patience with Protestants, even though queen of an overwhelmingly Protestant country. In 1654, at the age of twenty-seven, she abdicated her throne in favor of her cousin Karl X Gustav, converted to Catholicism, and moved to Rome. When Gustav died in 1660 she attempted to return to Sweden and reclaim her crown, but the people rejected her. She returned to Rome where she lived until her death. She is one of only four women to be buried in St. Peter's Basilica.

Mabola Bai of Bhopal Mabola Bai (1715–1795) was the wife of Yar Mohammad Khan of Bhopal, India. Her background is uncertain, although she seems to have been of noble birth and likely was a Hindu. She was part of Yar's victory spoils in his campaigns to gain control of the Bhopal region. Mabola Bai was childless but was stepmother to Yar's children from his Muslim wives.

After Yar's death his sons were ineffective rulers, and Mabola Bai ruled in their names for almost fifty years until her death in 1795.

Marie Antoinette Marie Antoinette (born Maria Antonia Josefa Johanna von Habsburg-Lothringen, 1755–1793) was married to King Louis XVI of France at age 15 and was the queen of France during the French Revolution. She is most famous for her extravagant tastes and expenditures on luxuries. Most likely she was no more extravagant than many other royals of her day and before, but in contrast to the majority of French citizens of the day, she is remembered as caring only for her own comfort over those of her people. She was executed by guillotine on October 16, 1793, during the Reign of Terror.

Catherine the Great Catherine II of Russia (born Sophie Frederike Auguste von Anhalt-Zerbst, 1729–1796) was a German princess who, through marriage and coup, came to rule Russia from 1762 to 1796. Although a rather minor princess in her own right, Catherine was closely related to many reigning monarchs in eighteenth-century Europe, making her a politically advantageous match for the future tsar, Peter III. Her husband (then Grand Duke Peter of Holstein) was also German and had been selected as heir by Empress Elizabeth of Russia. Catherine (the name Sophie took in the Russian Orthodox Church) and Peter married in 1745. By all accounts Peter was mentally immature at best and probably impotent. Catherine, a brilliant woman who needed to produce an heir to secure her own safety and who desired intellectual stimulation as well, almost immediately began extramarital affairs with courtiers.

Catherine learned the Russian language, which Peter did not, and became familiar with Russian politics, whereas Peter remained interested only in German affairs. Peter also tried to force the Russian Orthodox Church to adopt Lutheran ideas, whereas Catherine conformed to the church of her adopted homeland. As such she was far more popular than her husband. When Peter became tsar in 1762 and almost immediately used his power to interfere in a war between Denmark and his native Holstein, palace officials overthrew him and established Catherine as empress. Peter was reigned for only four months before being exiled to a place outside of St. Petersburg. He died six months later and there are indications that his death was by Catherine's order, or at least took place with her approval.

Under Catherine's rule Russia expanded geographically and economically. Although she maintained a tight, often ruthless, control, she was also a wise ruler who brought Enlightenment (1600–1800) ideals to Russia and made her country a major European power. She is

also widely known as a sexual figure; her affairs during and after her marriage are well documented and numerous. Her own diary strongly suggests that her son, Tsar Paul I, was conceived extramaritally. Her sexual life during her reign was not secret, and her appetites were remarkable. Her last lover, when she was in her sixties, was forty years her junior. Legends about her sexual encounters developed even during her own lifetime, and the most notorious began shortly after her death. Catherine died of a stroke at age sixty-seven, but it was almost immediately rumored that she had died while attempting to copulate with a stallion, something that she was also said to have done as a young woman. Although no evidence substantiates this myth, it is possibly the most lasting legacy of her sexual life.

Nandi Nandi (1760–1827) was a member of the Nguni nation in modern-day South Africa and became the wife of Senzangakona of the Zulus and later the mother of Shaka Zulu. As a minor wife of the chief, Nandi had little power, even though she was mother of his oldest son. His other wives convinced Senzangakona to disinherit Shaka in favor of their sons. Zulu legend claims that Nandi encouraged her son to become ruthless and warlike so that he could take back his birthright by force when his father died. Shaka not only became chief but expanded the Zulu Empire and brought much of southern Africa under his control. When Nandi died Shaka is said to have ordered a ritual slaughter of thousands of his enemies and to have ordered his people into a year of forced mourning.

Victoria Victoria (1819–1901) was queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the first empress of India. With a reign of sixty-three years, she is the longest-reigning monarch in British history. Her rule, often called the Victorian Era, covered much of the nineteenth century and saw a variety of political, social, and economic changes. The Industrial Revolution reached its height and the British Empire reached its greatest extent, both making Great Britain the world's richest country. Victoria became queen due to a series of untimely deaths among her male relatives and succeeded William IV when she was only eighteen years old. Because she was a woman, she did not inherit William's other title as king of Hannover, a German realm that followed Salic law and allowed only male rulers. As a political figure Victoria was quite weak. She was a political conservative during a period marked by growing liberalism and often disagreed with Parliament in her early years. As queen of England her major political function was to form a government following elections. In a situation known as the Bedchamber Crisis, Victoria attempted to form a minority government more in line with her political

leanings. Robert Peel, who she asked to be prime minister, refused her invitation, and a majority Tory government was formed. This was the last time that a British monarch attempted to exert political power in defiance of the democratic process, and the position has been largely ceremonial since.

The reign of Victoria is most notable for a distinctly conservative turn in British society. Victoria chose to wear white for her wedding, initiating a custom that still continues. Many other traditions surrounding the marriage event in American culture can be traced to Victoria. She married her first cousin, Albert, in 1840, and her devotion to him became legendary. They had nine children together, most of whom were married into the ruling families of Europe. As such, World War I was, to some extent, a family crisis, as the czar of Russia, the German kaiser, and the king of England were first cousins and childhood friends. When Albert died in 1861, Victoria entered a lifelong period of mourning. She never again appeared in public without wearing black, and she became known for her unending devotion to Albert, even in death. As such, she initiated a kind of cult of widowhood. Whereas her ancestor Elizabeth I is known for her virginity, Victoria is known for both her fertility and her perpetual widowhood.

Cixi of China Cixi (or Tz'u-hsi) was born in 1835 and lived until 1908, making her life roughly contemporaneous with the rule of Victoria of England. She was a minor concubine of Emperor Xianfeng of China, who ruled from 1850 to 1861. Upon his death she attained power as the mother of his only son (Tongzhi), for whom she served as regent. From 1861 to 1908 Cixi held power in China, either in her own right or in the name of her son or nephew (Guangxu). She is remembered as a conservative ruler and a despot, and many historians have credited her reign with the downfall of the Qing Dynasty, which effectively brought an end to the Chinese monarchy. Her role as a queen is overtly sexualized, as she began her relationship with the emperor as a concubine. She is also unusual among female rulers in that she orchestrated a series of coups to bring herself to power.

When Xianfeng died in 1861 Tongzhi was five years old. Xianfeng left power with a council of regents, and his imperial consort and Cixi were charged to jointly raise his son until he was old enough to rule. Cixi and the consort, now the Dowager Empress Ci'an, overthrew the council, taking power for themselves. The dowager empress, however, was uninterested in politics, leaving power largely in Cixi's hands. She ruled in her son's name and was in the process of teaching him the skills of statecraft when he died at age nineteen, probably from syphilis.

Cixi violated the normal order of succession by naming her three-year-old nephew, Guangxu, as heir to the throne, thus assuring herself many more years in power until he came of age in 1889. As emperor he instituted a number of reforms toward a system of constitutional monarchy. In 1898 Cixi assumed control as regent and worked to restore the absolute monarchy. She continued to rule in Guangxu's name until her death in 1908. Her later rule was marked by a series of political disasters, including the Boxer Rebellion and unsuccessful dealings with European powers.

Queen Lili'uokalani of Hawai'i Queen Lili'uokalani (1838–1917) was the last monarch of Hawai'i. She married John Owen Dominis, an American statesman, in 1862 and inherited the throne from her brother in 1891. Her predecessor had approved the Bayonet Constitution of 1887 under force (hence its name), which stripped the monarchy of power and gave it to the wealthy citizens. The Constitution not only disenfranchised the poor but was completely discriminatory against Asians. Queen Lili'uokalani tried to write a new constitution restoring power to the monarchy but was resisted by Europeans and Americans who would lose the right of suffrage. They claimed that by trying to subvert the Constitution, she had effectively abdicated, and they deposed her. With the assistance of the U.S. government, the Republic of Hawai'i was established in 1894. The queen was held under house arrest until 1896 when she was voted a pension by the new government and officially abdicated to gain the freedom of her supporters. The Republic was annexed by the United States in 1898, and Queen Lili'uokalani lived in Honolulu until 1917, when she died of a stroke.

SEE ALSO *Zenobia*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

QUEENS, POWER AND SEXUALITY

In her Elegy I the poet Louise Labé (1516 or 1523–1566), to evoke the invincible powers of Love, adduced the infelicitous example of legendary Assyrian queen Semiramis—a celebrated and fearsome warrior reveling in victorious combat and bloodshed, she was felled by the harshest conqueror, Love. She thus went from impetuously charging into battle to languishing in her bed in the throes of an incestuous passion for her own son, “her virile heart” corrupted (vss. 61–90). The story of Semiramis—notably exonerated, nonetheless, by Christine de Pizan (1363–1430) in her *City of Ladies*—was a mainstay of male Renaissance discourse on the flaws of women and their inability to rule (Richards 1997, pp. 108–114).

To speak of queens and power one has to factor in the publicity of their sexual comportment and the driving public concern to control their sexuality. At the core of the specific nature of queenship lie the tensions between the concept of queen as a powerful sovereign, sometimes

imbued with sacred or supernatural powers, and the subjected, subaltern status of a woman in any given society where women/the female are at the bottom in a hierarchy of sex and gender. The sacred character of kingship and the dangerous, ambiguous, or even abjectified nature of queens as women pull in opposite directions and create restrictions on their exercise of political rule. The ambivalence toward a female ruler may have reflected two competing concerns: that the good, masculine behavior will render her unfeminine, and thus barren, and that lust and lack of chastity will remain likely. These complexities have attracted considerable attention from scholars of medieval and early modern Europe in particular (including Theresa Earenfight [2005] and John Carmi Parsons [1993]).

The king is said to have *two bodies*, one public and one private, but queens have two bodies as well—one stamped with the aura of the sacred, the other marked with the staining threat of pollution. In France where queens were excluded by law from political power as heirs to the throne, the queen's person and her office were distinct, a doctrine that confers only one body, albeit an exalted one, to the queen consort (*uxor regis*), for instance, in the coronation and privileges of office of Anne of Brittany, Queen of France (1477–1517). In another model, in which the queen is not equal to the king, her symbolic body may unfold into simultaneous and competing incarnations: besides the king's consort, that of his mother or sister. The latter is suggested by the role of Anne de Beaujeu (1461–1522; also called Anne de France or Anne de Bourbon), elder sister of Charles VIII (r. 1483–1498), named regent over the boy king with her husband by her father, Louis XI (r. 1461–1483), on his deathbed. Better known in that capacity is Margaret of Navarre (1492–1549), sister of Francis I (r. 1515–1547), and, at times, “queen in all but name” (Cholakian and Cholakian 2006, pp. 40, 43).

The subject/subjected role of queens is not particular to a given part of the world, and in many cultures queens have been held to strict rules of propriety, ceremonial behavior, and to subject status—both as subject of the king and to his social, political, and sexual power—yet at times have exercised considerable power of their own. Thus, diverse structures of royal power have interfaced with gendered norms to harness sexual power and the display of sexuality.

When women are banned from exercising full power and a woman seizes power through intrigue or force of arms or both, rebellion and political upheaval ensue. Thus, the sultana Shajarat al-Durr (c. 1223–1257), widow of the last Ayyubid ruler of Egypt, died 648 HE/1250), came to power through the Mamluk army, whose soldiers she had impressed for her leadership role

in the battle of Damiette against the French. The caliph of Baghdad condemned her rule, and she tried to operate without him, giving herself the title *Malikat al-Muslimi* (Queen of the Muslims). Deposed, she married the new sultan, a Mamluk general, and ruled with him for seven years. But when he attempted to displace her with another sultana and return her to the harem, she had him murdered, and even though a portion of the army still supported her, she was then brutally put to death. In her case male gender ideology was not uniform: for the clergy she was anathema, but for the military, skill and courage could overcome her status as a woman; in the end, however, she met her death as a disobedient, rebellious consort.

In France all royal women were successfully excluded from titular royal power through a dexterous political slight of hand enacted in the late Middle Ages (1283–1386), producing a distorted interpretation of the Salic law. French queens could exercise political power due to circumstance but could neither be fully anointed as rightful ruler nor inherit the throne: thus, Claude of France (1499–1524), legitimate daughter of Louis XII (r. 1498–1515) and Anne of Brittany (r. 1491–1498 and 1498–1514), only became queen as spouse of the king, and the throne went laterally to the man she married, Francis of Angoulême, the future Francis I (r. 1515–1547). Catherine of Medici (1519–1589) crafted the position of queen mother to heights never attained before or after her in France, presenting herself in the imposing seal made for her as *Governess of France* at the death of her son, King Francis II (1544–1560), not merely as queen mother, but as “Catherine by the Grace of God, Queen of France, Mother of the King” (Frieda 2003, p. 144). She is consistently referred to as the queen, my mother, even during the reign of her son, in the memoirs of her daughter, Margaret of Valois (1553–1615). In another twist of the gender/power interface, Margaret was the only one of her younger children capable of ruling and the one Catherine consistently mistreated and sacrificed to her sons.

In the void caused by dead, absent, ailing, or too young male heirs, royal women of the Renaissance (1350–1600) across Europe rose to such authority and power that this period—of which feminist historians have asked whether women actually had a Renaissance—could paradoxically be seen as the rule of women. Catherine ruled forcefully (and effectively) through her sons, whereas her husband had kept her in a subjected and invisible position below his mistress. The sons were quite willing to leave the hardships of on-the-ground governance to her, the details of which, involving the work and support of women as much as men, transpire in her lengthy correspondence. Her long-lasting and often effective rule hinged not only on her significant



Catherine de Medici. *Catherine de Medici transformed her traditionally minor role as queen mother into one of great power and influence.* TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

personal political skills but also on the elaborate public performance of faithful widowhood and devoted motherhood, visually signaled by the cloaking, indeed veiling, of her body in black.

The world over, some queen mothers have been formidable figures, with enough prestige and authority to be the effective leaders of their nation. One such woman was Yaa Asantewaa (c. 1840–1921), the queen mother of one of the Asante states in Ghana, who led a largely successful military uprising in 1896 against British occupiers, much to the latter's astonishment.

The concept of two bodies of the king incarnated in a parallel female sovereign is most clear in certain African nations. In the east-African kingdom of Buganda (northern shore of Lake Victoria), the institution of queen mothers was a crucial regulator of good government and remained so until the combined upheavals due to long-distance trade and wars of plunder between chiefs at the end of the nineteenth century. In Buganda, queen mothers did not rule as a side effect of their son coming to power. On the contrary, as "in Asante, Dahomey, Lagos, and many other African polities, queen mothers

built up political coalitions that brought their sons to power." (Hanson 2002, p. 220). Since the sixteenth century the authority of the Bugandan queen mother "mirrored that of the king" (Hanson 2002, p. 221), as she held her own lands, had her own palace, and appointed her own ministers, independent from the king. Queen mothers acted to place their son on the throne by mobilizing their powerful lineages and brokering vast alliances, and they protected (or sometimes turned against) their son, the king, against his enemies through these networks. Most importantly the function of the queen mother in Bugandan government was to constrain excessive power exercised by the king, in particular, his urge to be too violent and to behave cruelly. The gendered power structure was thus that the mother's role as guardian, nurturer and *civilizing* influence was folded into the office of queenship.

QUEENS: STRONG RULE AND SKILLED POLITICS

Elizabeth I of England (r. 1558–1603) maintained her position on the throne in spite of numerous attacks on the ability of women to hold power and maintained her sole rulership by refusing to marry and be subject to the rule of a husband. Contemporary historians and ambassadors alike were baffled by her ability to remain crowned and unmarried, whereas, for her, the assertion of her own preferences in marriage—or to not marry, if she did not meet the spouse of her liking—was "proof of her political consequence" (Bell 1995, pp. 69–72). Yet she was never fully allowed by her subjects to forget that she was female and, as a single woman, an anomaly on the throne. She had to reinvent herself and construct her personal life along a multiple deployment of female roles—wife, mother, sister—which she revisited to affirm female power.

In contrast, the late fifteenth-century rule of Isabel of Castile (r. 1474–1504) successfully blended the obligations of marriage and sexual convention with the exercise of power and the conquering projects of an expanding empire. In this case her husband, Ferdinand II, was actually king of lesser Aragon, and she was the legitimate feudal ruler (*señora*) of Castile, where he was merely the prince consort. Isabel also came into power in circumstances that were doubly unusual with respect to sex and gender. First, all the contenders for the throne at that point were women, and she held distinct advantages over her rivals. Second, in contrast to the late king—her hated half-brother Henry IV, accused of having favored Jews and Muslims, of being impotent and not the father of his daughter, and of homosexual tendencies—she was legitimized as the restorer of the faith and of normative sexual conduct on the throne. Isabel aptly bridged the gaps between the status of queen and leader of the land

with the duties of a wife, picking and blending both conventional and unusual gendered behavior traits. She accepted admonitions from her religious advisers to act as an obedient wife, bearing numerous children, and, against custom, appeared in public during the visible stages of pregnancy; she acted as a sovereign in all matters, casting herself in that role through elaborate ceremony, and, with Ferdinand, took ultraconservative measures to curb the sexual wantonness ascribed to women, by enforcing strict claustration of nuns.

Dona Ana de Sousa Nzinga Mbande (c. 1581–1663), Mbundu monarch of the Ndongo and Matamba Kingdoms in present-day Angola, skillfully manipulated the independence of celibacy coupled with a careful reinvention of self, first as regent, then as legitimate queen from a royal line, and, intermittently, as good Catholic dealing directly with the Portuguese envoys, or as Imbangala convert. She became viceroy in 1622 and fully succeeded her brother, Joao, in 1624, having had her nephew killed, and ruling until her death in 1663 at the age of 81. She alternatively attempted to accommodate the demands of the Portuguese rule over her nation and its riches and to resist its encroachments, engaging at times in protracted warfare. She came to power with the support of the growing class of court slaves and eventually created a controversial alliance with the Imbangala, a warrior people who held to a common origin as “slaves” (Thornton 1991, pp. 29–31). She had to fight, on and off the battlefield, to affirm her legitimacy as ruler against the Portuguese and her local rivals, including on the very point of whether a woman could hold the kingdom.

In the last decades of her life, Nzinga responded to claims against her legitimacy by twisting the obligation of marriage around: She “became a man” and married several dependent men at once, who were her “concubines,” had to dress in female clothes, sleep among her maids in waiting, but not touch them sexually under the threat of death. She also engaged in male pursuits, leading troops, handling weapons expertly, and transforming her female retinue into a personal guard dressed as soldiers (Thornton 1991). She held to the ideas of female power and royal descent, and in her 1655 negotiations with the Portuguese, she tried to have them recognize her sister as heir to the throne—neither she nor her sister had children of their own. In effect, having established the precedent of female rule, in part through her gender transformation to becoming a man, she paved the way for a string of female rulers. Her sister ruled briefly after her, followed by Veronica I from 1681 to 1706, then by Ana I, Veronica II, Ana II, and Ana III over a period of eighty years after Nzinga’s death, until 1767.

In conclusion, whereas the sacred could make the power of the prince, male or female, more efficacious,

sexuality has always lurked, for good or ill, behind the power of queens. This holds true whether they act as ritual mothers of their people, as mothers to the royal brood, as spectacular anomalies as single women, or most often, through the carefully crafted performance of chaste behavior—perhaps the most powerful weapon for queens and their supporters to subvert rules barring women from access to the throne.

SEE ALSO *Africa: I. History; Catherine the Great; Celibacy; Elizabeth I; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Marriage; Royalty; Sex, Race and Power: An Intersectional Study.*

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QUEER

The term *queer* has traditionally meant strange, odd, or suspicious. In the twentieth century the word acquired almost exclusively sexual connotations, and as such, came to be used as a fundamentally derogatory label for homosexuals. Having been reclaimed by gay and lesbian activists in the 1980s as a term of self-identification, in the early twenty-first century *queer* is primarily used to refer to any form of nonheteronormative gender, sex, and sexuality, as well as in contradistinction to more straightforward categories of sexual identification, such as lesbian, gay, and bisexual. While it serves as an umbrella term to include a broad range of sexual orientation and/or gender expression, quite a number of people to whom it might apply still consider *queer* to be a derisive and offensive term, especially when it is used by heterosexuals. Others, in contrast, have embraced it as a liberatory, antilabeling term with the critical power to open up systems of sexual and gender classification *per se*. The term *queer* is sometimes used as a verb, in which instance it refers to the attempt to replace normative, heterosexual meanings with those of minority sexualities. The contradictory appreciations of the term's semantic values extend into its various contemporary usages and consequent critiques.

ORIGINS AND EARLY USAGE

Emerging in the English language in 1508, possibly from the German word *quer* (cross, oblique, squint, perverse), *queer*, in the sense of *peculiar*, *eccentric*, or *not in a normal condition*, was generally used with reference to people perceived to be suffering from a mild form of insanity or whose social behavior was not considered to be quite right. By 1800 the word had additionally acquired the slang significance of *drunk*. The phrase

Queer Street was used in British English to refer to an imaginary street where people in difficulties, often of a financial nature, reside. By 1837 the term connoted any kind of difficulty, fix, trouble, bad circumstances, debt, or illness. Alongside these meanings the adjective *queer* was used from 1561 onward to designate something bad or worthless, often used with reference to thieves. The verb *to queer* became English slang in 1791, in the sense of *to quiz*, *ridicule*, or *cheat*, and evolved from meaning *to spoil* or *put out of order* in 1812—which meaning is still commonly used, as in the phrase *to queer someone's pitch*—to establish itself in 1845 in the sense of *to put someone out*, or to *make someone feel queer*. The term acquired its implication of sexual deviance in the late nineteenth century, undergoing a semantic shift, so that *queer* came to be predominantly used as a derogatory term for effeminate and/or gay males and to others displaying nonnormative gender behavior. This semantic shift has since come to overdetermine the various meanings of *queer* in its twentieth-century usage, especially in the United States, where it served to emphasize the supposed unnaturalness of homosexuality. Though earlier meanings persist in some contemporary usage, the overly sexual connotations of the term *queer* entail that even when used to describe someone who is a bit odd, the subtext implies that the subject might also be gay.

For most of the twentieth century, *queer* was used as a strongly pejorative term or hateful slur to designate a homosexual, usually male. As such it was also employed within gay and lesbian communities, either as a term of self-deprecation or as an epithet for a lesbian or gay man regarded as less conventionally lesbian or gay or more extravagant in her or his expression of gender deviancy. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, an important change occurred in this use of the term. Partly as a response to the gradual establishment of lesbian and gay as respectable identity categories, partly as a result of the AIDS crisis and its (enforced) opportunities for close collaboration among sexual *deviants* of all kinds, and partly as a result of the relative institutionalization of lesbian and gay studies in the European and North American academy, political activists, who rejected any constraining sexual and gender categories, and a number of academics, critically concerned with the emerging blind spots and silences in lesbian and gay studies about differences defined in other than the binary terms of gender and sexuality, sought to reclaim the term *queer* and rob it of its negative meanings. Consequently, *queer* began to be used as an inclusive, sociopolitically unifying term that designates all those who are sexually dissident, including self-identified gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, but also those who are transgender, transsexual, intersexual and/or *genderqueer*, as well as those who embrace any other transgressive form of sexuality. These may include

asexuality or *autosexuality*, and even nonnormative modes of heterosexuality.

ACCEPTANCE AND MAINSTREAM USE

Mainstream European and North American society gradually absorbed the positive usage of the term, as is clear from the popular success of such TV shows as *Queer as Folk*, originally shown in the United Kingdom and exported to the United States, or *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* in the United States. In the early twenty-first century, nonheterosexuals use queer with reference to their own culture, as in *queer politics* or *queer cinema*, with no negative connotation. However, the term can still be offensive, especially to older gay men who, in the 1960s and 1970s, fought for the acceptance of *gay* to replace the solely sexual and pathological signifier homosexual, and more generally by gays and lesbians who dislike the term, even in its reclaimed usage, because they personally remember the pain caused by its pejorative meaning. Still others object to the term queer because its all-inclusive character threatens to render invisible, and ultimately irrelevant, the specificity of the narrower categories of gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender as distinct from, and variously at odds with, heteronormative gender identities.

While certainly no less disputed, or even straightforwardly rejected, by academics involved in lesbian and gay studies, it is within the phrase and practice of *queer theory* that the newer usage of the term has gained most effective and abiding currency. Introduced by feminist theorist Teresa de Lauretis in her introduction to a special issue of the journal *differences* in 1991, queer theory entered critical discussions as an antiessentialist term aimed at critical self-reflection among gay and lesbian scholars and as aligned with other modes of postmodern theorizing. In this context queer designates, in the words of critical theorist Annemarie Jagose, a “suspension of identity as something fixed, coherent and natural” (Jagose 1996, p. 98), aiming at the deconstruction of all forms of identity categories, and especially opting for the strategy of denaturalization with regard to sexual and gender identities defined in constraining, binary terms (i.e., straight/gay; male/female). As such, queer also refers to changing understandings of more broadly defined concepts of subjectivity, identity, and sociopolitical conditions. The queer critique of identity-based models of theory and politics of all kinds—whether defined in terms of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, age, or ability—is usually accompanied by a constructive emphasis on multiplicity, instability, and fluidity. Instead of conceptualizing identities as fixed or stable and unitary, queer theorists foreground the contextual and contingent,

hence provisional, nature of any mode of identification, including such oppositional forms of sexuality and gender identification as those commonly captured under the acronym GLBT (gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender).

Queer is a controversial term not only in sociocultural contexts but also within theoretical debates due to its negative history and the concomitant ambiguity of its simultaneously elusive connotations. Whereas some celebrated the term as a tool of resistance against essentialist readings of sociocultural realities as well as cultural texts, and thus as an instrument capable of “point[ing] to things that destabilize existing categories, while it itself is becoming a category—but a category that resists easy definition . . . except that it is something non-straight or non-normatively straight” (Doty 2000, p. 8), others have been concerned that queer “will neutralise [sic] the efficacy of lesbian and gay as an identificatory category, and that its flexibility will connect lesbians and gay men with others whose commitment to homophobic politics is disputed” (Jagose 1996, p. 112). Indeed, though de Lauretis, three years after coining the phrase queer theory as a critically disruptive term that she hoped would inaugurate a new self-reflexivity within lesbian and gay studies, openly rejected it as a “conceptually vacuous creature of the publishing industry” (de Lauretis 1994, p. 297), others continue to embrace the queer project as a fundamental critique of identity, as a “way of pointing ahead without knowing for certain what to point at” (Jagose 1996, p. 131). As a category under construction, or a site of permanent becoming, the term queer ultimately remains elusive, offering what Jagose defines as the “ambivalent reassurance of an unimaginable future” (Jagose 1996, p. 132).

SEE ALSO *Homophobia*.

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QUEERING, QUEER THEORY, AND EARLY MODERN CULTURE

Queer theory and queer studies are approaches that date to the late 1980s and early 1990s (Teresa de Lauretis is credited with naming queer theory in 1991 in the journal *differences*). Queering approaches emerged from an earlier gay and lesbian studies; feminist theory, as it questioned the unitary nature of the categories “woman/women,” recognizing that women of color, working class women, and lesbians might have very different concerns from the white, middle-class women at the center of Western, second-wave feminism; and (post)structuralist thought, especially Michel Foucault’s *History of Sexuality*, Jacques Derrida’s deconstruction, Jacques Lacan’s psychoanalysis, and Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s challenges to Marxism and psychoanalysis. Where gay and lesbian studies depend in large part upon an assumption that lesbian and gay identities exist transhistorically, queer theory (following Foucault) emphasizes that what has as *sexuality* is a modern deployment, and that bodies and pleasures may have been very differently organized in the past. Not only can we not be sure to find modern homosexuals in the past, heterosexuality in its modern form has only recently emerged.

Queer theory also recognizes that constructing all sexual difference around a homo/hetero binarism (powerfully analyzed by Eve Sedgwick) excludes many possibilities, and—under the pressure of this recognition—gay/lesbian studies has itself widened to embrace bisexual, transgender, and intersex experiences. The category “queer” indeed often subsumes any sexuality excluded from the “normal,” including non-normative *heterosexualities*. Judith Butler understands the power of queer to reside precisely in the fact that its boundaries are not determined in advance, that it does not name some stable entity but is constantly in the process of being redefined and rearticulated.

Most generally, queer scholarship negotiates back and forth between (1) defining and interrogating the norms by which societies construct dominant sexualities and (2) considering what is excluded by those norms as queer. The “normal” always defines itself against others, marginalizing and silencing these; at the same time, the norm depends upon the queer others that it uses to define itself, and those others haunt the edges of dominant social/sexual spaces, potentially resisting and disrupting “normality.”

Most queer theory has been articulated in relation to nineteenth- and twentieth-century material, in part because of the influence of Foucault’s *History of Sexuality* (Volume I). An exception is Jonathan Dollimore’s *Sexual Dissidence*, where Dollimore’s work as an early modernist

informs his theorizing of perverse sexuality. Although premodern sexual experience and social formations differed significantly from their modern counterparts, their study might nonetheless benefit from queer approaches. Foucault, after all, followed Volume I of his *History* with investigations of ancient Greek and Roman sexuality. In bringing queer theory to play in premodern contexts, scholars must be careful not simply to apply models that have been developed to understand more recent materials; queer theory must be historicized, brought into a conversation with what can be recovered about earlier historical moments and their treatment of the erotic.

An overall sense of the richness of queer work in medieval and early modern studies can be gathered by examining the many essay collections published since the early 1990s, including Susan Zimmerman’s *Erotic Politics: The Dynamics of Desire on the English Renaissance Stage* (1992); Jonathan Goldberg’s *Queering the Renaissance* (1994); Louise Fradenburg and Carla Freccero’s *Premodern Sexualities* (1996); Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler’s *Desire and Discipline* (1996); Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James Schultz’s *Constructing Medieval Sexuality* (1997); Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson’s *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (1999); Glenn Burger and Steven F. Kruger’s *Queering the Middle Ages* (2001); Francesca Canadé Sautman and Pamela Sheingorn’s *Same Sex Love and Desire among Women in the Middle Ages* (2001); and Katherine O’Donnell and Michael O’Rourke’s *Love, Sex, Intimacy and Friendship between Men, 1550–1800* (2003) and *Siting Queer Masculinities, 1550–1800* (2005).

HISTORICAL RECOVERIES, RECLAIMINGS, REREADINGS

As suggested above, a gay/lesbian studies that considers homosexual identity to be largely transhistorical can be distinguished from a queer studies that calls stable identities into question. But one should not imagine Queer approaches simply superseding gay/lesbian ones: Queer work builds on much earlier gay/lesbian scholarship. Both queer and gay/lesbian study of the premodern has been concerned with rethinking a traditional historicism that has not considered sexual (and especially queer) experience an important topic of investigation. As with feminist work in women’s history, gay/lesbian and queer scholarship has moved both to *recover* past moments, texts, experiences, and social structures previously ignored and to *reclaim* and *reread* better-known material by placing the sexual and erotic at the center of attention.

Two works that predate queer theory have been extraordinarily influential for the queer medieval/early

modern work that has followed: John Boswell's *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (1980) and Alan Bray's *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (1982). Both find rich materials for the historical study of homosexuality, but Boswell and Bray also exemplify opposed approaches. While Boswell is aware of significant changes in how homosexuality is understood across the centuries, he insists nonetheless on the transhistorical usefulness of the category. (Boswell's position was immediately controversial; for later assessments of his work, see Matthew Kuefler's *The Boswell Thesis: Essays on Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* [2006].) Bray, on the other hand, follows Foucault, insisting that "to talk of an individual in [the early modern] period as being or not being 'a homosexual' is an anachronism and ruinously misleading" (1995, p.16).

The work of historical recovery, reclaiming, and rereading done since Boswell and Bray has been extremely varied. In literary studies, scholars have uncovered new or little-known texts—letters exchanged between women or between men that evince erotically-charged affection; poetry like that which Thomas Stehling collects in *Medieval Latin Poems of Male Love and Friendship* (1984), and Richard Barnfield's late-sixteenth-century homoerotic poetry. Critics have also returned to canonical texts to reread these from queer perspectives. Unsurprisingly, it has been especially works containing explicit sexual material that have benefited from such rereadings: Alain de Lille's twelfth-century *Plaint of Nature*, in which a personified Nature complains about the prevalence of non-procreative sex; Dante's circle of sodomites in the *Inferno*; the performances of such queerly embodied figures as the Pardoner, Wife of Bath, and Summoner in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; Christopher Marlowe's drama, especially *Edward II*, with its depiction of erotically charged male/male relations; William Shakespeare's sonnets, especially those in which the male speaker ardently addresses the "young man," and the Shakespearean drama that plays with cross-gender identifications. A significant body of scholarship on the Renaissance stage, like Stephen Orgel's, considers how the experience of cross-dressed acting signified culturally.

Many literary studies have also cast their web more widely, to examine and queer texts not so explicitly homoerotic. Richard E. Zeikowitz's *Homoeroticism and Chivalry: Discourses of Male Same-Sex Desire in the Fourteenth Century* (2003) and James A. Schultz's *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality* (2006) take up, in very different queering ways, a "courtly love" poetry typically taken to be "heterosexual." Tison Pugh's *Queering Medieval Genres* (2004) develops readings of lyric, fabliau, "tragedy," and Arthurian romance. Anna Kłosowska's *Queer Love in the Middle Ages* (2005) considers a wide

range of medieval French texts. Carolyn Dinshaw's *Getting Medieval* (1999) and Glenn Burger's *Chaucer's Queer Nation* (2003) look not just at Chaucer's Pardoner and Wife of Bath but also at Lollard writings, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Dinshaw), and the representation of marriage (Burger) as sites for queer reading. While focused largely on Shakespeare, Valerie Traub's *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama* (1992) also attends to a variety of other early modern cultural material. Mario DiGangi's *Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama* (1997) surveys a wide range of dramatic genres to show the centrality of homoeroticism to each, as to many early modern institutions and social experiences. Richard Rambuss's *Closet Devotions* (1998) looks to the intensely corporeal religious poetry of Robert Crashaw, George Herbert, and John Donne for queer affect. Also broadly conceived in the texts they take up and the formulations they develop are Gregory W. Bredbeck's *Sodomy and Interpretation: Marlowe to Milton* (1991), Jonathan Goldberg's *Sodometries* (1992), Bruce R. Smith's *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics* (1994), Jeffrey Masten's *Textual Intercourse* (1997), and Daniel Juan Gil's *Before Intimacy: Asocial Sexuality in Early Modern England* (2006).

Such literary scholarship can be seen as uncovering several complex sorts of discourse—fictional, dramatic, lyrical—through which medieval and early modern writers understood emotional/affective and sexual/erotic experience. Other queer historical scholarship similarly recovers and reinterprets discourses shaping and shaped by eroticism. (A useful overview of medievalist work is provided by Ruth Mazo Karras in *Sexuality in Medieval Europe* [2005]. Kenneth Borris's *Same-Sex Desire in the English Renaissance* [2004] provides a compendious collection of early modern texts.) Scholars like Joan Cadden, Danielle Jacquart, Claude Thomasset, and Karma Lochrie (for the medieval) and Katharine Park, Valerie Traub, and Thomas Laqueur (for the early modern) have excavated medical/scientific discourses of the sexualized body. Many others have examined theological and religious engagements with sex and eroticism: condemnations of sodomy, beginning with Peter Damian's eleventh-century *Book of Gomorrah*; writings on spiritual friendship, beginning with Aelred of Rievaulx in the twelfth century; penitential manuals; women's mystical reflections; fire-and-brimstone sermons like Bernardino of Siena's in early Renaissance Italy; Reformation (and Counter-Reformation) theology and exegesis. Those contributing to this scholarship include Boswell, E. Ann Matter, Brian Patrick McGuire, Mark D. Jordan, Lochrie, Allen Frantzen, Dyan Elliot, Jacqueline Murray, Judith Bennett, Franco Mormando, Helmut Puff, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, Alan Stewart, and Bray. Political and legal discourses on disallowed sexuality have

also received significant attention—for instance, in the detailed archival work done by Michael Rocke in *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (1996), or, in a very different vein, by Ruth Mazo Karras in *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (1996).

Especially prominent in examinations of medieval and early modern religious, political, and legal formulations has been *sodomy*, a term that included much disallowed sexual behavior. Mark Jordan's *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (1997) shows how sodomy became a common way of understanding queer sex. William Burgwinkle's *Sodomy, Masculinity, and Law in Medieval Literature* (2004) develops a sophisticated reading of how legal and religious understandings of sodomy are written into, and rewritten by, literary texts. Sodomy has been even more central in early modern scholarship, including Helmut Puff's *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600* (2003); the essays collected by Thomas Betteridge in *Sodomy in Early Modern Europe* (2002); and several books of literary criticism—Goldberg's *Sodometries*, Bredbeck's *Sodomy and Interpretation*, Alan Stewart's *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (1997), and Richard Halpern's *Shakespeare's Perfume: Sodomy and Sublimity in the Sonnets, Wilde, Freud, and Lacan* (2002). These emphasize especially the *slipperiness* of the term, in Goldberg's words, its "relational" function as "a measure whose geometry we do not know, whose (a)symmetries we are to explore (*Sodometries*, p. xv). That is, sodomy, as Foucault emphasized, is a "thoroughly confused category," and it is precisely its incoherences that give it social power and literary/interpretive resonance.

Some scholars (for instance, DiGangi) have objected to making sodomy the sole focus of work on premodern sexualities. After all, other homoerotic and antinormative discourses and experiences are culturally significant. Alan Bray's *The Friend* (2003) traces the experience of homosexual friendship from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. Theodora Jankowski's *Pure Resistance: Queer Virginité in Early Modern English Drama* (2000) reads women's virginity as queerly resisting patriarchal marriage; in this resistance, it echoes the earlier practice of "chaste marriage" described by Dyan Elliott in *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (1993). The emphasis on sodomy also tends to privilege *male* sexuality, though the category of sodomy had an impact as well on defining and limiting female sexuality, as noted in several of the essays in Sautman and Sheingorn's *Same Sex Love and Desire among Women in the Middle Ages*. Lochrie, moreover, argues that there were medieval discourses of *female* sodomy that we should attend to, and her own work—both *Covert Operations:*

The Medieval Uses of Secrecy (1999) and *Heterosyncrasies* (2005)—examines medieval women's eroticism. In early modern studies, Valerie Traub's *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (2002) similarly calls attention to the complex discourses and experiences of female/female love, desire, and eroticism.

HISTORICAL RECONFIGURATIONS

Not all of the work of recovery, reclamation, and rereading just detailed identifies itself as queer. But all contributes to a larger queer project of understanding both the sexual norms of medieval/early modern culture and the ways in which the experiences of individuals and communities queerly exceeded those norms. Also crucial to this project is a political impulse to make the historical work of medieval and early modern studies pertinent for our twenty-first-century moment. Can understanding a queer past make queer lives in the present more livable? In Dinshaw's resonant formulation, can the past and the present *touch* each other queerly?

The answers offered to such questions have been complex and often contradictory—ranging from the assertion of direct continuities between the medieval and the (post)-modern to insistence on the unbridgeable alterity of present and past. For the most part, self-defined queer scholarship has, following Foucault, emphasized difference. Thus, Lochrie, in *Heterosyncrasies*, argues that even to talk of medieval "norms" or "normality" is anachronistic; that such categories are the product of the statistical thinking of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and that a dynamic of *norm* and *queer* deviations simply does not work in analyzing medieval material. But even those who strongly emphasize the premodern's alterity do so with the current moment at least partly in mind: to recognize how different sexual configurations were in the past is also to suggest how different they might become in the future. To argue, as Burger does in *Chaucer's Queer Nation*, that late-medieval marriage was radically changing destabilizes (queers) a hegemonic understanding of modern heterosexual marriage as unchanging and universal.

Burger also explicitly connects present and past queer-nesses, beginning his book by comparing Chaucer's "Miller's Tale" and its effects to John Preston's twentieth-century gay pornography. Dinshaw, in *Getting Medieval*, is consistently concerned with how medieval and post-modern "sexualities and communities" might touch each other. Goldberg's *Sodometries* takes up not only early modern materials but their resonances with representations of the Persian Gulf War (1991) and the U.S. Supreme Court sodomy decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1988). And Carla Freccero argues in *Queer/Early/Modern* (2005) that a sequential historicism of past, present, and future does not do justice to the operations of history, emphasizing

that the past continues, spectrally, to inhabit the present and to insist on new future configurations. Her readings move back and forth from Petrarch to Melissa Etheridge, sixteenth-century European colonial accounts of cannibalism to the anti-transgender violence of the Brandon Teena case.

The future of queer historicist work is itself unpredictable, but such experiments in bringing past and present to touch each other will continue, as queer scholars consider how their historical work matters in the present moment. And, as queer studies more generally moves to examine the intersections of sexuality with such other categories as gender, race, religion, class, and age, medieval and early modern work might also move in a similar direction. The scholarship of Jeffrey J. Cohen, Steven F. Kruger, Kim Hall, Dymphna Callaghan, and Madhavi Menon, for instance, begins to think through some of these intersections, but there is a need for further investigation.

SEE ALSO *Literature: II. The Study of; Queer.*

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RABELAIS, FRANÇOIS 1483–1553

François Rabelais, the sixteenth-century French Humanist, was born in Touraine near the city of Chinon between the years 1483 and 1494. An ordained priest and medical doctor, he accompanied, first, the cardinal Jean Du Bellay (1492–1560), and then Guillaume Du Bellay (1491–1543), governor of Piedmont, in their travels to Italy. His most important writings were published between 1532 and 1564. The novels, which were based on popular chronicles of giants from folklore, combined comedy and satire, scatology, and play with language to attack institutions, the monastic life, and the Scholastics in a multilayered fictional narrative. The first two books, *Pantagruel* (narrating the adventures of the son) and *Gargantua* (narrating those of the father), were published under the pseudonym of Maistre Alcofribas Nasier, an anagram of his name. Rabelais signed the *Tiers Livre* (1546) and the *Quart Livre* (1552), but the authorship of the *Cinquième Livre* (1564), posthumously published, remains uncertain. All five books were condemned by the Sorbonne, the parliament, and the Vatican, who added them to the index of forbidden books. Rabelais died in Paris in 1553.

Rabelais's work is at the junction of the Middle Ages (476–1350) and the Renaissance (1350–1600), incorporating characteristics of both periods. Although numerous critics have emphasized the misogynistic aspect of his writings as privileging the masculine, the instability of gender is nevertheless manifest in Rabelais's texts. If masculine dominance and symbolic violence seek, through visible signs of masculinity, to protect the male

body from the type of vulnerability it projects onto women and the female body, the masculine is destabilized through performativity and parody. Indeed, many episodes in his works expose a crisis in masculinity, blurring the markers of an identity determined in terms of the established gender order of the Renaissance.

In a period of transition Rabelais problematizes a certain status and position of women in society that makes evident a decentralized place of men in the universe. In 1985 Carla Freccero, one of the few feminists challenging the overwhelming masculinist Rabelais criticism, argued that, if women are, as it is commonly affirmed, absent, silent, or pale figures in Rabelais's work, it is because the homosocial bond between Pantagruel and his servant Panurge, in particular, is so strong. The two share a jealous and exalted friendship that excludes women and in which power and passion are interrelated. Françoise Charpentier's work (1986), by contrast, simply states that Rabelais's texts are centered on a genealogy of men asserting domination and exercising the power that their gender is invested with by the perceptions and structures of society.

The body is the obsessive and recurrent theme in all five books. Mikhail Bakhtine's (1970) study of Rabelais's work remains essential for the history of its relation to the body, to popular tradition, and the carnivalesque, but his analysis, oblivious to gender, views the feminine as univocal. His focus is on the grotesque body, a fragmented body associated with nature and related to the digestive and reproductive functions.

Yet beyond their reproductive capacities, women's insatiable sexual appetite are frightening and, furthermore,



François Rabelais. SPENCER ARNOLD/GETTY IMAGES.

threatening to male potency, calling into question male sexuality. In *Pantagruel*, Panurge suggests relying on female promiscuity to ensure the protection of Paris by using female genitals as building materials for a fortress that would not close the city but open it, one that would attract and repulse at the same time. Paradoxically, the fragmented women warriors would be defending the city by exposing themselves (Charpentier 1986).

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, bodies are still gendered to reflect social status and sexual identity. The oversized codpieces of Gargantua and Panurge, emphasizing a gender-specific silhouette, are deliberately conceived as the exterior form of the enhancement of a man's virility (Persels 1997). Yet such a hypermasculinity rather signals overcompensation for a lack thereof.

The popular episode of the assault on the body of the Lady of Paris is a prevalent farce of the period made famous by masculine readers. Panurge, encouraged by his previous sexual prowess, fails in his attempt to seduce a woman of different social status. Rejected, he transfers his desire onto a hyperbolic number of dogs he attracts by spreading the scent of a female dog on the woman's sumptuous dress. The dogs will then inscribe abjection all over her. Panurge supplants failure with revenge, but even though the misogynistic joke denounces in women a

sexuality that is irrepressible and hidden, it only masks Panurge's impotence.

The tradition of the *querelle des femmes* raging in France and Italy between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries is at the heart of the *Tiers Livre*. The construction of male gender identity emerges as the result of the misogynistic discourse representing the negative qualities attributed to women and the necessity to domesticate female desire. Panurge is the central figure of this episode, questioning the misogyny of the intellectuals of his time and the institution of marriage. He has abandoned his codpiece, a disproportionate sign of virility, and appears as a more ambiguous character, doubting everything in search of an answer to his quest.

In another register the medallion evidently placed on Gargantua's hat is an androgyn, with the two heads facing each other. Whereas it seems to derive from Plato's (428–348 BCE) image linking the physical and the spiritual, the ideal sought in the Renaissance, the figure in *Gargantua* is equivocal and rather represents the paradoxical relationship between spirit and flesh.

In the *Quart Livre*, the episodes of Quaresmeprenant and the Andouilles, related to the carnival period, are plagued with gender confusion. Rabelais continues his play and reflection on language to demonstrate the gaps between words and things they represent. Indeed, in this episode, beyond an obvious and literal phallic appearance, the Andouilles (chitterlings) have a feminine noun and live in a matriarchal system in which the name of the queen is that of the male organ in Hebrew.

Throughout the adventures and travels of Pantagruel and Panurge, sexuality, gender, and identity continuously intersect. As Lawrence Kritzman (1991) affirms, Rabelais's text depicts sexual difference as emanating from the difference of desires creating fictions of sexuality that investigate the very questions of male gender identity, a notion that appear no longer to be stable.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Folklore; Literature: I. Overview; Obscene.*

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RAFFALOVICH, MARC-ANDRÉ 1864–1934

Born into a Russian Jewish family on September 11, 1864, and raised in Paris, Marc-André Raffalovich moved to London in 1882, planning to attend Oxford but instead becoming an English writer and socialite as well as a contributor to the growing science of sexology. Raffalovich wrote five books of poetry and two novels as well as several plays, some coauthored with John Gray (1866–1934), whom he met in 1892. Because Gray was a literary protégé and perhaps a lover of Oscar Wilde (1845–1900), Raffalovich is known more for his connection to Gray and Wilde than for his literary and sexological work. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, Raffalovich was not only an English poet of some note but also one of the most prolific contributors to French studies of homosexuality.

His first collection of poetry, *Cyril and Lionel and Other Poems* (1884), was followed by four more volumes of vaguely homoerotic verse. Although his work may seem typical of the Uranian—a term adopted by homoerotic writers of late-nineteenth-century England to denote homosexual but more specifically, pederastic, love—writers of the 1880s and 1890s, Raffalovich demonstrates a surprising and subversive inventiveness. The most sensuous of his books, *Tuberose and Meadowsweet* (1885), includes the image of the decadent orchid of late Victorian writing and references to a love seen by others as *shame*, but it also cleverly revises the language of flowers, a traditional nineteenth-century discourse of heterosexual courtship. Raffalovich and Gray's play *The Blackmailers* (1894) toys with melodramatic associations of homosexuality and blackmail by tracing the growing relationship between a blackmailer and the young man he seduces into a life of crime.

It was as a contributor to French journals of sexual science, however, that Raffalovich played a role in the developing understanding of homosexual identity. In 1895 Raffalovich published two essays, "L'Affaire Oscar Wilde," a vituperative commentary on Wilde as

a corruptor of youth, and "L'Uranisme: Inversion Sexuelle Congénitale," a study of sexual inversion. Both were incorporated into the larger study *Uranisme et Unisexualité* (1896), which was published in a series of criminological studies. In 1897 Raffalovich became the editor of the "Annals of Unisexuality" in the journal of criminal anthropology *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, and he contributed to the journal until at least 1905.

In 1896, following Gray's example, Raffalovich converted to Catholicism, and after Gray finished his studies for the priesthood, Raffalovich moved to Edinburgh, Scotland, to live near his beloved friend. Raffalovich died there on February 14, 1934, followed in June by Gray.

In *Uranisme et Unisexualité*, Raffalovich argues that homosexuality is both congenital and natural. He specifically rejects the sexological model of sexual and gender inversion: the female soul in a male body. He insists that congenital homosexuals are not effeminate or cross-gendered *inverts* and proposes the term *unisexualité* to denote sexual attraction to someone of the same sex, a conceptualization closer to modern understandings of homosexual identity.

Raffalovich also offers a remarkable portrait of the psychosexual development and awakening self-awareness of the homosexual child. He argues that most *unisexuals* are born that way, and he retraces the fantasy life and erotic imagination of the gay child. In an attempt to map the physiological sensibilities of inversion, he suggests that there is a precocious association of pleasure with the smell of the male body.

Although Raffalovich argues for the normality of homosexual identity—neither a sin nor a crime nor a disease—he draws a distinction between orientation and behavior similar to that established in 1997 by the Catholic Church, which found orientation morally neutral but proscribed sexual behavior (Roden 2002). Raffalovich proposed a *sublime* form of homosexual identity, an emotional, spiritual, and nongenital relationship of the type some biographers insist he had with Gray, a relationship in which they were devoted to Christ and to each other.

In opposition to this figure of a spiritualized homosexual friendship, Raffalovich constructs Wilde as the figure of the criminal pervert, guilty of practicing sodomy and seducing youth. Both Gray and Raffalovich were haunted by their association with Wilde, terrified of being connected to the scandal of the Wilde trials, and the fact that Wilde was also a social and perhaps romantic rival colors Raffalovich's attack.

Because of his hyperbolic vilification of Wilde and his construction of superior and inferior forms of homosexual identity, modern readers may find "little in Raffalovich's argument that recommends itself to modern gay politics" (Hanson 1997, p. 321). However, in the

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ontext of late-nineteenth-century criminological and medical studies of homosexuality Raffalovich's work seems "radically prohomosexual" (Rosario 1997, p. 97), even "a radical text for its time" (Roden 2002, p. 182).

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Male, History of; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Ed Madden

RAPE

Defining the concept of rape is as complex as defining the crime itself. There are legal, clinical, moral, and political definitions of rape and sexual assault, and each jurisdiction varies in its classification of the offense. Although the law may be local, the incidence of rape is universal. Rape affects every socioeconomic and racial group and is not limited to assaults on women; men are victims too. Much research has been conducted to develop profiles of both the victims and the perpetrators of rape, but because of the complexities of the crime, those profiles provide only limited insight. With increased attention to rape prosecution and victim services in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, standardized procedures for evidence gathering, victim examination, and postrape victim assistance have been developed in most jurisdictions. Though states and localities have revised investigative measures and more services are available for victims of rape, there are still legal and cultural obstacles to the prosecution of rape crimes.

DEFINING RAPE

The researchers John O. Savino and Brent E. Turvey (2005) identify four categories of rape: legal, clinical, moral, and political. These broad divisions allow the inclusion of differing perspectives on how the American culture addresses this crime. The legal definition of rape is specific to each jurisdiction and is based on the local penal code, with the assistance of the courts. Broadly,

rape is a criminal offense in which a victim is coerced into and forced to perform sexual activities; this can include vaginal or anal penetration and oral copulation.

The CCM Definitions In an effort to standardize definitions the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) developed the *Crime Classification Manual* (CCM), in which the classifications of rape are based on the primary intent of the offender and the status of the victim (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Rape and sexual assault are divided into three categories in the CCM: adults, adolescents, and children. Adults are eighteen years of age and older and are capable of consent under the laws defining sexual activity, although exceptions may be made for persons with mental impairment or physical damage to the brain (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Adolescents are between the ages of thirteen and seventeen, and their ability to consent varies by jurisdiction (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Children are defined as individuals twelve years old and younger who in all jurisdictions are considered minors incapable of giving consent (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). The CCM includes eleven categories of rape and sexual assault, many with subcategories. These divisions illustrate the variety of rape crimes as well as the potential difficulty in prosecuting them.

Criminal enterprise rape is defined as coercion, abuse, or assault that is committed for material gain (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Felony rape is rape committed during the perpetration of a felony, and this crime is defined on the basis of whether the rape was primary or secondary. When the offender does not intend to rape the victim as the primary criminal act but another felony is the intention (e.g., robbery or breaking and entering), the rape that occurs is primary felony rape. Secondary felony rape occurs when rape is the primary intent of the offender, with a secondary felony also planned.

The third CCM category is personal cause rape and sexual assault. These crimes committed for personal causes are acts stemming from personal/psychological internal aggression, with the desired outcome being the sexual victimization of a known or unknown individual. Personal or emotional conflicts underpin the offender's behavior (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Domestic sexual assault is one of nine subcategories within personal cause rape and sexual assault and is defined as rape or sexual assault committed against a spouse, partner, or family member.

Entitlement rape, which includes social acquaintance, subordinate, power-assurance, and exploitative rape, is another subcategory under personal cause rape and sexual assault. Entitlement rape occurs when the

offender forces the victim to perform sexual activities as a result of various psychological motivations. The key factor in defining entitlement, anger, and sadistic rape is the amount of aggression exhibited by the offender (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). A number of acts can contribute to the classification of the degree of aggression displayed, including injuries greater than minor cuts, force exceeding that needed to attain the victim's compliance, specific acts during the crime (e.g., burning, mutilation, stabbing, choking), and desire or attempts to humiliate the victim (language used, use of feces or urine, forcing a male to observe or evidence of forced fellatio after sodomy) (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b).

Within the subcategory of entitlement rape is social acquaintance, or "date," rape, which is defined as rape that occurs between an offender and a victim with prior knowledge of or a relationship with each other. This crime often occurs on a date or can occur between a teacher and a student or an athlete and a coach, for example. Subordinate rape is defined by the relationship between the offender and the victim and is a crime involving subordination or an imbalance of power. The offender, who has power over the victim that is based on employment, education, or age, exploits that positional imbalance to take advantage of the victim. Power-reassurance rape is a sudden assault, often against an unknown victim, with little injury caused to the victim. Exploitative rape, or opportunistic rape, is an offense committed with little aggression but with great indifference toward the victim (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b).

Anger rape, another subcategory within personal cause rape and sexual assault, is defined by the primary motive of the offender: anger. This type of crime is driven primarily by impulse, and a high degree of aggression is displayed (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Within the category of anger rape, four subcategories are identified: gender, age, racial, and global. Gender rape is a crime committed by offenders who hate women and express their rage through rape. Anger rape with an age focus is a crime committed against a victim on the basis of the victim's age, typically involving a child or an elderly individual. Racial anger rape is rape motivated primarily by racial hatred. Global anger rape is committed by an offender who is angry at the world generally and displays a high level of aggression.

Sadistic rape is another subcategory of personal cause rape and sexual assault. The offender employs a level of violence that clearly exceeds that which is necessary to gain the victim's compliance. This level of aggression can cause injuries and even death to the victim. The victim's pain triggers the offender's sexual arousal. Abduction rape is also a category of personal cause rape and sexual assault. Abduction by a stranger occurs when an individ-

ual is transported in a vehicle, within a building, or farther than twenty feet for the purpose of the commission of a crime, in this case rape (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b).

Group cause rape and sexual assault constitutes another classification of rape within the CCM. This type of rape is committed by three or more offenders, whereas two offenders involved in the crime would be categorized under personal cause, and the motivation of the offenders typically varies. Included within group cause rape are formal and informal gang rape and sexual assault. Formal gang rape and sexual assault are committed by a group of three or more offenders who display a sense of cohesiveness and belong to a group that has some internal organizational structure and a name (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Informal gang rape and sexual assault, in contrast, are committed by three or more offenders who do not have an internal organization structure and are loosely organized, and this type of rape and sexual assault often occurs on the spur of the moment (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b).

Finally, the CCM identifies rape and/or sexual assault not classified elsewhere. This crime may exhibit characteristics of some of the categories listed above but does not fall easily into any one of those divisions.

The Clinical Definition These legal definitions differ from a clinical definition of rape in a number of ways; most important, the clinical definition approaches rape from a treatment-oriented perspective. Savino and Turvey (2005) note that clinicians define rape in treatment-oriented terms to gain a better understanding of the offender's pathology or to help the victim overcome the trauma of rape. This definition also focuses on the perceptions of the victim rather than the offender's intent (Savino and Turvey 2005). In clinical terms, rape or sexual assault is a form of sexual aggression that is not motivated by sexual desire.

Political Definitions Political definitions of rape stem from a particular political position or agenda and are advanced by specific groups such as offender or victim advocates, political parties, political movements, and religious institutions. These definitions often represent self-serving objectives that are based on a group's political position. Moral definitions of rape and sexual assault can be perceived as a particular type of political position. These various categorizations emphasize judgments (e.g., good, bad, right, or wrong) of the offender's actions and can be inflammatory. They can reflect anger or a need for retribution or revenge, and moral perspectives on rape and sexual assault often come from victims, advocates, or the media (Savino and Turvey 2005).

Myths about Offenders and Victims Undergirding these definitions of rape and sexual assault are numerous myths about the offender and the victim. A few of the prominent myths about rape offenders are the myth of the stranger, the myth of the loner, and the myth of uncontrollable arousal. The myth of the stranger remains a pervasive idea about the type of individual who perpetrates the crime of rape. This belief can be dangerous because it suggests that one is safe at home, in a car, or with people one knows. The stranger myth is refuted by rape statistics. According to the National Violence against Women Survey, only 14.1 percent of rape victims are attacked by strangers, whereas 76 percent of rapes and sexual assaults are committed by intimate partners. The statistics change somewhat when the victims are adolescents. The National Survey of Adolescents notes that 23.2 percent of rapes and sexual assaults against adolescents are committed by strangers and 73.7 percent of attacks are perpetrated by family friends, relatives, or nonrelatives who are known well by the victim (e.g., neighbors) (Savino and Turvey 2005, p.16).

The myth of the loner is linked closely with the myth of the stranger. The assumption here is that rape offenders are disenfranchised social outcasts, but studies indicate that the majority of offenders are in consensual relationships when they commit their crimes (Savino and Turvey 2005). Another myth is that of uncontrollable arousal. Everyone's brain chemistry, psychological pleasures, and pain associations are different, and varying degrees of sexual dysfunction occur during the commission of rape (Savino and Turvey 2005). Moreover, rape is not committed to satisfy sexual desire; instead, the offender is seeking to fulfill his or her need for power and control. In this sense rape is a pseudo-sexual act that is a means to achieve the offender's goals (Savino and Turvey 2005).

In addition to offender myths, false beliefs surround the behavior and characteristics of rape victims. A prominent myth is that the victim is responsible for arousing the offender and/or that the victim does not discourage the perpetrator from committing the crime. A victim's clothing or behavior is not an invitation to forced sexual activity. If an individual consents to some sexual activity, that consent does not cover all sexual activity; if the individual says "no" or "stop," that constitutes dissuasion. Additionally, a persistent myth is that if a victim takes drugs or alcohol, the ensuing attack is not rape or sexual assault. An individual under the influence of alcohol or drugs does not cause anyone to assault her or him. Many state laws note that individuals under the influence of alcohol or drugs are impaired and cannot consent to sexual activity. Moreover, offenders who employ drugs or alcohol to subdue a victim are committing a crime in addition to rape or sexual assault.

STATISTICS

Research on crime in the United States indicates a decline in the commission of most crimes, with the incidence rape and sexual assault remaining consistent. In fact, since 2000 FBI data show a 5 percent increase in rape crimes (National Coalition against Domestic Violence [NCADV] 2006). In the United States "1 in 5 women and 1 in 33 men have experienced an attempted or completed rape" (NCADV 2006). According to the National Violence against Women Survey, 76 percent of those who commit rape and/or sexual assault are intimate partners (current or former spouse, cohabitating partner, date, or boyfriend or girlfriend). Intimate partner rape and sexual assault often are linked with physical abuse; 68 percent of physically abused women report sexual assault within their intimate partner relationships (McFarlane and Malecha 2005). Marital rape, which is more specific than intimate partner rape and sexual assault, accounts for 25 percent of all rapes, and married women are likely to experience multiple rapes and/or sexual assaults before escaping from the abuse (NCADV 2006). In addition, individuals who are disabled or pregnant or have attempted to leave a relationship are at greater risk for being victims of intimate partner rape and sexual assault. Intimate partner rape and sexual assault are not limited to heterosexual relationships; the NCADV (2006) notes that 52 percent of the participants in a study of gay and lesbian sexual coercion indicated that they were victims of at least one sexual assault.

Although intimate partnership is the primary relationship in which this type of violence occurs, the most commonly affected demographic group is women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four, and 70 percent of the rape and sexual assault committed against teenage and college-aged women is perpetrated by an acquaintance or date (NCADV 2006). The National Center for Victims of Crime estimates that 5 percent of college women experience rape in a year and that 60 percent of rapes on college campuses occur in a casual or steady relationship (National Center for Victims of Crime 2006).

Sexual assault and rape in the college environment received increased attention in the first decade of the twenty-first century, and the Department of Justice produced a December 2005 report titled "Sexual Assault on Campus: What Colleges and Universities Are Doing about It." This report highlights the significance of rape and sexual assault on college campuses and also indicates how universities are complying with federal laws and providing resources to victims "unevenly." Moreover, the report notes the widespread underreporting of rape and sexual assault in this environment. The researchers focused on "whether schools have a written sexual assault

response policy; whether and how they define sexual misconduct; who on campus is trained to respond to reports of sexual assault; how students can report sexual victimization; what resources are available to victims; and what investigation and adjudication procedures once a report is made” are available (“Sexual Assault” p. 4, 6). These findings indicate the need for continued reform on campuses in a range of areas, such as the development of campus-wide sexual assault policies and efforts to increase reporting.

Women experience rape and sexual assault at a significantly greater rate than do men, but college-age men report unwanted kissing or fondling more than unwanted intercourse, and these advances generally are made by other men. However, most male victims do not report a rape or sexual assault, and so the statistics for this demographic are often unavailable (the FBI Uniform Crime Report does not report men as rape victims, for example). Researchers have begun to address men as victims of rape on college campuses in particular and have noted that men account for approximately 10 percent of rape victims (Sampson 2002, p. 3).

PROFILE OF A RAPE VICTIM

Any woman or man in any racial, socioeconomic, age, and sexual identity category can be a victim of rape despite the fact that the most commonly affected demographic group is teenage and college-age women. Most research on rape victims has focused on the effects of rape, such as rape trauma syndrome, but the existing research has not produced a definitive profile of a rape victim. Most likely this is the case because rape spans such wide cultural categories and because the complexities of the crime make it difficult to identify a single type of victim. For example, the type of abuse, event characteristics, offender pathology, the relationship between victim and offender, victim personality, and the victim’s response after the crime are all dimensions that define the crime of rape (Johnson and Sigler 1997). However, these factors offer investigators and prosecutors strategies for gaining insight into a particular crime, and this tool traditionally is called victimology, or the study of victims. By employing victimology, investigators can narrow the suspect pool and achieve a better focus for their case and develop a context for the crime.

Although the victims of rape vary and the crime circumstances are case-specific, the aftermath of rape for the victims has been researched and documented thoroughly. First, victims must decide to report the crime and involve the judicial system. This process requires the victims to convince law enforcement and prosecutors that a crime did occur; they also must convince prosecutors that the crime can be tried in front of a jury;

and they then must persuade a jury to convict the offender (Savino and Turvey 2005). Victims may encounter disbelief from friends and/or family members or scrutiny from the public, and that may affect the decision-making process.

Victims also experience rape trauma syndrome. Burgess and Hazelwood (2001a) describe rape trauma syndrome as having two phases—acute and long-term—and as being a syndrome of behavioral, psychological, and somatic responses to a life-threatening situation. The acute phase is described as disorganization, and victims respond emotionally and physically to the immediate impact of the crime. Physical responses can include disturbances of sleeping and eating patterns and symptoms specific to the area or areas that underwent physical trauma during the crime (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). Emotional reactions vary widely, but fear is the primary emotional response; that fear is typically of death, mutilation, and/or physical injury (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). Other emotional reactions noted by Burgess and Hazelwood include guilt, shame, humiliation, degradation, and embarrassment. After the acute phase of the syndrome, victims undergo the long-term process, which is defined as reorganization. A number of factors contribute to the way victims reorganize their lives, including personality, the support received after the crime, and how those they told about the rape responded (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a).

Burgess and Hazelwood (2001a) identify four lifestyle areas that frequently experience disruption as a result of rape: physical, psychological, social, and sexual. In the long term victims may experience physical problems in the areas of injury and gynecological and/or menstruation difficulties, such as chronic changes in menstruation patterns (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). The psychological reactions during the reorganization process often carry over from the acute phase, such as dreams and nightmares. Common psychological responses also include fears and phobias; fears develop as defense mechanisms, whereas phobias are frequently maladaptive (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). A victim’s social lifestyle can be affected in a variety of ways, including minimal social functioning. A common response is to seek support from family members regardless of geographical distance (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). Finally, victims can experience a fear of sex after a rape, and that fear can increase when a partner wants to return to a previous sexual pattern (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a).

One type of victim remains understudied: the male victim. Approximately 5 to 10 percent of all reported rape victims are men, and the demographic profile is typically heterosexual: White men in their early to

middle twenties and gay men are raped at higher rates than are heterosexual men (Scarce 2001). Most male victims are assaulted in or near their homes by heterosexual men they know, and multiple assailants are more prevalent in assaults on men than in those on women. Weapons are used more often against men than against women. Moreover, men are more likely to deny that a rape occurred. However, the effects are fairly similar because male victims can experience rape trauma syndrome, shame, guilt, anger, depression, and posttraumatic stress disorder.

PROFILE OF A RAPE OFFENDER

As with a rape victim, a specific profile of a rape assailant is difficult to construct because of the variety of personality types, *modi operandi*, and motives. Examining the range of *modi operandi* allows investigators to link unsolved rapes and sexual assaults and helps develop investigative leads on the offender's identity (Savino and Turvey 2005). Thus, *modi operandi* can offer a profile of the type of offender involved in a particular crime. Investigators can learn the involvement of the offender's choices, procedures, and techniques in the commission of the crime that could be characteristic of a particular profession, skill and/or trade, or realm of knowledge, including knowledge of the victim and knowledge particular to the crime scene, by studying *modi operandi* (Savino and Turvey 2005). *Modi operandi* behaviors can include the number of offenders, the amount of planning involved, the choice of location, the route selected, the use of weapon and/or restraints, surveillance of the victim, and items taken from the scene of the crime (Savino and Turvey 2005). A number of factors can influence the *modus operandi* of an offender, including educational or technical materials, trade or professional experience, criminal experience, prior contact with the criminal justice system, the media, and the offender's emotional state (Savino and Turvey 2005).

Savino and Turvey (2005) distinguish between motive and intent in analyzing an offender's motivation. Motive is defined as a general need, whereas intent is a specific plan or aim. By focusing on an offender's motive, investigators can limit the suspect pool to individuals with a particular motive, link unsolved rapes and sexual assaults on the basis of similar motives, and offer circumstantial information on an offender's identity and/or emotional state (Savino and Turvey 2005). Like *modi operandi*, motive can provide a profile of a particular offender involved in a crime.

A number of researchers have identified a range of rape offender motivational typologies that include power-reassurance (compensatory), power-assertive (impulsive,

exploitative, entitlement), anger-retaliatory (displaced aggression), and anger-excitation (sadistic) (Savino and Turvey 2005). Power-reassurance stems from an offender's doubts about prowess and desirability and involves nonaggressive behavior that serves to normalize the assault for the offender (Savino and Turvey 2005). Savino and Turvey (2005) note that the power-assertive typology involves nonlethal but aggressive behavior that stems from an offender's doubts about machismo, confidence, and masculinity, and the attack is typically an overt display of those characteristics. The anger-retaliatory motive satisfies an offender's rage through violent physical and sexual force (Savino and Turvey 2005). Finally, an offender can exhibit the anger-excitation typology, in which the victim's pain triggers the offender's sexual arousal (Savino and Turvey 2005).

According to U.S. Department of Justice statistics in a 1995 study (Greenfield 1997), 56 percent of offenders arrested for rape were white, 42 percent were African-American, and 2 percent were of other racial origin. The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) indicates that over 40 percent of rape offenders were thirty years old and older and that approximately one in eight was under eighteen years of age (Greenfield 1997). These statistics provide a broad picture of the types of individuals who tend to commit rape, but the study of *modi operandi* and motive offers better insight into rape offenders.

INVESTIGATION OF RAPE CRIMES

After the victim has decided to report a rape, law enforcement officials respond. There has been extensive revision to the response procedures for rape and sexual assault because of inconsistencies and errors in the past. Upon arrival, the first responders should assist the victim and provide aid if necessary, notify the appropriate agencies, secure the crime scene, protect the evidence, and establish the basic facts of the incident (Savino and Turvey 2005). These simple procedures begin the complex process of investigating the crime. Along with revisions of investigative procedures, sexual assault protocols have been established in all states to identify the specific needs and nuances of the rape victim and of the crime scene and evidence. Included in this protocol are procedures to be followed by first responders that include instructing the victim not to wash her or his hands, discard clothing, shower, or bathe in order to protect potential evidence (Savino and Turvey 2005). Also, the first responders should conduct an initial interview with the victim that not only gathers information but also takes into account the emotional state of the victim and is conducted with respect and courtesy.

The crime scene is not simply the place where the crime of rape occurred; it can include primary, secondary, and intermediate crime scenes, a disposal site, and the victim. A crime scene is the place where a criminal act has taken place and where evidence of the crime can be collected (Savino and Turvey 2005). In the case of sex crimes the victim's body and clothing constitute a crime scene. Investigators must establish all the scenes involved in the crime, and they often do this by retracing the interaction between the victim and the offender. Once the crime scenes have been identified, investigators, including crime laboratory technicians and police officers, must identify and collect evidence.

Physical evidence in sex crimes is integral to the prosecution of a suspect. In 1994 as noted by Savino and Turvey, Henry Lee identified four types of physical evidence: transient, transfer, pattern, and conditional. All four categories can be part of a rape or sexual assault. Transient evidence is temporary and can be changed or lost with time; it can include odor; temporary imprints and/or indentations in surfaces such as sand, snow, and ice; and burning candles or incense (Savino and Turvey 2005). Transfer evidence is produced by physical contact between persons and/or objects and can be traced back to the source by examining its physical, chemical, or biological properties (Savino and Turvey 2005). Transfer evidence may include or be found on finger or palm prints, tool marks, tracks or impressions, cigarettes, glass, plastic, rubber, paint, hair, fibers, weapons, and bodily fluids (Savino and Turvey 2005). Pattern evidence also is produced by contact between persons and/or objects but has distinctive characteristics; it may include finger or palm patterns, glass fracture patterns, footwear or footprint patterns, tire and/or skid marks, powder residue, fire burn patterns, and modus operandi patterns (Savino and Turvey 2005). Conditional evidence is generated by an action or event, and its presence provides direct evidence that an event has or has not occurred. Conditional evidence may include smoke from a fire, fire color or temperature, the location of an item, and locks and windows that have or have not been engaged (Savino and Turvey 2005). Biological evidence, which may be transfer or pattern evidence, is significant in investigating and prosecuting sex crimes. In these cases the most common biological evidence collected is blood, sweat, semen, sperm, hair, saliva, urine, and excrement (Savino and Turvey 2005). These pieces of evidence may be found on a number of surfaces, including the victim and the offender, and every object and surface at crime scenes can contain biological transfer evidence.

Because the victim herself or himself is a crime scene, processing evidence from the victim requires deliberate procedural attention, and until recently these standards varied greatly across jurisdictions. In the past rape and

sexual assault victims were transported to the emergency room, where they had to wait four to twelve hours for an examination. Once they were seen by a medical professional, they often had to wait an additional three hours. Evidence could be lost during that period, and the nurses and doctors were not trained in collecting evidence.

It is recommended that victims be examined within seventy-two hours of an assault, and if a victim does not report the attack immediately, the time needed to collect evidence becomes even more critical. As a result, the Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE) program was implemented and dictates the standards by which hospitals and medical facilities should attend to rape and sexual assault victims. A SANE professional is a specially trained nurse who is available around the clock to conduct rape and/or sexual assault examinations, and she or he will complete the medical legal examination within a specified time frame (Savino and Turvey 2005).

The SANE program represents a significant step in the standardization of rape and sexual assault examination and investigation protocols that has been established nationwide. The Joint Commission on Accreditation of Health Care Organizations requires emergency and ambulatory services to have standard procedures on rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence examinations and also requires those facilities to train staff in recognizing potential victims of those crimes (Savino and Turvey 2005). Those standards, specifically the implementation of the SANE program, have proved effective. SANE professionals can facilitate reporting and assist the victim in cooperating with the legal process, and they greatly reduce the time a victim must spend in the emergency room. Moreover, they generate better evidence collection because they are trained in this process and they assure that the examination is both medical and legal in nature (Savino and Turvey 2005).

SANE professionals administer the sexual assault medical evidentiary examination, and this aspect of the investigative procedure also has experienced standardization, beginning in California in 1987. The examination begins with the determination by the emergency room triage nurse whether there are any injuries that require immediate attention, and the emergency room physician room waits until the SANE professional or forensic examiner documents the injuries via photography and collects evidence to treat any non-life-threatening injuries (Savino and Turvey 2005). After triage is done and the victim's signed consent for the examination is obtained, the SANE professional conducts the complete examination, including the medical forensic interview; collects any evidence that may confirm recent sexual contact and show whether force or coercion was employed; and corroborates the victim's assault history provided at the

initial interview (Savino and Turvey 2005). More specifically, clothing and biological evidence may be collected, further examination and documentation of injuries may occur, preventive care for sexually transmitted diseases and evaluation of pregnancy risk may be administered, and crisis intervention will be offered. The SANE professional is also responsible for providing referrals for follow-up medical and psychological care (Savino and Turvey 2005).

The sexual assault examination can include testing for drug-facilitated rape and sexual assault. Part of the difficulty in prosecuting not only rape and sexual assault cases involving drugs but also the use of drugs in the perpetration of rape and sexual assault is the fact that the victim often has no recollection of the crime because of the effects of the drug. Attention has been paid to the use of Rohypnol and gamma hydroxybutyrate (GHB) in the perpetration of rapes and sexual assaults. However, many other substances have been detected in victims, such as ecstasy, cocaine, marijuana, opiates, muscle relaxers, and alcohol. In fact, the substances detected most commonly are alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, benzodiazepines (e.g., Rohypnol), amphetamines, and GHB. Most of these drugs have sedative effects that cause the user-victim to lose inhibitions, be more submissive, and ultimately lose consciousness (Savino and Turvey 2005). Many of these substances also can cause dizziness, nausea, impaired judgment, and confusion, and drugs such as Rohypnol and GHB can cause the victim to have partial or complete amnesia. In contrast to other types of rape or sexual assault cases, the victim may or may not have been a willing participant in previous acts of consensual sex with the offender or may have consented to or not consented to the use of drugs (Savino and Turvey 2005).

In addition to physical evidence, other types of evidence can include circumstantial evidence, which consists of facts or events that can implicate an individual in a crime, and eyewitness evidence, which consists of one or more persons who claim to have witnessed the crime or saw the suspect in the vicinity of the crime (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a).

RESOURCES AND VICTIM SERVICES

In the late twentieth century crisis centers offered little in the way of resources and services to victims of rape, but grassroots groups whose formation resulted from the activity of the women's movement ensured that victims had access to counseling and other modes of assistance (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). Contemporary hospitals and medical care facilities offer victim care services (VCS) and work in conjunction with the SANE and similar programs. Rape crisis services typically include a twenty-four-hour telephone hotline and Web resources,

advocacy to assist with the medical and legal systems, accompaniment to medical or legal appointments or court appearances, and post-rape/assault counseling (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). Counseling can be individual or done in a group setting. In the past counseling services were provided by trained volunteers, but more recently mental health professionals have been providing counseling services.

SEE ALSO *Prison, Detention and Correctional Institutions.*

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Michelle Parke

RAP MUSIC

Rap music, an element of hip-hop culture, is an oppositional form of expression that emerged in the United States in the late 1970s from postindustrial poverty, gangs, and violence. It has been criticized as a hyper-masculine space filled with braggadocio, sexism, and strict gender roles, and some of its content illustrates limiting roles for women. In rap lyrics and video imagery women often are framed as either sexually loose or virginal (the Madonna-whore dichotomy) and are accused of being lesbians (often considered bad and taboo in mainstream rap) or characterized as “Dear Mommas” (good mothers), baby mamas (money-hungry bad mothers), gold diggers, welfare queens, or “queens” (worthy of respect). However, negative views of womanhood do not prohibit women’s participation; instead, many U.S. and international female artists work within hip-hop culture to counter those stereotypes.

MISOGYNY IN EARLY RAP

Once accessed only on homemade mix tapes in the inner city, rap spread quickly through media outlets such as *Yo MTV Raps!* (aired from 1988 to 1995), presenting audiences with repetitive images of bikini-clad women. Early videos such as Sir Mix-A-Lot’s “Baby Got Back” (1992), which shows him standing atop mountainous brown derrieres, prompted many to question the intentions of rap toward women. Mix-A-Lot claimed his song as a celebration of full-figured brown women, but some drew connections to historical stereotypes of black women as hypersexual. A multitude of songs, such as NWA’s “A Bitch Iz a Bitch” (1989), Dr. Dre’s “Bitches Ain’t Shit” (1992), and Lil’ Wayne’s “Alphabet Bitches” (2006), call out “bad” women (as “bitches,” “tricks,” “hoes,” and “freaks”).

In response, politicians, including C. Delores Tucker and Tipper Gore, rallied unsuccessfully to get record companies to censor sexually explicit content that they claimed threatened the moral fabric of the nation. When the rap group 2 Live Crew faced obscenity charges in the 1990s, debates raged among scholars. Some argued that the music was a misogynistic assault on black women, and some, such as Henry Louis Gates Jr., defended rap as

“a form of ‘sexual carnivalesque’ with the potential to resist the pathologies of racism” (Crenshaw 1991).

SEXUALLY EXPLICIT RAP BY WOMEN ARTISTS AND IN COMMERCIAL MEDIA

Women rappers also release sexually explicit controversial rap. In November 1996 Lil’ Kim’s “Hardcore,” with a cover showing her with legs cocked open, and Foxy Brown’s “Ill Nana,” whose title track details her sexual prowess, both went multiplatinum. Kim’s single “How Many Licks” (2000), promoted by a provocative video of her likeness in the form of an anatomically correct sex doll, vividly details her sexual encounters with many men.

Commercial radio outlets continue to play songs commanding women’s complicity in heavy rotation. Tracks with imperative hooks such as “Back That Ass Up” (1998), “Shake Ya Ass/Shake It Fast” (2000), and “Move Bitch” (2001) have fostered booming record sales with little more than parental advisory stickers on the album covers. Black Entertainment Television (BET) launched the late-night program *Uncut* to show “dirty” versions of videos for those types of songs. It also aired *Tip Drill* (2003), which became famous for an ending in which Nelly swipes a credit card through a black woman’s buttocks, and that program sparked an intense reaction. After the airing, Nelly attempted to do a bone marrow drive for his ill sister at Spellman College, but students there demanded a forum to discuss his treatment of women. He refused and quietly canceled the event. Subsequently, *Essence* magazine launched a yearlong “Take Back the Music Campaign” featuring articles and nationwide town hall meetings to tackle stereotypes of black womanhood perpetuated by rap. *UnCut* was canceled in 2006.

RESISTANCE FROM FEMALE ARTISTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Mainstream women rappers such as Queen Latifah (her 1993 song “Unity” asks, “Who you calling a bitch?”), Lauryn Hill (her 1998 “Doo Wop (That Thing)” warns girls that some men want only sex), and Eve (her 1999 “Love Is Blind” is about domestic violence) produce music from women’s perspectives, countering some misogynistic rap. Independent artists such as Bahamadia (her 2005 “Commonwealth [Cheap Chicks]” for “stricken by poverty chicks, dollar store shoppers”) speaks to women who do not have or want all the material things portrayed on MTV and BET. The feminist performer Sarah Jones responded directly to sexist lyrics in “Your Revolution” (2001) by inverting popular lyrics into a feminist anthem. The song was played on community radio stations until a caller to Portland’s KBOO claimed to be

offended. Subsequently, Jones faced Federal Communications Commission indecency charges that the Supreme Court later overturned.

Resistance extends beyond rap with hip-hop activist organizations such as R.E.A.C.Hip-Hop, whose mission is said to be to “represent[s] education, activism, and community” (R.E.A.C.Hip-Hop 2006). In the 2000s that organization successfully led campaigns (one demanded that radio stations “cease and desist use of the N word and all racial and gender-based slurs”) that caused millions of dollars in lost revenue for corporate holders.

Nevertheless, commercial markets saturated with sexually explicit and racially charged content, such as pimp, stripper and pornographic culture, continued to air with little recourse. Snoop Dogg’s 2003 strut down the red carpet at the *MTV Awards* showed him escorting two leashed black women wearing leather collars and later was animated for an MTV2 show. Three Six Mafia’s “It’s Hard Out Here for a Pimp” (2005), which chronicles the struggles of a black pimp trying to “make change off these women,” was awarded the 2006 Oscar for best song; that was the first time rap was performed at the Academy Awards. In the same year Kim Osorio, former editor of the self-proclaimed “Hip-hop Bible,” *The Source Magazine*, won a sexual harassment lawsuit and a \$14.5 million settlement, a landmark for women in the rap industry.

In the early years debates over sexism in rap centered on discussions of how many times a song used the word *bitch*, but they soon grew in complexity to examine the misogynistic images of rap videos, the lyrics of female rappers, the effects of rap on young women, video programming and access to content, parental responsibility, and artistic freedom of expression. Much rap continues to perpetuate stereotypes of womanhood in corporate and independent outlets. Videos, magazines, films, fashion, liquor, advertisements, and corporate branding distribute sexually charged and racialized images, feeding popular discourse and imaginations about the lives of people in the black and brown community. With increasing activism, education, hip-hop feminism, and alternative methods of distribution, many people have organized politically, socially, and economically in the academy, online, and on the streets.

SEE ALSO *Censorship*.

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Rachel Raimist

REICH, WILHELM 1897–1957

Wilhelm Reich’s ideas developed from an emphasis within Freudian circles on the central role of genital sexuality in mental health to an apotheosis of the orgasm (more precisely, the energy manifested in the orgasm) as the vital energy of the universe. His career began with a leading position in the early psychoanalytic community. When it ended he considered himself and was considered by his followers to be a misunderstood genius. But by then both the scientific and psychoanalytic communities considered him a crackpot.

As with his mentor Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), Reich came from a German-speaking Jewish family in the Austrian Empire, in Reich’s case from Galicia. After service in World War I, Reich studied medicine in Vienna where he was rapidly drawn into the young psychoanalytic movement. A rising star, Reich was named technical director at Freud’s Vienna polyclinic in 1924 and in 1927 to the executive committee of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society.

Reich extended the master’s teachings in two areas. The first, character analysis, gave priority to the patient’s resistances and the ways in which they constituted a character type. The second concerned the centrality of what Reich called *orgastic potency*. More than climax the Reichian orgasm had to be infused with mutual tenderness and sensuality. It should be produced by slow continuous friction between penis and vagina, and the simultaneous mutual climax should result in a momentary loss of consciousness and be accompanied by involuntary muscular contractions throughout the body. Such orgasms were essential to mental health, were the goal of therapy, and marked the difference between *genital* and *neurotic* personalities.

In the early twenty-first century, Reich's embrace seems narrowly heteronormative (Sharaf is probably right to impute latent homophobia to Reich) (1994, pp. 390–391; cf *Fascism*, pp. 92–93, 138). Reich's positions shocked both psychoanalytic sensibilities and theories. Freud did trace neurosis to unresolved childhood sexual conflicts, but he also saw the sublimation of the sexual drive as the source of all culture and civilization. In Reich's system the sole primary instinct was life affirming whereas the master had recently added an independent, and contrary, death instinct. Theoretical and personal clashes effectively expelled Reich from the international psychoanalytic movement in 1934.

By then Reich had also been distinguishing himself from his fellow therapists by his *sex-political work*. This was information and propaganda in favor of birth control, abortion, and sexual freedom directed to working-class youth, in conjunction with the left wing of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party in Vienna, until his expulsion in 1930, and with the Communist Party in Berlin until Reich was expelled from that party in the moment of Hitler's rise to power in 1933.

Reich broke with Communists and other Marxists by concluding, as early as 1934, that the explanation of fascist success resided in personality dynamics, prefiguring the idea of the authoritarian personality. For Reich, Fascism, and especially Nazism, exploited and redirected the energy blocked by sexual repression. By the end of World War II Reich (citing German political philosopher and writer Friedrich Engels [1820–1895]) extended his argument backward to the origins of patriarchal society, whose inequalities were based on confiscated sexual energy.

Leaving Germany Reich found his way to Norway in 1934 and the United States in 1939. He also migrated toward natural science, first by studying what he considered the bionic energy of orgasm and then claiming to have discovered bions, inorganic particles that spontaneously changed into organic forms (scientists have never accepted his claims). Reich's most important innovation came with his discovery of the orgone (accepted only by his followers) in 1940. He first spotted orgone energy as a bluish light emitted by his bions, then in a darkened room without the bions. Eventually, seeing orgones between the stars at night, he concluded not that they were an illusion, but that they were a universal cosmic energy linking inanimate matter, organisms, and the world of sexuality (through the orgasm).

Between 1942 and 1949 Reich built a residential and scientific center in Maine, which he named Organon, and where he worked and taught as a kind of cult leader. Reich became convinced that orgone energy could be concentrated in specially designed boxes called

orgone accumulators and that exposure to this energy had medical benefits, especially against cancer, which Reich described as "living putrefaction of the tissues due to the pleasure starvation of the organism" (Sharaf 1994, p. 306). A disastrous experimental combination of radium with orgone energy in 1950 convinced Reich of the existence of a negative orgone energy (or DOR for Deadly ORgone), which was now the cosmic evil to orgone's good biological energy, and which was associated with the dangers of nuclear war.

In 1954, after several years of investigation, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) won a court injunction against the sale or promotion of orgone accumulators, considered bogus medical treatment. Reich's defenders insisted that the FDA's scientists had not tested the accumulators correctly. In 1956 Reich was convicted of violating the injunction by continuing to promote accumulators and was imprisoned in 1957. He died within the year, convinced that President Dwight Eisenhower (whom he supported in the Cold War) would come to his aid.

A few short years after Reich's death in disgrace, his name—and even more, his ideas—were revived in the hippie and sexual liberation movements in their association (*make love not war*) of authoritarianism, inequality, and militarism with sexual repression, as well as in the utopian dream that open sexuality could redeem humanity.

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Allen Douglas

RELIGION, STUDY OF

It is commonplace to view gender as a social construction, created and perpetuated by social institutions and structures where male and female roles and behaviors are assigned and performed according to a set of assumptions about a "natural" order, biological exigencies, or divine ordination. Religion, in its broadest sense understood as systematized and communal belief and practice, has been one of the main means historically through which gender construction has been both undertaken and maintained. In many ways, religion constitutes a discursive practice, which, in Foucauldian terms, is a rule-governed set of statements in which a community creates and articulates what it agrees to be knowledge or truth and which are

regulated through a variety of procedures such as prohibitions and taboos, forms of authorization, specialization, exclusory classification, and so on (see Foucault 1981). To view religion as a discursive practice, therefore, and to examine the ways in which it participates in the construction of gender, is to investigate those religious procedures and practices that determine, regulate, and sanction the meanings and values of gender categories.

There are a variety of means that religious traditions use to construct gender, and these are discussed briefly here with regard to the broad categories of religious authority, religion and corporeality, and religious identity, before an examination of how the academic field of religion and gender has sought to investigate the ways in which religious traditions as well as the field of religious studies have understood gender.

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

Religious authority is established and wielded through a variety of means—sacred texts deemed to be the direct revelation of a deity in theistic traditions, the teachings of a tradition's founder, or the ancient writings of ancestors, a priestly hierarchy or charismatic leader, communal tradition, and personal experience. Each form of authority has implications for gender roles and identities both with regard to the ways in which various gender constructions are sanctioned and the extent to which the different sexes have access to that authority. Very generally speaking, women are usually excluded from holding positions of authority within most religious traditions that fall under the category of "established religion," for example Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, and so on. "New" religious movements (NRMs), however, often place fewer restrictions on women's access to religious authority and indeed regularly encourage women to take a central role—for example Wicca, which explicitly resists conventional forms of religious authority and promotes women's full participation and leadership. Pagan traditions such as Wicca often either play down the importance of gender for the spiritual path or suggest that the sexes are complementary and reflective of the balance of the cosmos (see Palmer 1994).

Sacred texts and religious leadership have tended to be the paradigmatic means of gender construction in established religions. Within the monotheistic traditions of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, a number of gender idealizations are offered through their central texts and reinforced through their leadership structures. However, their orthodox forms each sanction basic scriptural accounts of gender differences on either a sex-complementarity or gender-polarized model. As such, the basis of the difference between males and females is viewed to be a form of divinely ordained (and indeed created)

biological essentialism that is then extended to mandate gendered roles, abilities, and forms of religious participation. Moreover, although the presence of women in religious texts is often marginal, they are often portrayed in negative ways—as a source of temptation, sexually loose, cunning, weak-willed. Nontheistic traditions such as Buddhism (in its various forms) present gender in a variety of ways—ranging from the irrelevancy of gender to the idea that biological sex is crucially important—all of which, however, are concerned with the extent to which the adherent's gender enables or hinders the achievement of enlightenment.

RELIGION AND CORPOREALITY

Gender and biological sex are often conflated in many religious traditions, an aspect that becomes especially clear when considering different religious attitudes toward corporeality. Men are often exempted from an association with the body; they are usually deemed more spiritual than women, and consequently their religious identities are rarely categorized—as women's are—in terms of their sexual function. Women's bodies, in contrast, are with striking regularity in many traditions viewed as problematic—either dangerous, a source of pollution, or indicative of a lower order of being—and this seems to be because of the association made between femininity, fertility, and sexuality. The sexually controlled (married or chaste) or asexual woman is often portrayed as a spiritual ideal—the Virgin Mary, for example—and is contrasted with the sexually active woman—Mary Magdalene. Within Brahmanical (orthodox) Hinduism, women are considered inherently wicked and polluting, and their spiritual practice must be directed toward the redemptive path of submissive wifehood. They must treat their husbands as akin to gods and undertake religious rituals solely for their benefit and that of their male kin.

The fear of female bodies is expressed and managed in numerous ways. In Confucianism, orthodox Judaism, Shinto, and Brahmanical Hinduism, taboos are placed on sexual activity during menstruation and seclusion is advocated in the period shortly after childbirth. Women's sexuality is viewed as especially dangerous (or in the context of Tantric Buddhism and Hinduism, as singularly powerful) by most established religious traditions and is often used as an excuse for preventing women from participating in religious leadership and for insisting on their modest dress and even confinement in the home. Moreover, women's sexuality is frequently equated with an inherent immorality and evil. As Sara Maitland argues with regard to some forms of Christianity, "female sexuality is always dangerous and usually wicked. It is not just self-destructive; it is dangerous to men" (1987, p. 132). Women's sexuality and their bodies are not only considered to be potentially polluting or dangerous, but also to

be a source of shame and wickedness. In the Digambara sect of the Jain tradition, whose practice includes wandering nude in public for spiritual merit, women are considered to be unable to overcome their sense of shame and are by implication unable to embark on the ascetic life that is the prerequisite for spiritual liberation.

Finally, women are sometimes encouraged to abuse their own bodies, submitting themselves to often extreme forms of mortification. This was a particular feature of medieval Christianity in Europe, serving to enforce the conflation of femininity with sinful corporeality and the particular need of women to overcome their inherent natures in order to pursue a spiritual path.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND EXPERIENCE

Despite the negative aspects of religious attitudes toward the female body, many women find much fulfillment and opportunity within all religious traditions. Moreover, despite the overwhelming tendency of religions to be dominated by men, many women have contributed much to their development and vibrancy, and indeed cooperate with and support many of the gender idealizations they promote. There are a variety of religious roles and functions open to women within the world's religions—as lay women (by far the most common form of religious participation in most religions), as adepts or religious professionals, as wives or daughters of religious leaders, or as religious leaders in their own right. Female religious adepts are a feature of most religious traditions, whether as Jewish rabbis, Anglican priests, shamans, Buddhist nuns, Zen masters, or Hindu renunciates, but these possibilities have usually been achieved only after a long period of struggle and at considerable cost to those who pursue this path. Because of the tendency of most religious traditions to promote fairly conservative and restrictive models of gender, many women who have been influenced by the women's liberation movement have chosen to leave their religious traditions and to develop female-centered forms of religiosity, which has resulted in the Goddess Spirituality Movement. This movement celebrates the Great Goddess, who is manifest in her myriad forms, as the source of a positive and holistic female identity and seeks to ameliorate the effects of patriarchy in the world. Other women have chosen to remain within their traditions and to seek to reform them by searching for models of gender within their sacred texts that promote a more equitable balance between the sexes.

RELIGION AND GENDER AS A FIELD OF STUDY

The invisibility of religious studies within women's and gender studies curricula and anthologies has been long

remarked upon (see King 1995, p. 219–220), and this marginalization can be attributed to the prevalent assumption among feminists and gender-critical theorists that religion has little to offer women and indeed is one of the paradigmatic sources of women's oppression. As the scholarly literature that has emerged from the areas of gender studies and religion and feminist theology attests, however, women can be, probably should be, and certainly have been involved in an intense and creative dialogue with a variety of religious traditions in order to challenge and transform them in such a way that their life-affirming potential is made available for women and men equally.

Four main preoccupations characterized early work in the field: First, scholars exposed the androcentrism and misogyny of many religious traditions historically; second, women as active agents of religious practice and study, and gendered identities more broadly, were identified as a legitimate category of analysis, with women's experiences being promoted as a credible and corrective hermeneutical tool; third, new forms of female-centered religiosity were explored; and finally, epistemological and methodological tools derived from feminist theory were developed in order to challenge the androcentric bias of mainstream scholarship in the areas of theology and religious studies.

The field of religion and gender has shifted from a women-centered approach to one that considers gender to be a central category for critical reflection. Studies exploring the connections between gender and religion have multiplied since the 1990s, the most influential being Ursula King's volume *Religion and Gender* (1995), which critiqued the gender-blindness of the field of religious studies, offered gender-critical perspectives on the empirical study of women in a variety of religious traditions, and assessed new directions in feminist spirituality.

Studies of masculinity and religion have begun to appear, offering a comprehensive and provocative insight into male experiences within specific and varying religious formations. Issues regarding sexuality and religion have also received increasing attention, building on the earlier work of gay and lesbian theologians, with explorations extended to issues of embodiment and corporeality, theoretical reflections drawing on the insights of gay/lesbian and queer theory, discussions of the place of GLBT identity within religious traditions, queer perspectives on the academic study of religions, and studies plotting the intersections of race, sexuality, and gender. Gender-theoretical reflections aiming to transform the conceptual foundations of Religious Studies have also been a predominant theme, and have demonstrated a refined and impressive grasp of a broad range of epistemological

theories brought to bear on the analysis of the discursive ideologies operating in field.

However, the most important contributions have been initiated by postcolonialist scholars who are critical of the ethnocentrism of scholarship in the field of gender and religion. Their interventions have paralleled broader debates regarding the colonialist legacy of religious studies (see McCutcheon 1997, King 1999, and Fitzgerald 2000) and have charged gender-critical scholars with complicity in the social, political, and epistemic violence that has been exercised by the West toward non-Western cultures. Research challenging Western gender-critical scholars to investigate fully and reflect upon the relationship between scholarship and the ethics of representation from the perspective of non-Western “others” proliferated around the turn of the twenty-first century, and Western scholars are beginning to respond to these critiques. Ursula King and Tina Beattie’s volume *Gender, Religion, and Diversity* (2004) is testament to a new willingness to engage in dialogue and to learn from the perspectives of non-Western gender-critical scholars. It is clear, however, that much work remains to be done, and it is likely that this area will see a considerable expansion in the years to come.

SEE ALSO *Buddhism; Catholicism; Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Confucianism; Hinduism; Islam; Shamanism; Zoroastrianism.*

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Sian Hawthorne

RENAISSANCE

In the medieval period, few women described women's lives; mostly, the record was written by men, expressing men's perception. In *The Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer's Wife of Bath in looks at a picture of a lion defeated and asks a rhetorical question, "Who painted the lion?" If the lion—or the woman—were to tell the story, it would look very different. The pattern of misogyny this question registers, which characterized the Renaissance as well as the Middle Ages, was backed by ecclesiastical authority and founded in attitudes towards women in texts by biblical and patristic authors. St. Paul affirmed women are inferior beings, to be endured for procreative reasons; the theologian Tertullian argued that a woman was "a temple built over a sewer" and "the gateway to the devil." In effect, women are either the occasion of temptation and pollution, like Eve, or the embodiment of virtue and purity, like the Virgin Mary. Such symbolic figures supported a great many of the disciplinary practices that regulated women's moral lives and their relationships with men.

Women were characterized and largely controlled not in relation to their natural capacities (although medical tradition conceived of women as imperfect men, by nature incapable of higher-level thought and rationality), but according to a set of views that denied they were capable of entering fully into human culture, other than the culture of the household or family. By 1400 core beliefs

about women's roles, centered on their common experience as wife, mother, or daughter, had been elaborated in pastoral texts and pedagogical literature, constructing a gender typology defining women in relation to marital status: unmarried, wife, widow. This three-fold division was extraordinarily tenacious, dominating the medieval and Renaissance centuries, classifying women on the basis of sexuality (chastity being taken as the supreme spiritual virtue) and largely ignoring social categories that were crucial to the representation of male experience.

Despite the general cultural silence to which women were consigned, the turn of the fifteenth century saw the emergence of an author, in whom women found the voice Chaucer's Wife missed: Christine de Pisan (1363–1431), sometimes called Europe's first feminist. Widowed, she supported herself and children as, in effect, the first female professional writer. Her most notable work, *La cité des dames*, promoted women and their virtues and resisted male assault. Pisan here participated in the contemporary *querelle des femmes*, offering a visionary society of "women worthies" in demonstration of women's excellence. Nevertheless, her city of ladies affirmed virtues that were accredited by tradition as well as Church-sponsored belief: chastity, humility, and feminine decorum. Furthermore, in line with a typical history, for all her contemporary impact her work was soon out of circulation, only re-emerging in the twentieth century.

At law, women were generally subordinated to male authority and their property taken into men's hands. Law, then, was both gendered theory and its practical instrument. Insistence upon the importance of marriage contributed to women's exclusion from public life, since, subject to her husband, she could not be trusted to act independently; in many areas of Europe, indeed, she could not be personally sued or charged with a crime, and, correlatively, needed her husband's approval to go to law. Dower and the limited property freedoms of the widow served to protect women's independence to some degree; city law codes could even allow married women to define themselves for commercial purposes as *femme sole*, entitling them to enter into contracts; but such independence was constantly under attack through the course of the Renaissance. If women were always accorded secondary status at law, the larger European movement toward assimilation of local codes to Roman Law confirmed a woman's lack of legal responsibility. This pattern of restriction extended into women's commercial life. Women had dominated many areas of commercial activity (city markets in Poland, for instance), and productive labor early in the period, but progressively lost their few rights in organizations like craft guilds that normally consolidated and defended the rights of the productive classes.

Despite legal limitations, many women, like Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) and Margaret of Navarre (1492–1549), won renown as great political leaders. In general, however, women occupied positions of power that accrued to the household, as the heads of great secular or religious estates, or informally through their proximity to great men in royal and aristocratic courts. Although high-born women were not taught in the language of the church and higher education—Latin—a surprising number received an education in the classics, like their brothers. The training that marked the upbringing of women like Elizabeth I was a positive consequence of humanist ideas (promoted by scholars like Erasmus [1469–1536] and Juan Luis Vives [1492–1540]) which insisted that sexes were “equally suited for knowledge of learning by which reason is cultivated,” as Sir Thomas More (1478–1535) maintained.

If many women were educated to a degree, their education was of a practical nature to assist in managing household business, including, in pious households, the reading of devotions written with women in mind. On the whole, women’s capacity to read far exceeded their capacity to write; vigorous family politicians like the Paston wives—especially the matriarchs, Agnes (1405–1479), Margaret (1420–1484), and Margery Brews (d.1495)—read and composed the letters that passed through their households, but seldom even signed letters written in their names. In this area, as in others, a woman’s success tended to distinguish her from her sex, making her more like a man. Jean de Gerson (1363–1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris, called Christine de Pisan *insignis femina, virilis femina*; the same could be said of a great political figure like Elizabeth I, who fused to her man-like capacity for learning a public virility in the face of national enemies, paradoxically conjoined with a triumphant virginity that suggested she was the bride of her people.

Many aristocratic women were significant patrons of learning and the learned, writers, painters, and the arts. On the whole, however, women were urged to be submissive and modest in their relations to men. When women wrote, their writing tended to be modestly minor, confined to specific, gender-determined modes and topics: spiritual autobiography, epitaphs, panegyrics, moral and family life. In general, then, silence was the rule and a woman wrote freely only where, because of the character and scale of her household (whether religious or secular), she was guaranteed an audience. One should not forget, however, Louise Labé’s (c. 1525–1566) firm resolve: “And if any woman becomes so proficient as to be able to write down her thoughts, let her do so, and not despise the honour, but rather flaunt it instead of fine clothes, necklaces and rings.”

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Claudia Marquis

RENAULT, MARY 1905–1983

Mary Renault, born Eileen Mary Challans on September 4 in London, is best known as a writer of historical fiction. Educated at Clifton High School in Bristol and at Oxford University, she trained as a nurse in Oxford at the Radcliffe Infirmary, where, in 1933, she met fellow nursing student Julie Mullard, who became her lifelong companion.

From 1936 through 1945, Renault combined nursing with writing, publishing her first novel, *Purposes of Love*, in 1939. At the end of World War II, Renault gave up nursing to write full-time, and in 1948 she and Mullard immigrated to South Africa, where they lived for the rest of their lives. Renault died in Cape Town on December 13, 1983.

Renault’s early fiction, set in 1930s and 1940s England, borrowed from her nursing experience in its depiction of doctors, nurses, and writers struggling to find sexual fulfillment despite damaging childhoods and cultural constraints. A lesbian who disliked defining herself in terms of such categories, Renault became known for her sympathetic depictions of characters with unconventional, often ambiguous gender identities and sexual orientations. A number of her women characters feel themselves to be misplaced in their female bodies; a lesbian relationship is at the center of *The Friendly Young Ladies* (1944); and *The Charioteer* (1953), set in a World War II hospital, focuses on the efforts of a young soldier to lead a fulfilling homosexual life.

The Charioteer was a turning point for Renault. Her last nonhistorical novel, it draws its title from Plato’s *Phaedrus*, a dialogue about love in which the soul is compared to a charioteer who must control his two horses, one tending toward self-control, the other toward



Mary Renault. AP IMAGES.

self-abandon. Plato's homoerotic idealism appealed to Renault, whose next book—and first historical novel—*The Last of the Wine* (1956), is set in fifth-century Athens and is narrated by Alexis, an admirer of Socrates, whose passionate and finally consummated love for his friend Lysis draws him toward excellence.

Throughout the remainder of her career Renault set her novels in environments in which, because homoeroticism was the norm, men's love for each other could flourish. For Alexis, for Nikeratos in *The Mask of Apollo* (1966), and for Alexander in *Fire from Heaven* (1969), such love allows them to realize their best selves. Only Theseus (in *The King Must Die* [1958] and *The Bull from the Sea* [1962]), living in a much earlier, legendary Greece, is primarily heterosexual.

Renault's work has stirred controversy. During her lifetime there were rumors she was herself a man; since her death, critics have worried that her admiring depictions of the male body, her self-hating women, and her triumphant, insistently patriarchal Theseus reinforce essentialist, heterosexist, and phallogocentric views of the body. Ultimately, however, Renault's treatment of the body disrupts such dichotomized notions of gender and sexuality and destabilizes the phallus as a marker of sexual difference. Renault's first-person male narrators work as a kind of mask that signals masculinity even as it hides the

body in which gender is supposedly grounded. Her many dually gendered and/or bisexual characters suggest that both gender and desire are far more various than any set of categories can suggest. Finally, Renault's attention to bodily mutilation and to male genitalia, which are the focus of fascinated attention from onlookers, yet ultimately elided from textual depiction, creates doubt as to who, in fact, has a phallus and who does not.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Literature: I. Overview; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Ruth Hoberman

RENT BOY

Rent boy, or rentboy, is a term that is used to describe a particular type of male prostitute. It refers primarily to young men (although its use extends to male prostitutes of all ages) who have sex with men. The term originated in Great Britain, Ireland, and New Zealand and originally was applied to a male prostitute who was both young and working-class. Middle-class and upper-class male prostitutes more commonly would have been called escorts, and older male prostitutes would have been referred to as hustlers. The rent boy was almost exclusively a street worker who charged low rates for his service. Although the term retains its original meaning, it has gained a certain cachet within the sex-worker community and sometimes is appropriated by higher-end male prostitutes who wish to provide a rough trade fantasy to their clients.

The most famous use of the word was by Thomas Swinscow, who admitted in 1895 to having worked as a rent boy in a London male brothel. The subsequent investigation, called the Cleveland Street Scandal, implicated high-ranking officials. Rumors circulated for decades that the prince of Wales was involved in the scandal, and

Reproduction (Procreation)

records released in 1975 confirmed that, although they did not conclude that he was a patron of the brothel. The public outcry over the scandal was partly responsible for the prosecution of Oscar Wilde that year on charges of gross indecency. Victorian morality could not accommodate the existence of rentboys, and rejection of the practice led to a general increase in homophobia.

SEE ALSO *Homophobia*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

REPRODUCTION (PROCREATION)

Reproduction is the creation of a living being from the material of previously living beings. It is a process common to all living entities—to plants, animals, microorganisms, and fungi. One central definition of life itself is the ability to make more life—to reproduce.

There are several processes by which living organisms reproduce themselves. Many organisms, especially simpler organisms, can reproduce in many different ways. More complex organisms, such as mammals, can only reproduce sexually.

Reproductive processes are divided into two main categories distinguished by whether or not an organism can reproduce itself by itself. Asexual reproduction occurs when organisms reproduce themselves without any genetic contribution from another organism. The offspring produced through asexual reproduction are genetically identical to the parent. Sexual reproduction occurs when the genetic material of two different organisms fuses to form offspring. These new organisms are genetically different from their parents.

ASEXUAL REPRODUCTION

Modes of asexual reproduction include fission, budding, the production of gemmules, regeneration, fragmentation, the formation of rhizomes and stolons, and parthenogenesis. New organisms produced asexually are clones, formed from existing cells that have a full complement of chromosomes. The cells involved in most modes of asexual reproduction have divided by mitosis, a mode of cell

division in which the original cell's complement of two sets of chromosomes appears in the new cell.

Bacteria and yeasts often reproduce by fission, or by cell mitosis where one cell copies its chromosomes and divides in half. Yeasts and hydras reproduce by sprouting “buds” or protrusions, which break off and form new organisms. Sponges produce small internal buds called gemmules, which, when released into the environment, produce new individuals. Planarians can produce new individuals when broken into fragments in a process called fragmentation. Each fragment grows into a new adult. Starfish can produce new starfish from pieces broken away from a single individual in a process called regeneration. Some plant species such as lilies and grasses can reproduce asexually through the production of rhizomes, corms, tubers, and bulbs (extensions or budding of root material). Strawberries can produce new plants by means of stolons or stems that branch away from the main plant and take root in the ground.

Some fishes, some insects, and some frogs and lizards can reproduce via unfertilized eggs in a process called parthenogenesis. Eggs, which are produced through a process called meiosis, contain only half the number of chromosomes as a normal cell. These eggs develop into adults, though sometimes, as in honeybees, the unfertilized eggs can develop only into males or drones. Some insects, such as aphids, reproduce through parthenogenesis when conditions are good, permitting a rapid increase in population.

The advantages of asexual forms of reproduction are that an individual's entire genetic code is reproduced without change through a fairly simple process of cell division that uses less energy, requires less time, and does not require a partner. Asexual reproduction is rapid and can produce many offspring in a short time, enabling organisms to colonize a new environment or increase populations when conditions are good. Its disadvantages are that the genetic pool of species reproducing asexually stays the same. If a bad mutation appears or conditions change, the organisms are unable to produce genetic variety that might enable better survival through the natural selection of advantageous genes.

SEXUAL REPRODUCTION

Many organisms that can reproduce asexually can also reproduce sexually. Bacteria and other single-celled organisms can also reproduce via a process called conjugation in which the genetic material of two individual cells is reshuffled to produce a third, new individual with a different set of genes than either of its parents. Plants, insects (such as aphids), and other animals (such as starfish), also reproduce sexually by producing sex cells, or gametes, which have only the same number of chromosomes as

a normal cell. Gametes are produced in a process called meiosis, in which the pairs of chromosomes that typically inhabit each cell are split in half with each half being distributed to a new cell. Cells with half the normal number of chromosomes are called haploid cells. Sperm and eggs are the human versions of gametes. When two haploid cells merge, as they do in sexual reproduction, the result is a cell with two sets of chromosomes, just like most other cells.

Sexual reproduction is defined as including those processes that result in offspring whose genetic makeup differs from either parent. Sexual reproduction is often slower and more difficult than asexual reproduction and thus does not benefit small populations under difficult circumstances. Sexual reproduction does, however, have the advantage of producing genetic variety and renewal in populations, permitting bad genes to be eliminated and useful genes to be propagated by natural selection.

Sexual reproduction involves the fusing of two gametes. How those gametes get together occurs through a large variety of mechanisms and depends upon a number of factors, including hormones to help individuals produce gametes, the timing of fertilization, and how rich the environment is in which individuals try to survive. Many organisms, especially those living in aquatic environments such as fish, accomplish the fusion of gametes (eggs from females, sperm from males) outside of their bodies in the water. Females deposit eggs and males swim past the eggs releasing sperm into the water. Plants distribute sperm or pollen by means of a number of different vectors including insects, the wind, and birds, depositing it on the stamens of other plants of the same species. In many species, including reptiles and mammals, the male deposits sperm directly into the reproductive organs of the female during a process called sexual intercourse. The gametes fuse inside the female's body and then in some species emerge as eggs (as with birds) in a process called oviparity, or develop inside the mother's body with no connection to the mother as with guppies or snakes (called ovoviviparity), or in others as fetuses to a gestation site on the mother's body (as with marsupials), or are connected to the mother via a placenta in an organ called the uterus as with mammals.

When sperm and egg merge in sexual reproduction, they form a single cell called a zygote with genetic information from both parents. This zygote begins to split and multiply through mitosis into more cells through a process called cleavage. Cell cleavage forms a hollow ball of cells called a blastula, which begins the process of cell differentiation into three layers of cells, which will ultimately form the various organs, tissues, and structures of the fetus. These layers continue to differentiate through a process called organogenesis. One layer, the

ectoderm, will form the skin, nervous system, and pituitary gland. The second, the mesoderm, will form the skeleton, muscles, circulatory system, bowels and bladder, and the reproductive organs. The third, the endoderm, forms the liver and the linings of most of the body's internal systems.

After a period of gestation inside the mother's body during which the single-celled zygote grows into a fully formed organism with gametes of its own, the fetus is born. Some infant species are almost completely able to care for themselves. Others, such as most birds and mammals, require an additional period of development and care. Most of these species require additional growth and development before they are able to reproduce in turn.

HUMAN INTERVENTION IN REPRODUCTION

Humans currently have the ability to help the reproductive process and systematically participate in the reproduction of various species. Many animals are bred selectively, including dogs, cats, birds, and fish. Many farm animals such as cows and horses are artificially inseminated with the sperm of the best examples of their breeds. Individuals experiencing difficulty reproducing can be helped by augmenting their hormones, artificially inseminating mothers, or even harvesting a mother's eggs and fertilizing them outside of her body in a process called in vitro fertilization, then implanting the fertilized blastulas into the mother's uterus to develop. Surrogate mothers are also employed to gestate fetuses formed from the gametes of two other individuals.

The human imagination has also created modes of asexual reproduction in humans such as cloning, in which another identical organism is grown from a few cells of a single individual. Also envisioned has been the self-reproduction of mechanical beings, such as robots, who would have the ability to manufacture more of themselves in an automated process. Science fiction is full of examples of reproductive technologies that have been mechanized from Aldous Huxley's bottled babies in *Brave New World* to the reproduction machines of *The Matrix* to the creation of Frankenstein or the use of humans as environments for the development of fetal aliens, as in *Alien*.

The ability to choose and control reproduction has been a political issue for many years. Ethical issues about how much and in what ways humans should intervene in reproduction join questions about who has the right to terminate a pregnancy and who has parental rights in children who were reproduced with the help of sperm donors or surrogate mothers. Some observers have also raised the concern that humankind's rate of reproduction

is reproducing too many humans, which will cause future difficulties as the earth reaches its limits.

SEE ALSO *Fertility*.

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Judith Roof

REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

Reproductive technologies include methods to increase fertility, facilitate conception, provide alternatives for women who cannot carry a pregnancy to term, and allow early genetic diagnosis of a fetus (including sex determination). They also provide a means to preserve sperm and embryos and make cloning (the reproduction of an exact genetic copy of a person or animal) possible. Most often these technologies are directed toward helping infertile couples have a child.

Infertility (the inability to conceive after one year of unprotected sexual intercourse or six months if the woman is thirty years old or more) is a significant issue for many couples. Low estimates suggest that 2.4 million couples worldwide are infertile, and the number appears to be growing. In the United States roughly 15 percent of couples have trouble conceiving a child. The two leading causes of infertility are hormonal conditions and anatomic abnormalities, including blockages in the reproductive organs caused by disease. Reproductive technologies allow infertile couples roughly the same chance (if not better) for pregnancy as that of normally fertile couples (25 percent per cycle).

Although the best known of these technologies in recent years is in vitro fertilization, which first was performed successfully in 1978, reproductive technologies have been used for centuries. Artificial insemination, in which the sperm is collected, usually through masturbation, and injected into the womb to facilitate conception, first was performed by Lazzaro Spallanzani on a dog in 1784. Within six years the technique was applied successfully to humans, although King Henry IV of Castile allegedly attempted the procedure on his wife, Juanita, in the fifteenth century. The first use of donor sperm in artificial insemination (in which another man's sperm is

substituted for that of the infertile man) occurred in 1884.

Other early reproductive techniques focused on trying to influence the sex of a baby. Women were advised to make love under a full moon after doing a "baby dance" or have sex in the missionary position (with the woman on the bottom) for a girl. If one wanted a boy, it was better to wait until the quarter moon and have sex from a rear entry position or standing up. Eating meat and salty foods was thought to improve one's chances of conceiving a boy, and eating sweets would tip the scales toward having a girl. More modern wisdom suggested that because a sperm with Y chromosomes would move more rapidly than would one with a heavier X chromosome, if one wanted a boy, one should have sexual intercourse just before ovulation. If one wanted a girl, it was better to have sex a day or two before ovulation. On the basis of that theory early researchers tried separating the sperm in a centrifuge and using the sperm on the top (the lighter sperm) in conjunction with artificial insemination to produce a male child and the sediment to produce a female.

Other early techniques used to improve fertility included measuring a woman's basal metabolic temperature to pinpoint when she ovulated and was therefore most likely to conceive. This has been made much easier with over-the-counter ovulation kits that help women determine when ovulation occurs by measuring the amount of hormones excreted in the urine.

AVAILABLE REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

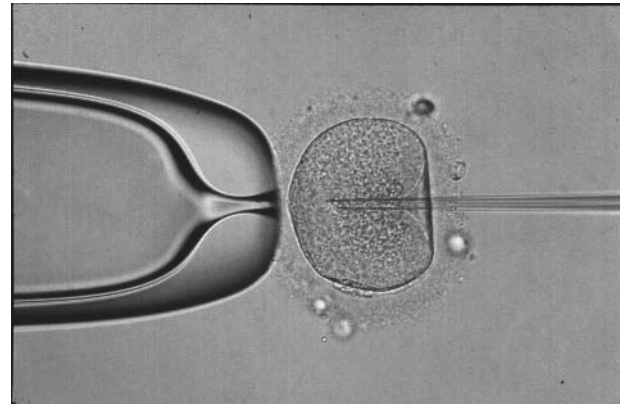
Advances in science, research, and technology have contributed to a variety of reproductive technologies to help infertile couples conceive. In addition, modern technology allows early embryonic cells to be manipulated and examined to help diagnose and sometimes treat diseases well before birth. New techniques also can determine and influence the sex of a baby before birth. Modern research is directed toward cloning, or producing a genetic copy of a living being. Many of these methods are related to assisted reproductive technology (ART), which consists of techniques that involve the direct retrieval of oocytes from the ovary. In vitro fertilization (IVF), the first of these methods perfected in the clinical setting, opened the way for many improvements and variations of the original techniques.

Artificial Insemination Artificial insemination (AI) is one of the oldest and most commonly used technologies for treating infertility, though modern versions of AI involve more manipulation of the sperm and better insemination methods. Essentially, the technique consists

of placing washed sperm in the vagina, cervix, or uterus. Washing removes proteins that may interfere with conception and allows for the concentration of sperm. Artificial insemination is indicated when vaginal ejaculation is impossible (e.g., owing to impotence or vaginal dysfunction), sperm count is low (or spermatozoa are sluggish or malformed), there is a cervical mucous incompatibility with the sperm (the cervical mucous produces antibodies directed against and damaging the sperm), and disease or treatment (such as chemotherapy) makes normal insemination impossible or inadvisable. Sperm can be frozen by using cryopreservation techniques (the use of liquid nitrogen to store tissue at a temperature of -196 degrees Celsius) for later use. Donor artificial insemination (DAI), in which donor sperm is used, is an option when a man cannot produce sperm. The procedure is simple and easy to perform in a doctor's office and is inexpensive compared with more invasive techniques.

In Vitro Fertilization IVF (resulting in “test-tube babies”) involves fertilizing an egg with sperm outside the body. This usually is done in a laboratory dish. The process is very complicated, and success depends on the control of a great many factors. Timing is paramount. The oocyte (egg) must be harvested from the woman when the follicle (the tissue where the individual eggs develop in the ovary) is mature but not before it bursts and releases the egg. The man's sperm must be collected and mixed with the eggs in an environment that is conducive to the support and growth of the fertilized gamete (an early embryonic stage), and the uterus must be hormonally ready to accept the implantation of the resulting embryo.

Although ovulation may be determined by testing blood hormone levels, more frequently women undergo hormonal treatment to control the maturity of the follicle and the time of ovulation to optimize the chances for successful egg retrieval. In addition, hormonal therapy (usually with Pergonal) usually stimulates multiple follicles to develop instead of only the one that normally would mature per menstrual cycle. Those eggs are retrieved through laparoscopy, a procedure in which a long, thin fiber-optic tube is inserted through a small incision in the abdomen and through which the physician can identify the oocytes. A second incision allows an aspirating needle to puncture the follicle and remove the fluid and the egg. The procedure is performed under general anesthesia. Alternatively, eggs may be retrieved under local anesthesia by using transvaginal ultrasound, in which a transducer is inserted into the vagina, to guide the needle. The fluid collected is examined immediately to see whether it contains eggs, and the eggs are evaluated to determine whether they are mature and neither dam-



In Vitro Fertilization. *In vitro* fertilization: needle injecting DNA of sperm into a human egg (center of image); at left of image, a flat-nosed pipette is holding the egg steady. © CC STUDIO/SCIENCE PHOTO LIBRARY, PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

aged nor malformed. The healthy eggs are washed and placed in a laboratory dish that contains a nutrient solution. The egg is kept at body temperature for four to eight hours, long enough for the oocyte to begin dividing.

In the meantime sperm is collected, separated from the seminal fluid, washed (to simulate passage through the woman's reproductive tract), and centrifuged to concentrate the number of sperm. The resulting sperm are put in a culture medium that is maintained at body temperature for one hour. The most active sperm will rise, and so the topmost layer is used for fertilization. Each egg is placed in a separate laboratory dish along with a small drop of the culture medium. The concentrated sperm is added to each egg and incubated to allow fertilization to occur, usually within twenty-four hours if successful. The resulting embryos continue to incubate for an additional two days.

During the incubation period the woman is given an injection of progesterone, a female sex hormone, to prepare her uterus for implantation. When the zygotes (fertilized eggs) reach the two- to eight-cell stage, they are inserted into the uterus through a catheter. The woman lies facedown with her knees drawn up to her chest during the procedure and then sits up and remains very still for four hours to improve the chance of implantation. Because implantation is most successful when multiple embryos are inserted, many (four being ideal) are introduced to the uterus, though usually only one will implant (the rest will be discharged from the body). Because multiple embryos are used, twins and other multiple births occur about 35 percent of the time. Unused embryos may be frozen and saved for subsequent attempts or donated to help other infertile couples through surrogate IVF procedures. Although the success rate of IVF varies with the clinic

performing the procedure, it is generally about 30 to 40 percent per cycle. The cost is about \$10,000 per attempt, an expense that insurance companies usually do not cover. Nevertheless, within twenty-five years of the birth of the first test-tube baby, over 115,000 children have been born using IVF technology in the United State alone. By the beginning of the twenty-first century children conceived through some form of IVF accounted for slightly more than 1 percent of live births in the United States and up to 4 percent in Denmark.

Gamete Intrafallopian Transfer Gamete intrafallopian transfer (GIFT) is a procedure similar to IVF, but the retrieved oocytes and sperm are placed into the fallopian tubes rather than a Petri dish for fertilization to occur. After the eggs are removed from the ovaries, the equipment used to perform the retrieval is left in the woman. The eggs are mixed with the concentrated sperm, and the mixture is put into the woman's fallopian tubes, the site where fertilization normally takes place. This offers the advantage of allowing the sperm and the egg to develop in their natural environment. Because the surgical procedure takes only one day, it is less expensive than traditional IVF methods.

Zygote Intrafallopian Transfer Zygote intrafallopian transfer (ZIFT) is a variation on the previously discussed methods in which the fertilized eggs are placed in the fallopian tubes. As in ZIFT and other ART methods, it allows women with blocked tubes to become pregnant by introducing the developing embryo (or sperm and eggs) into an area past the blockage or occlusion. The advantages of this method are that it allows preimplantation genetic diagnosis (PGD)—the ability to diagnose genetic abnormalities and defects in the embryo—before returning it to the woman for implantation. It was performed successfully in humans in 1989 when it was used to determine the sex of the embryo to avoid giving birth to a child with a severe X-linked disease. Advances in technology have made it possible to detect diseases such as cystic fibrosis, sickle-cell disease, Tay-Sachs disease, and hemophilia A.

OTHER ASSISTED REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

Tubal embryo transfer (TET) is similar to zygote intrafallopian transfer except that it involves placing cleaving embryos instead of the newly fertilized egg into the fallopian tubes. Peritoneal oocyte and sperm transfer (POST) is the placement of the eggs and sperm into the pelvic cavity in the hope that the fallopian tube will pick them up. This procedure is not indicated when there is a blockage in the tubes that will prevent implantation from occurring in the uterus.

Sperm intrafallopian transfer (SIFT) is a method in which prepared semen is placed by laparoscopy or a vaginal catheter into the fallopian tubes. The procedure helps men with very low sperm counts to fertilize the ova. In a similar technique, synchronized hysteroscopic intrafallopian transfer (SHIFT), the sperm is transferred to the fallopian tube by way of the uterus.

In cases in which the sperm is unable to penetrate the outer covering of the egg (the zona pellucida) and thus fertilization does not occur, the sperm is microinjected into the subzonal space (SUZI) surrounding the egg. In cases of extreme low sperm counts intracytoplasmic sperm injection of a single spermatozoon (ICSI) is available. Sperm may be fresh or frozen and may be taken from the epididymis in the man or from a shredded testicular biopsy.

SURROGACY

When IVF fails, surrogacy offers options, including the transfer of a donated egg. Because the technology to store eggs through cryopreservation has not been perfected, donor eggs must be fresh. This complicates matters because both the donor and the recipient must be hormonally regulated to make sure that the retrieval of donor's eggs coordinates with the readiness for implantation of the recipient's uterus. Although the process is expensive and involves many variables, it allows a woman whose ovaries do not produce eggs the opportunity to carry the pregnancy. Alternatively, the surrogate's eggs may be fertilized by the man's sperm and then frozen to be implanted in the infertile woman at a later date. Donor sperm also may be used to fertilize the surrogate's egg when the man is infertile.

Women who can produce eggs but lack a functioning uterus may commission a surrogate to carry the pregnancy to term, at which time the surrogate turns the newborn over to the infertile couple. The host mother (who is genetically unrelated to the child she is carrying) usually has her medical expenses paid and is given a stipend. When the woman is unable to produce her own eggs or carry a pregnancy in her own uterus, a full surrogate may be artificially inseminated with the man's sperm and then relinquish parental rights to the infertile couple after the birth of the baby.

CLONING

Cloning used to be relegated to the realm of science fiction, but in 1997 Scottish researchers successfully cloned a mammal, a sheep named Dolly. Subsequently, carp, mice, cats, and horses are among the many animals that have been cloned. It is only a matter of time before human cloning becomes a reality. This opens up many ethical questions, including the right of people to "play God."

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

Modern reproductive technologies have given many infertile couples the ability to conceive and give birth to children. They also have opened up debate about the ethics of those techniques. Even techniques that have been available as long as donor artificial insemination are not without ethical considerations. Children conceived by this method do not know the identity of their biological fathers because donors are guaranteed anonymity and are legally exempt from parental responsibility for any offspring produced from their sperm. Although sperm banks include some information about the ethnicity, religion, and physical appearance of the donor, they do not follow up to determine whether a genetic or hereditary condition arises later in the donor's life that may be passed on to the child.

Assisted reproductive technologies such as IVF, ZIFT, and TET that deal with the creation of multiple embryos outside the uterus create even more legal and ethical dilemmas. One question involves the disposition of the unimplanted embryos. Cryopreservation techniques have improved to the point where unused embryos can be frozen for use in subsequent pregnancy attempts or donated to other infertile couples, but up to 35 percent of the embryos are damaged during the thawing process. Legal issues arise when couples with frozen embryos divorce and try to determine their ownership. Further, questions remain about the parental rights and responsibilities when the embryos subsequently are implanted and carried to term even when the couple are no longer together.

Another major ethical consideration with IVF technologies is the increased rate of multiple births. Whereas the more fertilized eggs implanted, the greater the probability of pregnancy, there is also a greater likelihood of multiple births. Thirty-five percent of IVF-assisted pregnancies result in multiple fetuses. The health risks to the growing fetuses and the mother increase with each additional implanted embryo. Further, questions arise about the financial and emotional burdens imposed on a family confronted with the reality of multiple births. Selective termination of one or more of the fetuses may improve the chance of survival of the remaining ones, but the procedure presents a difficult moral choice for parents already struggling with infertility.

Preimplantation genetic diagnosis provides an opportunity for embryos to be screened for medical and hereditary conditions before being inserted into the woman, thus offering couples an alternative to a possibly painful decision to terminate an established uterine pregnancy because of genetic birth defects or disease. It also conjures up images of eugenics in which only embryos

that meet a certain social and cultural ideal will be allowed to grow. The ability to determine gender also conveys the risk that this technology will be used for nontherapeutic reasons. In countries such as China with its "one child policy" the preference for boy children (often attained through the abortion of females or infanticide) suggests that sex selection (which involves risks to both mother and fetuses) could be used frivolously. New technologies focusing on the possibility splitting and separating the blastomeres (a very early stage of embryonic development) have sparked debate over the ethics of assisted reproductive techniques. Because even early embryonic cells are capable of producing a complete living being, a blastomere could be divided into two and possibly three genetically identical embryos (similar to identical twins). On the one hand, the procedure would increase the number of embryos available for IVF implantation, improving the chances that pregnancy will occur. It also lessens the financial and emotional burden of going through another oocyte retrieval process. On the other hand, there is concern that couples would keep one of a pair of split embryos in reserve in case its already-born twin should need a source of organs or tissues someday. In addition, the splitting and separating process necessarily results in the destruction of many embryos. For people who believe that life starts at the moment of conception, this represents the death of a human being.

Surrogacy, one of the last options for infertile couples desiring a child, presents serious legal issues and challenges. The courts still are trying to sort through the legalities of contracts signed between the surrogate mother and the prospective parents who have commissioned the woman to carry the child to term. Laws vary: In the United Kingdom the woman who carries the child is considered the legal mother, and if she changes her mind, she may keep the child. In the United States laws differ from state to state, with some granting parental rights to the birth mother and others honoring surrogacy contracts.

SEE ALSO *Pregnancy.*

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Diane Sue Saylor

RHYTHM METHOD

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods*.

RIMMING

SEE *Sexual Practices*.

ROCK AND ROLL

Rock and roll, used both specifically to refer to a 1950s musical style and as a generic term for popular music since the 1950s, is an influential musical genre that first developed in the southern United States. Beginning as a fusion of African-American rhythm and blues music with Southern white country music, rock and roll quickly left the South to become a multiethnic, international musical movement with hundreds of subgenres, spin-offs, and fusions. By the end of the twentieth century, rock and roll had become one of the most recognizable and influential musical idioms ever created.

From its earliest incarnations to the present day, rock and roll music has functioned as a space for experimentation with portrayals of gender and sexuality. Performers habitually play with cultural norms of gender presentation, often exaggerating or transgressing conventional expectations of male and female behavior. In many forms of rock and roll, sexual displays are a major part of rock musicians' performances, used to place them within traditions and to make commentary on various social issues. Space does not permit an extensive discussion of the all manifestations of gender and sexuality in rock and roll subcultures. Instead, this entry highlights some important moments in the evolution of gender expectations, masculinity, women's participation, and sexuality in rock and roll music.

EARLY ROCK AND ROLL

Early rock and roll was remarkable for its biracial makeup, especially given the racial segregation of pre-Civil Rights southern society. Through rock and roll African-American performers gained unprecedented access to mainstream radio waves, and white audiences

saw musical traditions that had been previously less visible. African Americans performed songs traditionally associated with rural white culture, whereas white musicians used black musical forms (and songs by black artists) in their own careers. This racial mixing, combined with rock and roll's status as a youth culture, meant that growing numbers of white youth had musical heroes who were black or, at the very least, were greatly influenced by black culture. These cross-cultural influences extended to style and mannerisms as well. Many white artists came from a Southern working-class culture that had always been closely linked with its African-American neighbors, so adopting black speech, clothing, or gestures was unsurprising. However, in the context of white, middle-class expectations of masculinity, such borrowings were often read as flamboyant, obscene, or downright criminal.

The complex layering of race, class, and sexuality in early rock and roll can be seen in the reception of Elvis Presley (1935–1977). Presley was dubbed *the Hillbilly Cat* for his mixture of lower-class white (hillbilly) and African-American (cat) music and sensibility. Besides singing songs first made popular by black musicians, Presley's persona reflected a new, hybrid masculinity. His pompadour hair and sideburns—common among working-class Southern men—looked simultaneously effeminate and threatening in mainstream contexts, whereas his hip-rolling dance movements (borrowed largely from African Americans) seemed obscene to television censors and older audiences. Despite this opposition Presley's performances were wildly popular, especially among teenage girls, for whom an Elvis concert represented a rare chance to express sexual desire.

Other performers used the flamboyance of rock and roll to enact sexual difference. African-American artist Little Richard (b. 1932) wore copious amounts of makeup and feminine clothing in performance. Although much of his audience was unaware of it, his songs and stage performances contained thinly veiled references to his homosexuality.

Women, too, were active in this genre, although their work was rarely classified as rock and roll. Female African-American rhythm and blues artists, taking their cues from the *blues queens* of the 1920s, sang songs in a style nearly indistinguishable from rock and roll. Notable female performers included Ruth Brown (1928–2006), “Big Mama” Thornton (1926–1984), and LaVern Baker (1929–1977). Among white female artists Wanda Jackson (b. 1937) achieved great success as the *Queen of Rockabilly*.

BRITISH INVASION AND GIRL GROUPS

As rock and roll spread throughout the United States, it also gained popularity in Europe, particularly in

England, where it formed a key part of English youth cultures. British groups performed in styles copied from imported records, and many became popular in the United States in the mid-1960s. This *British invasion* of the U.S. record charts was exemplified and spurred on by the success of the Beatles.

The Beatles came to the United States in February 1964 amid massive public excitement. Besides concert tickets and records, Beatles memorabilia such as posters, dolls, and board games helped fans form a subculture around the band. As had occurred with Presley, Beatles concerts gave female fans a venue for expressing their developing sexuality and rebelling against norms of propriety. Additionally, the material culture surrounding the Beatles opened up a space for adolescent girls to connect with each other through shared enjoyment of Beatles concert experiences and merchandise. This protosexual fandom became an important part of adolescence for many girls, and *teen idol groups* or *boy bands* recurred throughout rock and roll's history.

Another significant presence on the U.S. pop charts was the mostly African-American *girl group*. Usually associated with Berry Gordy's (b. 1929) Motown Records (although the formula proved successful for other record labels as well), a girl group consisted of three or four members with one lead singer. Although their songs were heavily orchestrated, girl group members did not usually play their own instruments. Their songs, written by professional songwriting teams, either addressed a love interest directly or instructed their (mostly female) audience on how to handle various romantic situations. These models of feminine behavior are astonishingly diverse, especially for an era usually remembered for its restrictive gender roles.

CULTURAL SHIFTS

By 1968 the biracial era of rock and roll was largely over. Black artists returned to race-specific genres such as rhythm and blues and soul, whereas white musicians moved away from African-American influences. White artists of this era generally referred to the music they made as *rock* rather than by the earlier, interracial term *rock and roll*. The black heritage of rock music was never fully expunged, but it was transformed as artists combined earlier rock and roll with the sensibilities of the hippie counterculture.

The hippies became a major force behind the sweeping cultural changes of the 1960s. A hallmark of hippie style was androgyny—men wore their hair long and dressed far more flamboyantly than their mainstream counterparts, whereas women tended to eschew makeup and difficult hairstyles in favor of a more *natural* appearance. Combined with their pacifism, drug use, and leftist

politics, this fluidity of gender presentation set the hippies apart from mainstream culture.

The second wave of the feminist movement gained momentum throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, spurring vast changes in almost every cultural sphere. In rock music male artists continued to dominate the charts, although a new space for strong, autonomous female voices emerged. Most notable among these voices was Janis Joplin (1943–1970), the lead singer for Big Brother and the Holding Company. Joplin's raspy voice, blues-queen persona, and personal charisma earned her legendary status among rock performers. Joplin's success, however, did not necessarily translate into success for other women in rock music, who often reacted to sexist bias in the music industry by forming their own record companies and distribution networks.

THE RISE OF DISCO

In many ways disco music was the soundtrack of emerging gay consciousness. Disco was a variety of soul music made expressly for dancing, and it gained particular popularity in gay dance clubs that played records in lieu of live music. Its characteristic combination of four-on-the-floor bass and heavily orchestrated accompaniment became a musical trope by the late 1970s, available for use by virtually any musician. Despite this ubiquity disco never lost its gay associations, as the success of the Village People's double-entendre songs eventually made clear.

One of disco's most recognizable features was the *disco diva*, the (usually) African-American woman singing the vocal track. Disco divas sang in a gospel style, with the buildup and ecstatic vocalization common to gospel music. Some disco divas, such as Gloria Gaynor (b. 1949) and Donna Summer (b. 1948), took on similar importance to the gay male community as film divas such as Judy Garland (1922–1969) and Bette Davis (1908–1989).

Disco's high production values led to charges of commercialization and artificiality from its detractors. That these charges were tinged with racism and homophobia became clear when a Chicago radio station's *Disco Sucks!* campaign at Komiskey Park turned into a riot. This violent backlash marked the end of disco's mainstream acceptance.

MADONNA AND GLAM METAL

After the Komiskey Park riot, disco once again became an underground genre. Dance music did not disappear from the pop charts, however. The dystopic, mechanical aesthetic of New Wave influenced a generation worried about AIDS and technological advances, and the severe, androgynous sensibility of New Wave culture appeared in synth-pop and other dance music.

Madonna (b. 1958) was easily the most successful artist of 1980s dance music and one of the most successful musicians of all time. Her unique and powerful use of her own sexuality was the key to her success and to her extraordinary staying power as a cultural force for more than two decades. Madonna was also one of the most influential music video artists of the 1980s, and her MTV videos such as “Open Your Heart” (1986) and “Like A Prayer” (1989) became exemplars of the genre.

The mid- to late 1980s saw the rise of *glam metal*, a subset of heavy metal music. Glam metal bands wore heavy makeup, nail polish, and teased women’s hairstyles in their performances. Unlike drag performers, however, the incongruity of these feminine signifiers on quite unfeminine men worked to highlight glam metal masculinity. This strategy was largely successful—unlike other forms of heavy metal, glam metal appealed to many heterosexual women, and few, if any, glam metal musicians had their gender or sexuality called into question.

HIP-HOP AND RAP

The appearance of hip-hop/rap music marked one of the most important musical developments of the 1980s. The hip-hop youth culture that sprung up in early 1980s New York City was often highly competitive, with dancers, DJs, or rappers engaging in highly improvisatory *battles* with one another. Although hip-hop was characterized as male dominated, women such as Queen Latifah (b. 1970) and MC Lyte (b. 1971) were integral to hip-hop culture from its beginnings and in fact became some of the most outspoken proponents of women’s issues since the 1920s blues queens.

As hip-hop culture developed, depictions of women varied wildly in different rap genres. Some continued to have prominent female voices, whereas others, such as 1990s *gangsta rap*, were often shockingly misogynist. By the end of the twentieth century, hip-hop had become a huge, diverse field with successful male and female participants, although male artists continued to dominate spoken-word rap.

GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDERED ARTISTS

In 1969 the Stonewall Riots touched off the modern gay rights movement in the United States. Although gay/lesbian artists had always been prominent in popular music, changing attitudes about homosexuality allowed some performers (Dusty Springfield [1939–1999], Little Richard) to live more or less openly. For others (David Bowie [b. 1947], Mick Jagger [1943]) same-sex sexuality became available as an experiment or for shock value.

Although the AIDS crisis of the 1980s devastated the gay male community, acceptance for lesbians and gays increased throughout the decade. Few musicians came out openly, however—even flamboyant artists never discussed their sexuality in public. This code of silence weakened in the early 1990s when k.d. lang (b. 1961) and Melissa Etheridge (b. 1961) came out of the closet with no significant damage to their careers, and George Michael (b. 1963) turned a bathroom-solicitation arrest into a career revival. Soon, Boy George (b. 1961), the Indigo Girls, the Pet Shop Boys, and other gay-coded artists affirmed their homosexuality, whereas other artists such as Rufus Wainwright (b. 1973) and Stephen Merritt (b. 1966) saw no reason to hide their sexuality. Although openly gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered mainstream musicians were still relatively uncommon, artists of all sexual orientations in the early twenty-first century often seemed more willing to play with gender transgression and sexual fluidity than had their predecessors.

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Marcus Desmond Harmon
Robert Walser

ROMANCE NOVELS

SEE *Literature: III. Popular*.

ROMANCE OF THE ROSE

Begun by Guillaume de Lorris between 1225 and 1230, the Old French *Romance of the Rose*, an allegory in rhymed octosyllabic couplets, was continued as an often satiric encyclopedic gloss by Jean de Meun (or Meung) around 1275. The hybrid text is an important and influential vernacular work of the European Middle Ages.

THE STORY

Guillaume's first-person narrative begins by citing Macrobius, author of the early fifth-century *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*. Guillaume then announces that he will recount the dream vision he had at the age of twenty and later reveal its meaning (a promise usually considered unfulfilled). Guillaume next names the romance—generally understood as a quest for the rose that symbolizes the female beloved—*li Romans de la Rose* and specifies that the art of love is enclosed within the remaining four thousand lines of the poem.

In his almost eighteen-thousand-line continuation, Jean, at the midpoint of the combined work, has *li diex d'Amors* (the god of love) recite the last three couplets of Guillaume's poem, explaining that Guillaume had died forty years before and that Jean Chopinel from Meung-sur-Loire will finish the tale, calling it *Le Miroër as amoreus* (The mirror for lovers).

Little is known about Guillaume except that he probably was from Lorris, a village near Orléans. Jean, who was from another village near Orléans, moved to Paris, where he lived until his death in 1305. Jean undoubtedly was associated with the University of Paris and translated into Old French a number of works, including Boethius's early sixth-century *De Consolatione*

Philosophiae (*The Consolation of Philosophy*) as well as the letters of Abélard and Héloïse.

Although Guillaume essentially invented the medieval dream vision of love, the literary vision prototype *Consolatione* and the twelfth-century *planctu Naturae* of Alanus de Insulis (Alan of Lille) influenced the two sections of the *Rose*, which in turn served as models for later poetic dreams by Chaucer, Gower, and others.

The allegorical tradition of which the *Rose* is a part includes Prudentius's early fifth-century *Psychomachia* and the *De Planctu*. The conflicts in both parts of the *Rose* among the various allegorized and personified vices and virtues, mythological figures, and characteristics of the Lover (*Amant*) and of the beloved "rose" reflect the moral battles in the earlier works, especially as pertains to "irregular" sexuality, and place the romance within the tradition of the psychomachia (battle for the soul) as well as establishing it as a vernacular prototype that illustrates moral and spiritual struggles.

As a vernacular poem on the art of love the *Rose* reveals the influences of Ovid's first-century *Ars amatoria* (Art of love), *Remedia amoris* (Cures for love), and *Metamorphoses*, as well as Andreas Capellanus's late twelfth-century *De Amore*. Along with the *De Amore* and earlier works such as the poems of the troubadours and trouvères (poets of northern France) and the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, the first part of the *Rose* epitomizes what later became known as courtly love.

In Guillaume's text a youth dreams that he awakens, arises, and goes out to enjoy the May morning. He crosses a river, arriving at an enclosure to which he is admitted through a small opening in the wall by Lady *Oiseuse* (ease, or idleness). The young man meets the courtly company within the *verger* (orchard) and then comes upon the fountain of Narcissus, where he sees reflected rosebushes and a particular rosebud of which he becomes enamored. In his attempts to gain the rosebud the Lover receives instruction in the ways of love from the God of Love but encounters resistance from others, especially from *Bel Acueil* (Fair Welcome), who guards the rose. The Lover's struggle to attain the rose/bud obliges him to seek aid from Reason and Friend. With the eventual help of Venus and the acquiescence of *Bel Acueil*, the Lover enjoys a "kiss" from the "rose." Bad Mouth tells Jealousy, who then builds a tower where she imprisons *Bel Acueil*. In the closing lines of the poem the Lover laments the absence of his "sweet friend," *Bel Acueil*, promising to remain true to him.

Jean retells and rewrites the story, introducing new characters such as the Jealous Husband and elaborating others such as *La Vieille* (Old Woman). Jean also intersperses a number of discursive digressions. First, Reason



Romance of the Rose. An illustration from *Romance of the Rose* depicting a dance in the Garden of Pleasure. HULTON ARCHVIE/GETTY IMAGES.

dissuades the Lover from his quest; then Friend alternately advises and distracts him. Finally, the Lover is aided by the God of Love, who gathers his forces to attack the fortress where Jealousy holds *Bel Acueil*. Upon the initial defeat of his army, Love calls on his mother, Venus, for help, and Nature and Genius confess and sermonize, respectively. Venus leads the new, successful assault, allowing the young man to seize the rose, after which he awakens from his dream.

CRITICAL REACTION

The success of the *Rose* was unparalleled in the medieval world, and until the mid-sixteenth century the two disproportionate parts of the poem were copied, translated, rewritten, reworked, reedited, and reprinted, almost

always as a unitary work, perhaps because Jean claimed to have finished Guillaume's poem.

In the first years of the fourteenth century Christine de Pizan led the literary *Querelle (Débat) de* (quarrel [debate] on) *la Rose*, accusing Jean of vicious attacks on women and their character. Those attacks, including the violent assault of the Lover on the rose at the end of Jean's poem, again received critical attention, especially from feminists, in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

After a relative lack of interest in the *Rose* from the mid-sixteenth until the mid-nineteenth century, a resurgence of editions and critical studies indicated new areas for research, including Jean's life and career; the historical, social, and theological meanings of his satires and parodies in his poem; manuscript studies; sources for the

Rose; whether Guillaume's poem was finished; episodes and characters that may reveal Guillaume's hidden meaning or Jean's intentionality; and the nature of allegory and poetics as they appear in the *Rose*.

Since at least the mid-1980s some scholars have focused on the narcissistic, autoerotic and masturbatory (Frese 1991), homosocial, and homoerotic tensions in the *Rose*. Marta Harley (1986) concludes that through the use of certain classical myths Guillaume is "consciously flirting with sexual ambiguity and homosexuality" (Harley 1986, p. 333). Others have remarked on the gender ambiguity of *Bel Acueil* (Gaunt 1998). Although he is grammatically masculine, manuscript illustrations sometimes portray him as feminine in recognition of his traditional function as the receptive aspect of the beloved, supposedly feminine, rose. Ellen Friedrich (1998) understands the rosebud as phallic-appearing but interprets the rose as the anal object of desire sought by the Lover in his beloved *Bel Acueil*, who eventually is imprisoned for their transgression. Jean's obsession with condemning corrupt love and, through Genius, promoting procreation and cautioning against the catastrophe caused by castration confirms the gravity of ignoring nature and practicing "unnatural love."

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Literature: I. Overview; Pizan, Christine de; Queering, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Culture.*

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Ellen Lorraine Friedrich

ROME

SEE *Ancient Rome.*

ROMEO AND JULIET

Dante (1265–1321) first mentions the Montecchi and the Cappelletti as feuding families in *Purgatory* VI, 106. Masuccio Salernitano (1410–1475), in his *Novellino*, narrates the fateful story, set in Siena, of Gannoza, who dies of grief after her lover Mariotto is executed when, upon hearing of her (apparent) death, he returns to Siena, where he had been sentenced to capital punishment. This novella was the major source for Luigi Da Porto (1485–1529), who set the story in Verona during the times of Bartolomeo della Scala (r. 1301–1304), giving the lovers their traditional names. Da Porto's single novella, though, was much less successful than Matteo Bandello's (1485–1561) expanded version, which was part of a large collection of tales. Gherardo Boldieri (1497–1571), who used the female pseudonym Clitia, and Luigi Groto (1541–1585) also wrote their versions of the tale (the latter as a play). In 1559 Pierre Boaistuau (c. 1517–1556) translated Bandello's novella into French, and this was the primary source for both the prose version (1567) by William Painter (c. 1540–1594) and the poem (1562) by Arthur Brooke (d. 1563); the latter is the main source of Shakespeare's play, written, presumably, around 1596.

Among the Italian sources, Da Porto's novella is particularly noteworthy because Romeo goes to the Capulet's dance travestied as a nymph, and Giulietta praises him for being more beautiful than any of the other women present. In Brooke (1349–1480) and in Shakespeare (III, iii), the only trace of Romeo's effeminacy is Friar Lawrence's reproach when the young man is desperate for having been banished from Verona. It is Shakespeare's much longer and articulated version, which, of course, has established the story of the *star-crossed* lovers as archetypal. Shakespeare made some simple but significant changes to the plot he inherited from Brooke. Juliet's age (eighteen in Da Porto, Bandello, and Painter; sixteen in Brooke) is reduced to fourteen, and the time frame of the action, which spanned several months in the earlier versions, is shortened to five days in the middle of July. Shakespeare developed Mercutio's character (and added his death), expanded the role of Paris (also inventing his death in the tomb), and gave the name of Rosaline to Romeo's first love. The transformation of Juliet's death from a typically *feminine* death of grief into suicide is already present in Brooke.

Critics have always pointed out the abundance of time references and expressions in Shakespeare's play, and feminist scholar Philippa Jane Berry demonstrated how central these elements are in the construction of the plot, whose temporality presents complex calendrical references that might belie allusions to a Catholic (or recusant) faith. This temporality and the underlying

cyclical, nonlinear notion of time might be interpreted, according to Berry, in terms of Julia Kristeva's category of *monumental* and *eternal* time (a form of temporality typically associated with feminine subjectivity). Critics have also noted that Shakespeare's moral judgment stands in stark contrast with Brooke's severe Protestantism (the latter presents the story as an exemplum that demonstrates what happens to those who succumb to their desires and scorn good advice). Furthermore, the setting of the action during the canicular days, or dog days, is a possible allusion to the fact that sexual intercourse during those days was traditionally deemed dangerous, when women were considered to be more prone to sexual appetite.

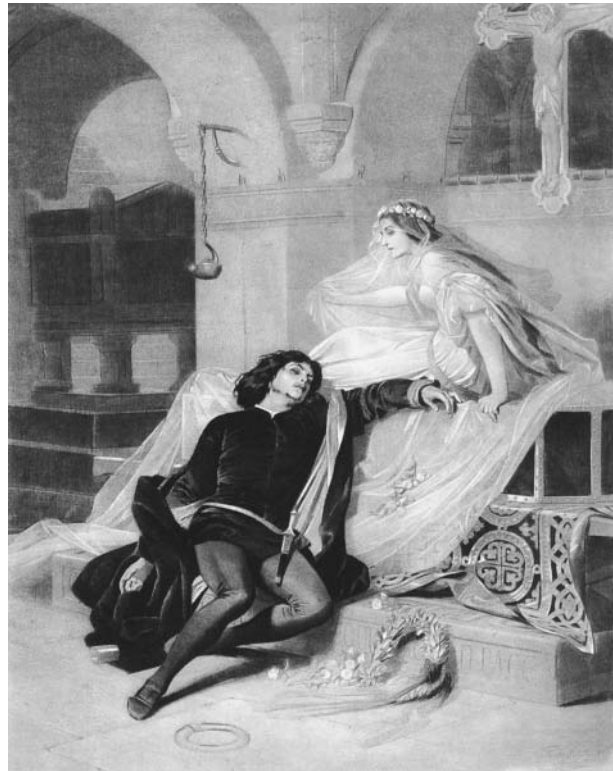
In Shakespeare's play the consummation of sexual acts between the protagonists is referred to less abundantly than in the sources, and it seems to imply that the protagonists' erotic relationship can only find its conclusion in a sort of mutual necrophilia. Eventually, eroticism is excised from life and immobilized in lifeless artifacts (such as the golden statues), or in the literary page through the very language that initially eluded Romeo (because of his penchant for Petrarchist stereotyped and empty imagery), whereas Juliet appears to be able to more concretely and effectively master the use of words. The *names* theme thus becomes central in the play, as in II ii, or in II vi, with Juliet opposing *matter* to *words*. According to Edward Snow (1985, p. 70), the language of the play "is most intricately concerned not with the opposition between passion and the social order but with the difference between the sexes [. . .]. Its subtler affirmations have to do not with romantic love but female ontology."

The story of Romeo and Juliet, as reshaped by Shakespeare, inspired artists working in many different genres and media. The most significant musical renditions are Vincenzo Bellini's and Charles François Gounod's operas (1830 and 1867), and Sergey Prokofiev's ballet (1936). Among movies of note are versions by George Cukor (1936), Franco Zeffirelli (1968), and Baz Luhrmann (1996). Leonard Bernstein's musical *West Side Story* (1957) was parodied by Italian movie maker Roberta Torre in her *Sud Side Stori* (2000), in which the characters' genders are reversed (Toni Giulietto, a street festival singer, and Romea, an immigrant African prostitute, are the protagonists of this story set in modern-day Palermo, Sicily).

SEE ALSO *Literature: I. Overview; Shakespeare, William; Star-Crossed Lovers.*

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Romeo and Juliet. This painting depicts Act V, Scene III of Shakespeare's play, in which Juliet awakens in her tomb to find Romeo dead. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

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Paolo Fasoli

ROSIE THE RIVETER

Rosie the Riveter was created as a tool of U.S. propaganda to recruit women into the workplace during World War II (1941–1945) as men were mobilized for the war. Although riveting is used in aircraft production, the name was used to label all female factory workers in defense industries during the war. Though Rosie was a



Rosie the Riveter Poster. A World War II poster featuring Rosie the Riveter.
NATIONAL ARCHIVES/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

fictional character, she became associated with several real women. The popular 1942 song of that name written by John Jacob Loeb and Redd Evans and recorded by Kay Kyser supposedly was based on Rosalind P. Walter. Norman Rockwell's rendition of Rosie on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post* on May 29, 1943, was modeled after the postal worker Mary Doyle. Most famously, Rose Munroe, a widow and the mother of two, was recruited from her riveting job at the Willow Run Aircraft Factory in Michigan to encourage the purchase of war bonds in filmed ads.

The poster image now associated with Rosie the Riveter, featuring a woman in factory uniform flexing

her bicep and asserting, "We Can Do It!" was created by J. Howard Miller in 1942 for the Westinghouse War Production Coordinating Committee and was based on a photograph taken of the Michigan factory worker Geraldine Doyle. The woman in the poster came to be known as Rosie the Riveter and remains emblematic of the women who worked in the defense industry during the war. Rosie wears mascara, lipstick, and nail polish and remains a "woman" even as she performs masculine work. The continued power and appeal of the poster lie in its combined depiction of traditional understandings of feminine beauty with strength and competency rather than weakness and assertiveness rather than submissiveness.

Despite Rosie's radically progressive appearance, the poster adheres to tradition. The assertion "We Can Do It!" is reminiscent of the cheer "You Can Do It!" and the traditional cheerleading role of women during wartime, encouraging men to fight and be "men." The "We" refers not just to women who can do men's work but to men and women who can win the war together. The propaganda work of Rosie the Riveter was directed toward society as a whole, and in the context of war women's work in nontraditional spheres was encouraged and applauded.

Around eighteen million Rosies, six million of whom were first-time workers, filled positions left vacant by men mobilized for war and positions newly created in the defense industry after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The U.S. economy and military depended on the labor Rosies provided. Women worked in factories for a variety of reasons, but patriotism was the most frequently highlighted motivation in popular depictions of working women. In fact, the positions generally paid better, required training, and were more interesting and challenging than the work previously and subsequently available to women. The wartime economy offered unprecedented opportunities to African-American women in particular.

The wartime positions and wages Rosies enjoyed ended when men returned from war. Birth rates rose dramatically immediately after the war, and many middle-class women willingly became full-time homemakers. However, many working-class women lost their positions and were forced to search for less lucrative work. Many historians claim that in this sense the progress made by Rosies during the war was an anomaly. However, scholars who have recorded the oral histories of Rosies have discovered that even though the progress was temporary, many women left their wartime jobs with greater self-confidence, pride, and self-worth. For the first time in such large numbers, women proved to themselves and to American society that they were capable of doing "men's" work. In addition, Rosie the Riveter's period of success supplied inspiration to the later women's movement. As a strong, self-sufficient working woman appreciated and celebrated as a national heroine for her contributions to society, Rosie the Riveter's image and claim that "We Can Do It!" persevered as a useful and inspiring image for the women's movement.

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Susan L. Solomon

ROUGH MUSIC

Rough music, also *shivaree*, from the French *charivari* (Abrahams 2002, Flanagan 1940, Johnson 1990), is a form of collective punishment related to sexual or marital behaviors, not always including sound. It also is known in the United States and England as skimmington, a word derived from the skimming ladle (Steward 2002).

Variations of the custom have been recorded in England, France, Italy, Sardinia, Spain, and Geneva during the medieval and early modern periods as well as in colonial North America. It was recorded in Kansas and Kentucky as late as the 1930s and in France well into the 1970s (Alford 1959, Desplat 1982, Johnson 1990, Le Goff and Schmitt 1981).

Typically, it was a procession or gathering by local youth or neighbors performing an unwelcome concert of discordant instruments, kitchen implements, or tools, aimed at newlyweds who had elicited social disapproval, in front of their home. It targeted perceived sexual misconduct, most often when widowers of both sexes remarried (Flanagan 1940, Johnson 1990).

Ridicule could be deflected by the face-saving device of gifts to the performers, usually in the form of drinks or sometimes food and more rarely by the extortion of large sums of money (Johnson 1990). When the target of the shivaree refused to cooperate, the performance of condemnation would become more aggressive and durable. A testimony by a woman shivaree-target in the 1950s in France stresses the social obligation of the ritual and the impossibility of ignoring it lest the harassment increase (Le Goff and Schmitt 1981).

In eighteenth-century England and colonial New England rough treatment, without music, could be ritually practiced by women against wife-beating husbands (London in 1734 and Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1734) or against young men for adultery (Boston in 1730) with the tacit approval of the community or under its eyes (Steward 2002). Women were sometimes part of the mob or even led it (Steward 2002). In colonial New Jersey it was a sect of young men who, disguised as women, stripped and flogged adulterous or violent husbands (McConville 2002). In Western states the serenade often marked integration in the community rather than punishment (Johnson 1990) but also gave license to annoy and censure a couple until a gift put an end to the disturbance (Hancock 1995) as in bride-bed rituals.

Even benign forms rested on a unilateral community authority over sexuality that could be very intrusive, if not violent (Johnson 1990, Steward 2002).

Divergent gendered assumptions affected male and female targets. The level of violent conflict was related primarily to how insulted the male recipient felt. The expectation that women would endure the ritual without protest is linked to disparaging perceptions of the honor or women or of women having no honor other than the sexual.

Thus, while shivaree sometimes punished violent spouses, it mostly enacted normative and conservative sexual mores regarding remarriage, particularly in Catholic countries. In effect, medieval and early modern societies accepted and even enforced remarriage at the highest rungs of society, and the Church has never condemned remarrying *per se*. Yet its teachings on chastity and celibacy greatly influenced views of widowhood as removing the surviving partner from the marriage and the permitted system of sexual exchange (Desplat 1982, Johnson 1990), and in more patriarchal societies such as ancien régime Gascony the advocacy of enforced chastity in widowhood was disproportionately directed at women (Desplat 1982). However, in interfering with patrician and bourgeois control of marriage as an economic and social tool, these practices could be socially disruptive, expressing the prejudices or prohibitions of groups with less power within the community against the choices of worthy and important citizens (Desplat 1982, Steward 2002). Thus, the courts of ancien régime France as well as colonial authorities in America took an increasingly dim view of these disputes, adjudicating them more frequently in favor of the plaintiffs.

SEE ALSO *Folklore; Marriage.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

ROYALTY

Fascination with royalty is a commonplace in many societies, both democratic and monarchic. This was particularly true during the early modern period (c. 1500–1800) when the cult of royalty was inextricably bound with Christianity.

KINGSHIP AND THE DIVINE

The divine right of kings was most fully elaborated in France where tradition held that at the baptism of Clovis (465–511) in 496, a dove descended from heaven bearing an ampoule of chrism, signaling God's selection of an earthly representative. Beginning with the anointing of Louis XII in 1131, the balm from the Sainte Ampoule was used in every French coronation except one until the sacred vial was destroyed by order of the Revolutionary Convention in 1793. God's direct intervention in the consecration of the House of France imbued its kings with a sacred authority and status placing them not only above other humans, but above other kings, who, although they also ruled by God's grace, could claim no such divine sanction.

If direct heavenly approbation performatively reenacted at the coronation were not enough to render the sacred King of France uniquely extraordinary, the royal funerary rites demonstrated his supernatural qualities through engaging the king's two bodies. One body was mortal and died, whereas the other, the body politic of France, was immortal and passed, through an effigy where it rested for a time, from the physical body of the defunct king into that of his successor, literally illustrating the puissant invocation *Le roi est mort, vive le roi!* [The king is dead, long live the king!] In order to function, this transfer of authority by primogeniture required the submission of the people to their father the king and to God, but questioning the law of the father is also implicit in the nature of this confirmation,

revealing its dangerous instability and the vulnerability of the king's sacred infallibility. In this context, and perhaps because they touch most directly on the human, matters of sex and sexuality pertaining to royalty were often subjects for gossip, rumor, innuendo, and slander. All of these might be perceived as means of accessing or even attacking the sacred royal person through the mortal, fallible human, particularly through accusations of queerness, which draws individuals away from the protected realm of Christian approbation, aligning them with sinners and the damned. In this context royal bodies might become loci for undermining the very patriarchal order that they are obliged to promulgate.

SODOMY AND THE KING

Phallic patriarchy is grounded in heteronormative structures that require acceptance in exchange for sanctioning royal authority. This exchange is exemplified by Richard I, Cœur de Lion [Lionheart], King of England (1157–1199) about whom contemporaries, including his father, Henry II (1133–1189), remarked an unusual enthusiasm for male companions, particularly Philippe I of France and Geoffroy de Bretagne. Richard's behavior exceeded the accepted bounds of chivalric homosociality and branded the king a sodomite. Aside from the biblical condemnation of Sodomites (inhabitants of Sodom, whose sins the Bible never definitively enumerates), sodomy rejects the demands of heteronormative patriarchy, a violation that, in a Christian social context, is unnatural, particularly in a king who, through the refutation of divine prescription, undermines his own authority and jeopardizes his kingdom's safety. The chronicler Benoît de Peterborough (d. 1193) recognized this, and by referring to Richard's activities with Philippe I in the same terms as Juvenal's description of the Roman empress Messalina's night at a brothel, strategically marked those activities as perverse violations of the patriarchal order. To realign his reign with the heteronormative imperative, Richard twice performed public acts of penance for the sin of Sodom, surrendering the temporal to the spiritual, submitting to the Father, and thus legitimizing his rule through religious mediation.

Edward II, King of England (1284–1327) was unable to engage similar mediation to stabilize a reign marked by the negative signifiers associated with sodomite kings, including political disorder and the reversal of gender roles. The vox populi associated Piers Gaverston, Richard's favorite, with the king's unsuccessful politics and military defeats. These were attributed to divine disapproval, as was Gaverston's assassination in 1312.

Edward's inability to legitimize his rule through heteronormative signifiers was fatal. Hugh Spencer

(1296–1326), Edward's next favorite, humiliated the queen, Isabelle of France (c. 1295–1358), proving the contempt in which sodomites allegedly held patriarchal law. In retaliation, the queen brought military forces from her homeland and incited revolt against the reign of sodomites, which, because it rejected heteronormative patriarchal prescriptions, had no political validity and was in turn rejected by the people. Spencer was executed, and Edward's now entirely mortal body was no longer inviolable, allowing his assassination by a red-hot iron inserted in his anus.

By seizing power, Isabelle operated a gender inversion through phallic appropriation. Inflicting heaven's retribution and punishing her husband as a sodomite, Isabelle reestablished divinely sanctioned rule by placing her son on the throne.

Edward II's violation of patriarchal prescriptions and Isabelle's gendered vengeance had implications for all kings, highlighting their vulnerability to attacks on personal flaws and indiscretions, which assumed overwhelming political significance. In 1588 three works recounting the Gaverston affair were printed in Paris, engaging a discourse that Pierre de L'Estoile interpreted as a warning to Henri III, King of France (1551–1589). As with Edward, Henri's choice of favorites (*mignons*) upset traditional court structures. This destabilization was reinforced by Henri's association with the foreign, the notion of which was often linked to sodomy in the early modern period. Henri had reigned as King of Poland (1573–1574), and on his journey back to France, he passed through Italy, where he was rumored to have been introduced to sodomy (known in France as *le vice italien*) in Venice. Henri's alleged *Italian* inclinations were attributed not only to his supposed sexual experience in Italy but to the malefic influence of the Italian queen mother, Catherine de Médicis (1519–1589). This marked Henri as fatally flawed, as he ostensibly violated the fundamental patriarchal principal of rejecting and conquering the foreign, which he chose to embrace instead. Satires such as the "Sonnet contre les Italiens" [Sonnet against the Italians] reported by L'Estoile in 1575, claimed that:

Today Italy tyrannizes France
Overpowered in her yoke that she easily suffers
...
Dividing her subjects to easily destroy them,
Using one part to destroy the other ...

(L'Estoile 1575, I: 73)

Along with foreign sexual practices Henri imported social customs, including the use of the feminine *majesté* as a form of royal address, which required referring to the king, or at least to his sacred body, in the third person as *She*, a usage to designate men later typical of the developing

homosexual subculture of eighteenth-century Paris. This accorded with the king's love of excessive fashions (construed as a feminine trait) and cross-dressing, but presumptively perverted the royal office. If the king were guilty of passive buggery, which was perceived as effeminate and sinful, he allowed the sacred body of the kingdom to be violated through the penetration of his own mortal body, thus jeopardizing the legitimacy of his role as king:

Our fathers honored the name of King
above all.
This fine name! But since then, our foolishness,
Particularly that of the courtier, has left it to
rust.
At court one speaks only of "Sa Majesté:
She goes, She comes, She is, She has been."
Does this not make the kingdom fall to the
distaff? [i.e., turn the king into a queen].

(*L'Estoile 1575, I: 193*)

Henri's alleged lack of masculine qualities was purportedly reflected in his inability to father an heir. The king's perceived weakness and failure to assert phallic order in a kingdom violently divided by religious conflict was concretized when he was forced by the duc de Guise (1550–1588), leader of the ultra-Catholic faction, to flee Paris in 1588. Efforts to establish an image of magnificent royalty were unsuccessful and deteriorated into one of demonic effeminacy as witnessed by the at least forty-five published attacks on the king dating from 1576 to 1589. The king's assassination by the Dominican friar Jacques Clément (1567–1589) was a symbolic reassertion of patriarchal order and the rule of the Father.

SEXUAL IMPROPRIETY OF ROYALTY: ATTACKS ON THE SOVEREIGN

Such was the cult of the king, especially in France, that although his infallible majesty could not be conferred to others, those closest to him, particularly the queen, received an exceptional degree of grace. As the *Institution au droit des François* of Guy Coquille explains: "The King is Monarch, & has no companion in his Royal Majesty. Exterior honors may be communicated by Kings to their wives, but that which is of his Majesty, representing his power & dignity, resides inseparably in his person alone" (Coquille 1607, p. 3). The early modern public fascination with the king's quasi-supernatural status subjected him and all those near him to intense scrutiny, particularly in relation to the patriarchal phallic order that they embodied and were obliged to confirm in order to justify the legitimacy of royal rule and the favor in which God held their house and the kingdom.



Christina of Sweden had Herself Crowned king. TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

Among the most violent political and personal attacks on the sexuality and gender of a royal personage was the discursive construction of a sexually deviant Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France (1755–1793), who was bent on destroying the kingdom in favor of her native Austria. Marie-Antoinette was denigrated in pornographic discourse that not only accused her of having sexual relations with untold numbers of men, including her brother-in-law, comte d'Artois (1757–1836), but with women as well. Depicting the queen in outrageously obscene situations became a national pastime, particularly after the Affair of the Diamond Necklace in 1785. Pamphlets frequently depicted Marie-Antoinette engaged in lesbian sex with her close friends, including the *princesse de Lamballe* (1749–1792) and the *duchesse de Polignac* (1749–1793). Pornographic publications such as *Le Godmiché royal* (The royal dildo) (1789), which depicts the queen as a lascivious Juno perverting Hebe, often cast Marie-Antoinette in a stereotypically masculine, sexually active, role. Appropriating phallic authority the queen reputedly dominated the king (and through him the kingdom), forsaking her marriage and violating all prescriptions of primogeniture and Salic Law, which demanded that queens remain submissive vessels for the procreation of French monarchs. By allegedly providing hordes of men access to the royal womb, the queen ostensibly threatened the legitimacy of the Bourbon succession and of the royal institution itself. Perverse accusations that the queen committed incest with her youngest son, heir to the throne, were viciously

calculated to illustrate her alleged violation of the very foundations of patriarchal order, as incest between mother and son, as French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) explains in “Le Stade du miroir” (The mirror stage) (1949), is the ultimate revolt against the rule of the Father.

As with any group grounded in the patriarchic heteronormative, royalty may be attacked and its authority undermined when it is perceived as violating imperatives of the social structures that legitimize its exceptional position above ordinary humans. Such strategic repositioning of God’s chosen ministers theoretically exposes individual personages such as Edward II, Henri III, and Marie-Antoinette to divine retribution operated through popular action. In turn, this retribution, which leaves kingdoms without God-sanctioned rule by shattering the foundations of primogeniture, proves the vulnerability and instability of the very social structures that impose their imperatives of gender and sexuality as prerequisites for legitimate royal government by divine right.

SEE ALSO *Bugger, Buggery; Queens; Queering, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Culture.*

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Desmond Hosford

RUBENS, PETER PAUL 1577–1640

Peter Paul Rubens, who was born in Siegen, Westphalia, on June 28, 1577, is considered the greatest Flemish painter of the seventeenth century. After attending Latin school and during service in a noble household, the young Rubens was enrolled in the Antwerp painter’s guild at fourteen and obtained his mastership in 1598. In 1600 he traveled to Italy, where he became court painter in Mantua. He remained there for eight years, returning to Antwerp in late 1608. During his Italian sojourn he studied classical, Renaissance, and contemporary art, rising from a promising talent to a leading representative of the new baroque manner. He obtained major commissions for altarpieces promoting the doctrines of the Catholic Reformation, but his religious imagery did not preclude mythology, allegory, history, and portraiture.

When he settled permanently in Antwerp, Rubens continued to paint these themes, adding hunts and landscapes. He also designed extensive decorative projects—the Antwerp Jesuit church, tapestry sets, and royal commissions for France, Spain, and England—completing at least sixty altarpieces between 1610 and 1620. This



Self-portrait of Peter Paul Rubens. IGAGNO/GETTY IMAGES.

output was facilitated by a workshop of unprecedented size; talented assistants, renowned independent artists, and Rubens's own managerial skills and business acumen ensured its success. Taking advantage of the print medium, he engaged gifted graphic artists to make reproductions to promote his fame and disseminate his imagery.

Rubens was a renowned scholar. He owned an extensive library, possessed antiquities (including an Egyptian mummy), and corresponded with a cosmopolitan network of intellectuals and political leaders. More than 250 letters survive. He was proficient in seven languages and cultivated the classics. To create a stage worthy of his social ambitions and to transcend the "mechanical art" he practiced, his residence combined regional Brabantine architecture, robust baroque, and even a "Pantheon" to exhibit choice classical sculpture. His collection comprised more than 1,000 items at his death. A commoner by birth, Rubens was elevated to the nobility and knighted by the kings of Spain and England. His manifold talents were valued by the ruling Habsburgs who appointed him court painter, councillor, and trusted diplomat. In keeping with his rise in social rank he acquired lordships, Steen being the most prestigious. He retired there in the mid-1630s to enjoy his seigniorial

prerogatives with his second wife, the blond beauty Hélène Fourment, whom he married in 1630, she sixteen, he fifty-three. Isabella Brant, his wife of seventeen years had died in 1626. Rubens himself died in Antwerp on May 30, 1640, at the age of sixty-three.

Rubens's depiction of the female nude was extraordinarily influential. The voluptuous ideal he fashioned was an amalgam of classical Venus types; Venetian nudes, Titian's especially; live models; proportional systems of Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer; physiognomy; and esoterica, including Cabala, alchemy, and Pythagorean numerology. He was also versed in medicine. This eclectic mix is recorded in notes and drawings mainly compiled in Italy. Although the product of his early years, Rubens continued to follow them later, but as his manner changed so too did their pictorial realization. Two distinct phases can be identified. In the first, the body is robust, firm, and has distinct contours; later, softer roseate dimpled flesh and rippling diaphanous contours are depicted in a more painterly manner with a lighter palette. In both phases adipose tissue is prominent. This fatty matter is a defining characteristic of women, an Aristotelian notion Rubens subscribed to. It is premised on the belief that women are inferior to men because their hearts are smaller; therefore, they do not metabolize ("concoct") efficiently. Consequently women have greater fatty tissue, lactate when nutrient blood becomes milk during pregnancy, and menstruate to expel poisonous impurities. Rubens refers in his writings to the Aristotelian topos (rhetorical topic) that women are blood and milk, and in painting, white and red are the most prominent pigments on a painter's palette depicting women, for instance, in Rubens's *Education of Marie de' Medici* (Louvre, Paris). Though physiologically inferior, motherhood fulfills female biological destiny. The beautiful, fecund female arouses the male, whose surge of desire initiates copulation. Women are eroticized to emphasize nature's necessity: Sexuality is the imperative vitality that generates progeny.

The same thinking applies to contemporary female rulers Rubens portrayed; their foremost role was to birth a viable heir. When that did not occur, witness, the Archduchess Isabella, then the ruler's dignity was indicated with suitable court attire or the habit of a nun. With respect to gender, Rubens did not transgress male-female boundaries, even in the monumental Marie de Médicis pictures. When Marie is entrusted with the regency and assumes the throne of state, she does not adopt a manly pose; rather, she is a benevolent female figure, the dowager who acts wisely on behalf of the nation she governs. When called upon to perform martial deeds, though armed and equestrian, she rides sidesaddle and her dress is more fanciful than protective. Personifications, however, may have a manly mien, for

Rubens, Peter Paul

example, France and Spain, in the Médicis cycle, but a certain courtly ambiguity gives latitude to identifying their sex; the beholder's eye is the ultimate judge.

SEE ALSO *Art; Erotic Art; Nude in Visual Arts.*

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SACHER-MASOCH, LEOPOLD VON 1836–1895

The name Leopold von Sacher-Masoch is irrevocably associated with a sexual need to be dominated or punished. At the time of their publication, his writings illustrated a broadly articulated nineteenth century trend in western culture's reimagining of the beautiful woman as a *femme fatale* who sexually victimizes the man. Yet Sacher-Masoch's popular literary realizations of a common nineteenth century model of male sexual fascination were not the direct source of his fame. Instead, his enormous influence on modern understandings of sexuality must be traced to early psychoanalytic interest in his writings as documents that were believed to be unusually transparent in revealing their author's erotic motivation. A model of a satisfied "victim" could be reconciled with established notions of femininity, but sexual submission and the enjoyment of pain by men was often regarded in twentieth-century psychiatry as being strangely at odds with the essential role played by male aggression and dominance in society.

The author Leopold von Sacher-Masoch was born in Lemberg, Galicia (now Poland), on January 27, the first of five children in a respectable bourgeois family of Slavic and Bohemian ancestry. His father, Leopold von Sacher, served as the chief of police in Lemberg. His mother, Caroline von Sacher (née Masoch), was descended from minor nobility described as Ukrainian or Polish. In 1838 the family name was changed officially to Sacher-Masoch.

In 1848 the family moved to Prague in time for Leopold to witness firsthand the Prague revolt.

Revolutionary movements and the complexities of social and political life for Slavic peoples and other ethnic minorities under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire would become a lifelong interest for Sacher-Masoch, one that was reflected in his novels, journalistic writing, and editorship of various literary tracts as well as his promulgation of pan-Slavic ideas and active support of organizations opposed to anti-Semitism.

EDUCATION AND EARLY PUBLICATIONS

In 1852 Sacher-Masoch entered the University of Prague. Contrary to his father's hope that his oldest son would become a lawyer, Leopold began studying for a doctor of philosophy degree in history at Karl-Franzens University in the city of Graz, where his father had been transferred in 1854. Upon completion of his doctorate in 1856, Sacher-Masoch began lecturing in history at the university. His colleagues criticized his historical writing, including his 1857 book *Der Aufstand in Gent unter Kaiser Carl V* [The revolt in Ghent under Emperor Charles V] as being too much in the style of fiction. In 1858 Sacher-Masoch's first novel, *Eine Galizische Geschichte: 1846* [A Galician tale: 1846] was published anonymously and received critical acclaim. Sacher-Masoch reconsidered a career in law but because of his political leanings was forbidden entry into law school by the Hapsburg government in 1859, the same year he was passed over for a professorship.

THE NOVELS

With his academic career faltering, Sacher-Masoch invested even more energy in publishing the nonfiction *Ungarns*



Leopold von Sacher-Masoch. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

Untergang und Maria von Oesterreich [Hungary's downfall and Maria of Austria], which appeared in 1863, as well as fiction, including the novels *Der Emissar* [The emissary] in 1863 and *Don Juan von Kolomea* [Don Juan of Kolomea] in 1864. Again rejected for promotion to a professorship in 1865, Sacher-Masoch began devoting himself almost exclusively to writing plays, novels, and historical nonfiction. He also took up publication of a magazine, *Die Gartenlaube für Oesterreich* [The arbor for Austria] in 1866. In spite of his prolific literary output, he was plagued by financial insecurity, and this may explain why he did not resign from the university until 1868.

In 1869 Sacher-Masoch published a highly autobiographical novel, *Die geschiedene Frau* [The Divorced Woman], that was based on his love affair with a married woman, Anna Franziska von Kottowitz. The book received a mixed critical reaction, with some reviewers condemning it for immorality. In the same year Sacher-Masoch solidified his plans for a cycle of multiple novels to be called collectively *Das Vermächtniss Kains* [The heritage of Cain]. In the cycle he hoped to address systematically what he regarded as the important themes of humankind: love, property, the state, war, work, and death.

As part of the cycle *Venus im Pelz* [Venus in furs] was published in 1870. This short novel would become Sacher-Masoch's most enduring work, appearing in many different translations and editions long after his death. It also served as the basis for theatrical films in 1967, 1969, and 1994. The male narrator of the novel, Severin von Kuziemski, meets Wanda von Dunayev, a beautiful woman whom he likens to a goddess and to a statue of cold marble wrapped in furs. Because she seems to embody the ideal woman of his fantasies, he asks to worship her. Seeking a woman who will dominate him completely, he demands: "Trample on me!" (Sacher-Masoch 1991, p. 182). Severin asks this "Venus in furs" to sign a contract that will make him her slave but that has two stipulations: She may never leave him completely or turn him over for punishment to another lover. The hero willingly confers power on the female, and Wanda plays her assigned role by abusing Severin physically with a whip and other accoutrements of domination but also emotionally by taking other lovers.

As the novel progresses, Severin tries to persuade the reader through his narration of the story that he is victimized by the woman if not by circumstances. At one point, Wanda attempts to get Severin to admit that everything she has done to abuse and humiliate him has been at his behest. His reply is coy: "You take my fantasies too seriously" (Sacher-Masoch 1991, p. 167). When Wanda enlists her handsome lover, "The Greek," to help her abuse Severin, the latter finally rebels. He declares his reformation: "The moral is that woman... is man's enemy; she can be his slave or his mistress but never his companion. This she can only be when she has the same rights as he and is his equal in education and work. For the time being there is only one alternative: to be the hammer or the anvil" (Sacher-Masoch 1991, p. 288).

The veiled representation of sex and violence in Sacher-Masoch's work appears in archetypal form in *Venus in Furs*. Early in the novel Severin describes Wanda: "At the sight of her lying on red velvet cushions, her precious body peeping out between the folds of sable, I realized how powerfully sensuality and lust are aroused by flesh that is only partly revealed. . . . [S]he seemed as saintly and chaste in her unveiled beauty as the statue of the goddess . . ." (Sacher-Masoch 1991, p. 201).

Sacher-Masoch's rhetorical reliance on idealized eroticism rather than overt obscenity resulted in the general acceptance of his novels as literature rather than pornography in spite of their frequent inclusion of flagellation, complex sexual masquerades, and the fetishistic overvaluation of female clothing, especially furs. As Gilles Deleuze observes in his highly influential rereading of Sacher-Masoch: "Of Masoch it can be said, as it cannot be of Sade, that no one has ever been so far with so little offence to decency" (1967, p. 31).

In this regard Deleuze suggests that fantasy is at the core of Sacher-Masoch's literature. It might be assumed that like *The Divorced Wife*, *Venus in Furs* was based on Sacher-Masoch's intimate relationship with a woman, in this case Fanny Pistor. Although in 1869 Sacher-Masoch signed a "contract of submission" with her in which he agreed to submit to Pistor's every whim, there was not a one-way trajectory between real life and his novels. In her autobiography Angelika Aurora Rumelin, the first of Sacher-Masoch's two wives, hints that *Venus in Furs* inspired Sacher-Masoch's sexual relations with Fanny Pistor rather than the other way around. Indeed, Angelika became Sacher-Masoch's wife in 1873 only after she presented herself to him anonymously (and deceptively) as a noblewoman in furs, signed a sexual contract with him, tortured him for months, and changed her name to that of the cruel heroine of *Venus in Furs*.

CONTEMPORARY AND MODERN INTERPRETATIONS

Indeed, the line between Sacher-Masoch's fantasies, his twenty-five-year career of novel writing, and his private life dissolved completely in 1886 with the publication of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Richard von Krafft-Ebing's authoritative compendium of case histories of perversions of the normal sexual instinct. Krafft-Ebing noted the existence of a specific mode of sexual practices in which men acted on their wish to be subjugated. He observed that those practices, including "pagism" (pretending to be a woman's servant), played a foundational role in the novels of Sacher-Masoch, and so he would call this sexual anomaly *masochism*. As a result, Krafft-Ebing irrevocably linked Sacher-Masoch's name to sexual pathology, and in later editions of his book he justified that decision by suggesting that the "revered author" (who by then was deceased) "himself was afflicted with this anomaly" (Krafft-Ebing 1965, pp. 132–133).

Krafft-Ebing's association of Sacher-Masoch with the sexual practices of masochism would outlive the acclaim and popularity that greeted the work of both men during their lifetimes. Long after Sacher-Masoch's novels were by and large forgotten and Krafft-Ebing's moralistic approach to sexology had been superseded by more subtle psychological theory, the commonly used term *masochism* and the sexual acts it was presumed to represent continued to play an important role in psychoanalytic thought and attempts to understand the development of sexuality.

Sigmund Freud addressed the issue of masochism in numerous articles, including "A Child Is Being Beaten" (1919) and "The Economic Problem in Masochism" (1924), and Theodor Reik produced an exhaustive tome on the subject, *Masochism in Modern Man* (1941).

Although both associated masochism with a rejection of conventionally conceived norms of masculine sexuality, neither drew on Sacher-Masoch's writings for his analysis of the perplexing pain-pleasure dynamic or any other element of masochism. It was not until the publication of the philosopher Gilles Deleuze's *Coldness and Cruelty* in 1967 that this would be done.

Deleuze's revisionary exegesis sparked a revival of interest in the literature of Sacher-Masoch and inspired a scholarly reconsideration of the complexities of masochism, particularly in its reversal of traditional patriarchal expectations of power aligned according to gender. As a consequence, masochism has emerged as an important theme in wide-ranging cultural discourses about both historical and contemporary convergences of sexuality and violence.

SEE ALSO *Sade, Marquis de; Sadism.*

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Gaylyn Studlar

SADE, MARQUIS DE 1740–1814

Donatien Alphonse François de Sade, commonly known as the Marquis de Sade, was born on June 2 in Paris to an aristocratic family from Provence. He was sent to the Jesuit school Louis-le-Grand in Paris. After his participation in the Seven Years' War (1764–1763), Sade lived in the family-owned castle of La Coste in southern France. In May 1763 he married Renée-Pélagie de Montreuil, the daughter of a rich noble family. He died on December 2 in the Charenton insane asylum in Paris.

THE LIFE

Sade was arrested in October 1763 for *outrageous debauchery in a brothel* and incarcerated in the Vincennes dungeon for two weeks. From that point on he consorted with actresses, dancers, and prostitutes and was under close surveillance by the police inspector Marais. Marais was in charge of vice affairs for General Lieutenant Sartines, who attentively read his detailed reports to Louis XV (1710–1774). In April 1768 the cotton spinner and beggar Rose Keller was held captive and tortured by the marquis in his Arcueil residence near Paris. Sade was imprisoned for six months and then put under house arrest in La Coste.

In June 1772 the Marseilles affair came to public attention. Four prostitutes recruited by Sade and his valet Latour for a libertine party accused both men of having poisoned them with aphrodisiac sweets. Although the apothecary's report did not mention poison, Sade and his valet were sentenced to death on September 3, 1772, for the crimes of poisoning and sodomy. The marquis escaped to Italy.

In December he was arrested and imprisoned, but he escaped in the spring of 1773. In 1777 during a stay in Paris, Sade was arrested by an order under the king's private seal, which permitted detention without trial, and imprisoned at Vincennes for the Marseilles affair. In 1778 his death sentence was commuted to a fine, but he had to remain in prison because the order submitted him to the king's *restrained justice*.

It was from his cell that Sade wrote *Dialogue between a Priest and a Dying Man* in 1782, followed by *The One Hundred and Twenty Days of Sodom*. Sade was transferred to the Bastille and then in July 1789 to the insane asylum at Charenton. In 1790 he was set free because orders



The Marquis de Sade in Prison. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

under the king's private seal were abolished. The next year he anonymously published different versions of *Justine or the Misfortunes of Virtue*, followed by *Aline and Valcour or the Philosophical Novel* and *Philosophy in the Boudoir or the Libertine Teachers, Dialogues for the Education of Young Ladies* in 1795.

After being sentenced to death under the Reign of Terror for *moderantism*, Sade was freed in 1794. While living in misery, he published *Juliette, or Vice Amply Rewarded* in 1797, followed by *Pauline and Belval or the Victims of a Criminal Love* in 1798. In 1801 he again was confined to the Charenton asylum because of the publication of a collection of short stories, *Crimes of Love*, that was considered immoral. Clear-headed until the end of his life, he organized parties and staged plays in Charenton. The *divine marquis* died in Charenton, having spent twenty-five years of his life in confinement.

THE WRITINGS

Sade's writings reflect a life not so much of sexual hedonism as of nearly surgical experimentation with sexuality to the point of horror. Those writings are characterized by militant atheism: Sade delighted in blaspheming, as in *Justine or the Misfortunes of Virtue*, where it is monks who practice penetration, flagellation, and coprophagia.

Sade considered sexual pleasure to be intrinsically transgressive. A sexual climax entails violation of the

forbidden, and sexuality thus leads to the supreme crime of murder. Sade seduces his readers by promising an almost innocent sexual pleasure, but his characters end up weary of increasingly unbridled and elaborate pleasures. The numerous scenes of humiliation, torture, and massacre make it appear as if Sade were unable to carry through with his utopia of horror.

All conceivable sexual anomalies are enacted and reenacted in secluded places, such as castles and convents, where the limits of nature are tested. However, nature has no moral limits. For Sade everything is possible, and thus everything is permitted. *Moral crimes* are boundaries invented by human laws to subjugate the true nature of people.

Sade's cruel naturalism is informed by the French Enlightenment. He protests against the misery and injustice of women's condition, against a form of marriage and education that sentences women to a permanent feeling of religiously inspired guilt, and against a morality that enjoins women to be modest despite their ignorance of their bodies and the world. Addressing women in *Philosophy in the Boudoir*, Sade wrote: "I would have them accorded the enjoyment of all sexes and, as in the case of men, the enjoyment of all parts of the body; and under the special clause prescribing their surrender to all who desire them, there must be subjoined another guaranteeing them a similar freedom to enjoy all they deem worthy to satisfy them."

In most of Sade's novels the female characters are victims of male fantasies, passive sexual objects who are manipulated and abused, but male characters are also among the victims. The virtuous Justine, who incarnates the image of the innocent woman, has as her double her older sister, the vicious Juliette, who is as evil as any of Sade's male characters.

Sade's novels are initiations into cruelty but also provide a philosophical education in sexuality. The sexuality of Sade's women is politically subversive by virtue of its polymorphous nature. Liberating women totally from reproduction, Sade establishes a woman's right to sexual pleasure without obligation.

THE FEMINIST REACTION

Sade's writings have caused debate among feminists. In 1954 French philosopher and author Simone de Beauvoir showed that Sade's philosophy enables the modern reader to understand how sexuality captures the essence of the human condition. The precariousness of the experience of otherness is put forward and held in check in Sade's writings: Sadian libertines never lose control or become confused; for them sexual pleasure is entirely cerebral. They climax in the solitude of their own identity and remain indifferent to the other. Beauvoir illustrates Sade's *isolism* with the well-known image of the man satisfied with *mak-*

ing his partner *come*. In such conditions the libertine Sade never experiences his own subjectivity, never becomes conscious of himself and his condition. Beauvoir demonstrates through this figure the true structure of human intersubjectivity in sexuality (Butler 2003). In 1977 French psychoanalytic and cultural theorist Luce Irigaray parodied Sade in a text titled "Frenchwomen, Stop Trying" in which she invited women to follow their nature—not the one prescribed by pornographers but the one they themselves shape: "Don't force yourselves to repeat, don't congeal your dreams or desires in unique and definitive representations. You have so many continents to explore that if you set up borders for yourselves you won't be able to 'enjoy' all your own 'nature'" (Irigaray 1985, p. 204).

SEE ALSO *Bondage and Discipline; Domination; Enlightenment; Literature: I. Overview; Sadism.*

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Elsa Dorlin

SADISM

Sexual sadism entails sexual behavior in which the mental and physical suffering of a victim is experienced as erotically pleasurable, according to the American Psychological Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV* (1994). Often understood as a gendered masculine, the controlling active *S* of *S/M* (sadomasochism) has a long and controversial history surrounding its peculiar melding of pleasure and pain. In its many facets and expressions, sadism can be understood as pathological, normative, playful, theatrical, abusive, and/or patriarchal. Many theorists and schools of thought have shaped ideas and practices of sadism and its relation to its passive pole, masochism, by questioning and labeling the role of sadomasochistic

practices in everyday life. Research on sadism includes lauding such practices as sexually healthy as well as cautioning against their pathological or criminal threat.

WORD ORIGINS

The word sadism comes from the name of a historical figure, the infamous Marquis de Sade (Louis Donatien Francois Alphonse de Sade [1740–1814]), a French count, writer, and philosopher. The term was first used by the psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902). Known for a lifestyle of excess, de Sade took part in violent sexual play with prostitutes, engaged in orgies with men and women, and was eventually and repeatedly charged with sexual crimes for which he was forced to serve prison sentences. While in and out of prisons and asylums, he wrote racy yet philosophical novels and plays. De Sade shone a bright light on sexual practices that many people of the age wished to keep in the dark.

In *Psychopathia sexualis* (1886), Krafft-Ebing defined the four classes of sexual variation as sadism, masochism, fetishism, and homosexuality. He noted that sadism is a fairly common perversion resulting in sensual pleasure and orgasm by cruel acts of mastery. He proposed that sadism shares a relation of opposition and cooperation with masochism, the passive desire to be subjected to pain, force, punishment, and/or humiliation. Krafft-Ebing also coined the term *masochism*, once again by referring to a real world figure, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, an Austrian writer known for writing erotic novels based on his life experiences. Sacher-Masoch's most famous work is *Venus in Furs* (1870), a story about a man who becomes enslaved to a beautiful widow.

Concerning sadism, Krafft-Ebing draws a distinction between the physiologically normal sexualized horseplay, marked by biting or pinching in the heat of passion, and more dominating and abusive sexual acts. He claims that there is a space of transition that separates the former and latter sadistic poles and that the range of sadistic acts is traceable. His text thus suggests a continuum of sadistic practices and offers a plethora of varying cases for study. Though labeling and moralizing against certain pathologies rather than structuring a cohesive sexual theory, *Psychopathia sexualis* was a landmark work for its time—one that opened a path to the work of the pioneering psychiatrist Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) on sadomasochism and his theory of psychoanalysis.

FREUD AND THE PSYCHOANALYTIC VIEW

In his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Freud referred to Krafft-Ebing's writings and formed his own psychoanalytic theories around the general characteristics of sadism and masochism. Freud's discussion

of sadism and masochism, like that of Krafft-Ebing, concludes that the two are “the most common and the most significant of all the perversions” (Freud 1963, p. 23). Sadism is instinctual and tied to a life-preserving aggression. Freud writes of this aggressive quality specifically in males as a natural, biologically determined, desire to subjugate, to quash the resistance of the sexual object and thus ensure coitus. Sadism is the exaggeration of such aggression to the point that the push for violence becomes a dominant, or *the* dominant, sexual necessity.

In his early view, Freud considered masochism to be a secondary process born out of sadism, though he changed his opinion and saw masochism as primary in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1924). In this second configuring of sadism and masochism, sadism is no longer a foundational reparative outpouring of violence meant to enforce mastery. Instead it is a tool enforcing an always masochistic death instinct. In either case, Freud points to the striking relationship between sadism and masochism—all sadists harbor masochistic tendencies within themselves and vice versa. Though the characteristics of one of these perversions are heightened in an individual, the capacity for the other is always within reach.

By routing our understanding of sadism and masochism through Freud's views of the pleasure principle, theorists like Judith Butler find that a more thorough investigation of sadism and masochism is precluded and subsumed within Freud's generalized and highly speculative theorizing of instincts. Whether one agrees with Butler or not, Freud's writing on sadism and its relation to masochism helped publicize the universality of S/M tendencies and further detailed the complexity and inter-relatedness of the two poles. Though Freud's work is still used to delineate and construct normativity, his studies also stressed the universality of neurotic abnormality and helped create a forum for discussing such topics as sadism and masochism.

SADISM IN PSYCHOLOGY

Labeled as a paraphilia, or aberrant sexual pattern, by contemporary psychologists, sadism is difficult to define because of the wide range of practices attributed to it. To have a psychological diagnosis of sexual sadism, an individual must be recurrently aroused by or participating in sadistic sexual acts for at least six months, and his or her life must be hindered socially or occupationally by such behavior.

Sexual sadism involves the dramatizing of power relationships by utilizing the roles of dominant and submissive characters. The roles reenact power scenarios such as master/slave or teacher/student in bouts of sexualized play. In modern S/M subculture the drama is governed by strict rules for safety. Role-playing itself, of course, is

not sexually deviant behavior, but if, in playing that role, the sadist begins to overstep boundaries, a once playful scenario easily becomes dangerous.

Researchers increasingly debate the pathological quality of sadism as the discussion and practice of sadism and masochism become more publicly acceptable. S/M has become a subculture replete with its own garb, toys, stores, and even theme restaurants. Sadomasochistic situations and sexual displays are commonly seen on television and in cinema, and are available through the Internet. Practiced by many generally well-adjusted individuals, sadomasochism may actually be less about pain and humiliation than the creation and re-creation of power scenarios. Though rapists, murderers, and serial killers often have sadistic tendencies, those behaviors represent a very small part of the types of acts seen in the subculture. Criminal sadists desire humiliation of the victim, whereas most noncriminal sadistic behavior is safe, consensual play that is pleasing to all parties involved.

SOCIOLOGICAL FINDINGS

Many sociological studies, especially in the 1970s and early 1980s, worked against the generalized definitions of sadomasochism as pathology by focusing research on the views and practices of actual S/M participants. One study investigated S/M in New York and San Francisco over the seven-year period between 1976 and 1983. Weinberg, Falk, Lee, and Kamel found that S/M adherents mostly kept to themselves and rarely strayed from their clubs, meetings, and stores. The study also noted that the role of pain in S/M fantasy play and procedures was hardly centralized or monstrously abusive; rather, strict rules and safe words were enforced to promote safety and limits. Other studies and surveys demonstrated that instead of a subculture built around pain, S/M centered on dramatic plays of domination and submission and consensual sex, along with creative exploration of fantasy and the usage of toys. These toys included paddles, whips, elaborate costumes, restraints, corsets, and chains, but often were utilized by the sadist with such expertise that they created more overall dramatic pleasure than horrible physical pain.

CAUSES

As in most paraphilias, a number of theories concerning the aetiology of sadism suggest that a childhood event or conflict may have developed into psychologically aberrant behavior. In sadistic adult sexual play or pathology the individual may feel as though he or she is overcoming past victimization by taking on the role of authority and then experiencing erotic pleasure. Childhood punishments, such as spanking or slapping, may also be inter-

nalized and reconstructed as highly sexualized acts. Another view highlights the escapist possibilities afforded by S/M behavior. Role-playing allows individuals to lead double lives of sorts—one could be a community leader, worker, or parent by day and master or slave by night. In addition one might not feel responsible for actions performed when one is playing the role because the character is separate from the individual. Danger arises only when a person abrogates responsibility in an S/M situation.

SEE ALSO *Sade, Marquis de; Sadomasochism.*

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SADOMASOCHISM

Sadomasochism is a controversial subject. The psychological humiliation or physical punishment of a sexual partner through practices such as bondage and flagellation are commonly identified as characteristic of sadomasochism. As a concept that links sexual arousal to violence, the origins of sadomasochism as a term in modern Western culture are rooted in discussions of sadism and masochism that date back to late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century medical discourse in its exploration of "perversion" as a deviation from normal sexual instinct.

KRAFFT-EBING AND FREUD

Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) were among the most important early commentators on "sadomasochism." Krafft-Ebing and

Freud, along with the many psychoanalysts, scholars, and sexologists interested in the phenomenon who followed them, often looked to the past for evidence of sadomasochism in the erotic coding of pain in art, literature, and religious ceremonies in which ecstatic feeling, whether openly acknowledged as sexual or not, was emphasized. From this viewpoint, sadomasochistic themes of pleasurable suffering predate the term *sadomasochism* by centuries and can be seen as existing in numerous historical periods and cultural forms, from ancient Dionysian rites to eighteenth-century British flagellation brothels, from South Asian sex manuals to nineteenth-century European academic painting. Similarly, the use of emotional or physical punishment to attain sexual pleasure can be found across a number of artistic, legal, sociopolitical, and technological arenas in contemporary life. While inarguably ubiquitous, many of these contemporary articulations of sexual pleasure aligned with acts of violence do not necessarily reference the term sadomasochism, even if they can be recognized as drawing upon established iconic codes and conventions of representation associated with the phenomenon.

Focusing on case histories of common sexual pathologies, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Richard von Krafft-Ebing's very popular study, first published in 1886, identified sadism and masochism as two quite prevalent sexual anomalies existing in perfect complementary status to each other. Krafft-Ebing identified sadism, named after Comte Donatien-Alphonse-François, Marquis de Sade (1740–1814), as evident in those individuals who found sexual pleasure in the active role of dominating and hurting others. Its complementary opposite he called "masochism," which he named after the Slavic author Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836–1895). This newly created term described a subject who achieved sexual arousal through taking the passive role and submitting to abuse and humiliation at the hands of a punishing partner.

Freud is often credited with identifying the term sadomasochism in 1905, in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, in which he argued for the possible presence of both sadism and masochism in the same person. He noted: "a person who feels pleasure in producing pain in someone else in a sexual relationship is also capable of enjoying as pleasure any pain which he may himself derived from sexual relation." In later editions of *Psychopathia Sexualis* appearing around the same time as Freud's work, Krafft-Ebing observed a similar convergence of the two perversions in the "sadomasochistic" who might experiment with taking one role and then assume the reverse or opposite one in a dialectical dynamic of giving and receiving pain, but he concluded that such experimentation was "usually soon abandoned as inadequate for the original inclination."

As was the case with Krafft-Ebing, Freud's early views on sadomasochism insisted on the structural similarities of sadism and masochism as the active and pas-

sive forms of pursuing sexual pleasure through the common matrix of pain. Nevertheless, Freud felt compelled to return again and again to the complexities of each perversion as distinctive and quite complex anomalies linking sexual arousal to domination and submission. He in fact pursued the questions centered on the perplexing internal logic of masochistic and sadistic fantasies through a number of essays such as "Instincts and Their Vicissitudes" (1915), "A Child Is Being Beaten" (1919), and "The Economic Problem in Masochism" (1924). In the first of these essays he asserted that the person's enjoyment depended upon a double identification with torturer and victim, with the masochist first experiencing a sadistic fantasy and the sadist recognizing pain as sexually pleasurable and then "masochistically" enjoying the pain of his or her victim. In "A Child Is Being Beaten," Freud established the emergence of sadomasochism in the adult's acting out of fantasies associated with an infantile sexual fixation. Freud's later work complicated sadomasochism through his recognition of the importance of a primary or original masochism (and a primary sadism) that trumped identification with the complementary perversion's preferred subject position as the recipient or administrator of punishment. His ongoing interest is understandable because masochism's manifestation in men, in particular, seemed to defy commonsense cultural norms and that attributed a desire to mastery or even sexual aggression to men as a universal impulse or biological given. He was also fascinated by the fact that these perversions suggested that sexual satisfaction might depend on a search for pain and discomfort.

POSTWAR VIEWS

Sadomasochism became a term of common use in the twentieth century. However, its origins in the complementary association of sadism with masochism were not greatly illuminated by later psychological theory. After World War II, with the defeat and exposure of Nazi Germany, there was recognition of how power could be sexualized and, indeed, how sadomasochism was institutionalized within the Third Reich's mass cruelties. Although sexual liberalization was embraced in the 1950s and 1960s in many European and North American nations, discussions and depictions of sadomasochism as a source of sexual pleasure remained marginalized as pornography, which often identified sadomasochism with the costumes and paraphernalia of the police state, and of the Third Reich in particular.

Within postwar French intellectual circles, the writing of Sade began to be discussed seriously, and Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, and Gilles Deleuze, among others, addressed various dimensions of the history of sexuality in relation to social controls and norms. Deleuze, a philosopher, created a major milestone in the consideration of

sadomasochism with the 1967 publication of *Le froid et le cruel*, translated as *Masochism: An Interpretation of Coldness and Cruelty* (1971). Returning to the literature of Sade and Sacher-Masoch that formed the source for the original definitions of sadism and masochism, Deleuze argued for the semiological and clinical impossibility of sadomasochism. In his view, the sexual sadist never really relinquished power over his or her involuntary victim no matter who seemed to be cruel and who was degraded. In this respect, the sadist represents the monstrous exaggeration of paternal power and would never desire a truly masochistic partner who enjoyed the subversive defiance of paternal law that suffering allowed him or her. Likewise, the masochist sought to be the director of scenes that played out his or her sexual fantasies and so needed a partner who could be educated to dominate within the confines of a contractual relationship.

While Deleuze's views inspired many new scholarly considerations of masochism, his dismissal of sadomasochism as a confusion of masochism's and sadism's qualitative differences, foundational fantasies, and psychological origins did not influence the focus on sadomasochism within the circles of identity politics in the 1970s. Sadomasochism became politicized as an important meeting point between danger and sexual pleasure. Within the Anglo-American cultural context, the implications of sadomasochism were much debated among feminists as well as those interested in the formation of gay and lesbian sexual identities. In this debate, Angela Carter's analysis of Sade's writing, *The Sadeian Woman*, articulated the importance of gender difference in sadism's literary model of sexual freedom. Antipornography activists such as Andrea Dworkin and Susan Griffin emphasized the role of sadomasochism in pornography's institutionalized expressions of male rage and the phenomenon's inevitable degradation of women (Griffin 1981). In contrast, Pat Califia (2000) contended that sadomasochistic behavior and the sexual subculture that it created were tools for transgressive and liberating pleasures centered on the performative unveiling of the inequities of patriarchal sexuality. Even removed from the question of how sadomasochism might oppress women, the phenomenon continued to be a highly contested issue in the 1980s and 1990s in gay male communities (Padva 2005). The acting out of exaggerated power inequalities in "leathersex" using costumes and paraphernalia, often associated with the police state, raised questions about why gay men needed to reproduce acts and iconography associated with brutality in order to achieve sexual gratification (Joshi 2003).

CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES AND TRENDS

Although sadomasochism remains classified as a psychiatric disorder, gay, lesbian, and heterosexual sadomaso-

chistic practitioners in contemporary society resist the longstanding medical view of sadomasochism as a pathology fueled by unresolved infantile conflict or rage. New approaches to sadomasochism in scholarly research frequently incorporate accounts of participants in sadomasochistic organizations and venues who argue for the consensual nature of their interactions, as well as for the self-imposed limits placed on cruelty in interactions using exaggerated dominance-submission to create exciting sexual dissonance. Thus, many contemporary accounts of sadomasochism exhibit more interest in the social construction of the phenomenon than in understanding the psychological origins or consequences of the behaviors (Langdrige and Butt 2004). At the same time that sadomasochistic iconography and themes have come to be represented much more openly in mainstream film, video, television, and print advertising, consensual sadomasochistic sexual acts remain officially suppressed in many countries, both through efforts to control the proliferation of pornography, as well as through laws against bodily harm such as those in the United Kingdom (which concern "offences against the person") and anti-domestic abuse statutes in the United States.

SEE ALSO *Freud, Sigmund; Krafft-Ebing, Richard; Pornography; Sacher-Masoch, Leopold von; Sade, Marquis de.*

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Gaylyn Studlar

SAINTS, MALE AND FEMALE

Saints (from *sanctus*, Latin for holy) fascinate many people because they embody a superior and transcendental ideal of life based on self-sacrifice and even loss of life through martyrdom (witness to the faith). Saints provide an example, a guide, an emulation for those who seek to live and die according to universal values and high ethical standards—far beyond any temporal or earthly satisfaction or meaning. Saints are believed to have direct intercession with God on behalf of the living. Many saints, male and female, sacrificed their lives for an ideal or fidelity to a cause, such as celibacy or religious belief. True saints are universally admired—even by those who may not be religious or venerate saints and may repute their miracles as nothing but superstitions—simply because of their exemplum or sacrifice for others.

CROSS-RELIGION OVERVIEW

In the early Christian tradition the faithful declared saints those who died of martyrdom. Subsequently, sainthood was not governed by a strict ecclesiastic process; instead, saints were declared through popular decree in a process controlled by the clergy or bishops. Indeed, storytellers such as Giovanni Boccaccio (see the tale of Ser Ciappelletto in the *Decameron* 1921 [1348–1353]) mocked the superficial and simplistic way in which saints were created by popular acclamation. In the modern era,

or after the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the Counter-Reformation, the process of sainthood has been strictly bound by rules, and control of the official process of beatification and canonization has been given to the Sacred Congregation of Rites (founded in 1588); as a result, the church has rescinded many saints from its official calendar and from the Litany of the Saints at Mass. The various Protestant denominations do not venerate saints as the Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox churches do; they consider a saint anyone who is part of *the body of Christ*, as taught by St. Paul the Apostle (c. 10–c. 67 CE). The Anglican Communion considers itself both Catholic and Reformed and commemorates most of the saints of the Catholic Church; it considers as a saint someone who is regarded as pious and holy. It singles out the English prelate John Fisher (1469–1535) and the English statesman and author Thomas More (1478–1535), both of whom were executed by King Henry VIII (1491–1547) and canonized 400 years later by Pope Pius XI (1857–1939).

The other great religions, including Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism, all have a sort of belief in saints but not an official process of canonization as does the Catholic Church. In Judaism there is a tradition of *tzadic*, or the righteous one. The Talmud states that if there are thirty-six such *tzadics* living among the people, God will not destroy the world.

In Islam a saint is a *wali*, a friend of Allah. There is a belief that many great saints still inhabit the valley of Mohra Sharif in Pakistan where an annual great festival is held. There is no formal canonization of saints in Islam, but they are very popular with the faithful and are endowed with *karamat*, the performance of marvels, similar to Christian miracles. Cults of saints, especially pilgrimages to saints' tombs, represent a current that many of the stricter tendencies of orthodoxy (such as Wahhabism) reject. In Islam the cults of saints tend to revolve around the mystical tradition of Sufism, and also arise in popular, even folkloric, religious practices, which are more or less tolerated by the orthodox. The famous Sufi philosopher Muhyi ad-Din Ibn al-Arabi (1165–1240) from Andalusia, himself considered a saint, wrote two compendia about Andalusian saints, four of them women. The tombs of female saints, and other holy females, become pilgrimage points for women, affording one of the few opportunities for mass female worship and community within Islam. In popular religion saints can slide into the category of hermits and even nonhuman spirits.

Buddhism, Hinduism, and the other Asian religions have permanently influenced the religious practices of Europe and North America through mystical techniques,

so much so that there are, for example, Catholic Buddhists—catholic mystics who use Buddhist practices.

Besides the official religions in the Caribbean, there is also Santería (the way of the saints) or *Regla de Ocha*, *La Regla Lucumi* (*lucumi* being a Yoruba word meaning friend), as well as the oral tradition practiced by the Hispanic populations of the Americas. The latter—which varies from country to country but is practiced especially in Cuba and is present even in France and the Netherlands—developed after the slave trade from Africa and integrated the beliefs of the Yoruba and Bantu people with the Christian ones. Thus equivalencies between saint figures were created, such as Babalú Ayí and St. Lazarus, patron of the sick and leprosy; Shangó and St. Barbara, patron of lightning, thunder, and artillery; Elegguá and St. Anthony, patron of roads and gates; and Oggún and St. Peter, patron of fishermen and war. In *Lucumi* beliefs Olorún is the supreme god and creator of the universe, and the *orishas* are the saints.

In the Catholic Church modern saints include people who gave their entire life for the cause of the poor or indigents, such as Mother Teresa of Calcutta (1910–1997). Born Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu in Skopje, Macedonia, she received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979 for her work with the poor of Calcutta and the entire world through the Missionaries of Charity, the order she founded in 1950, which eventually ran more than 500 missions in 100 countries. Known as the Saint of the Gutters because her mission was to aid the poorest of the poor, the sick, and the dying, Mother Teresa was beatified by Pope John Paul II (1920–2005) in 2003.

Another example of a modern saint is Edith Stein, or St. Teresa Benedicta of the Cross (1891–1942), a Jew who converted to Catholicism in 1921 and, inspired by the autobiography of St. Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), became a Carmelite nun in 1933. She was executed with her sister Rosa by the Nazis in Auschwitz in 1942. Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), though not Catholic or Christian, is considered by many to be a true saint because of his ideal of peace and nonviolence. The Anglican Church, meanwhile, commemorates such twentieth-century individuals and martyrs as Manche Masemola (d. 1928), Maximilian Kolbe (d. 1941), Lucian Tapiedi (d. 1942), Dietrich Bonhoeffer (d. 1945), Esther John (d. 1960), Martin Luther King, Jr. (d. 1968), Grand Duchess Elizabeth Fyodorovna (d. 1969), Wang Zhiming (d. 1972), Janani Luwum (d. 1977), and Archbishop Oscar Romero (d. 1980).

EVOLUTION OF SAINTHOOD WITHIN CHRISTIANITY

In Christianity the conception of saint and sainthood underwent a natural evolution. Saints in early Christianity included all the martyrs of persecution under the Romans, the high point of this period occurring around

250 CE (with the saints including Bartholomew, Cecilia [d. c. 230], Agatha [d. c. 250], Sebastian [d. 288], Lucy [d. 304], Catherine of Alexandria [d. c. 305], and Methodius of Olympus [d. 311]). This period continued until the rule of Constantine (c. 274–337) (whose own mother was St. Helena [d. c. 330]), who permitted Christians to practice their faith freely with the Edict of Milan (313). Subsequently, the fourth through sixth centuries feature saints who were either founders of religious orders or church fathers, including Ambrose (339–397), a doctor of the church who was present at the Council of Nicea (325), where, among other things, the birth of Jesus was fixed as being December 25; Jerome (c. 347–419 or 420), patron of librarians, who wrote the *Life of St. Paulus the Hermit* (c. 230–342) and translated the Bible into the Latin Vulgate; Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–547), considered the father of European monasticism; Augustine of Hippo (354–430), founder of the European church; Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), patron of choir boys and educators, eminent pope, and creator of the Gregorian chant; and numerous *holy hermits* who chose a life of penitence and privations while living in grottos and extremely isolated places.

Next was the period of evangelization and crusades. Major figures during this period included St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), St. Francis of Assisi (1181 or 1182–1226), and St. Dominic (c. 1170–1221), founders, respectively, of the Cistercian, Franciscan, and Dominican Orders out of which would arise other luminaries and saints such as St. Bonaventura (c. 1217–1274) and St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). During this period a number of women mystics achieved prominence, such as St. Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179); Mechtilde of Magdeburg (1207–1282); St. Bridget of Sweden (c. 1303–1373); Julian of Norwich (1342–after 1416), an English mystic very popular in the twentieth century, who explored the female dimension of God and wrote *Revelations of Divine Love*; and St. Clare of Assisi (1194–1253), who was converted by St. Francis and founded the Poor Claires. A number of women mystics enriched the history of the church, such as St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), a brilliant theologian and doctor of the church, and patron of fire prevention; St. Catherine of Genoa (1447–1510), a visionary mystic and author, and patron of wives and widows; and St. Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), a Spanish mystic and doctor of the church who spoke of the obscure type of revelations and founded the Discalced Carmelites.

In the modern era saints have assumed a more human face—away from the heroic–mythic figures of the past—and have been more involved with the hordes of suffering humanity throughout the world, assisting and educating the poor, the sick, the handicapped, and

the lepers. The aforementioned Mother Theresa is the best example, but there are many others. For example, St. Katharine Drexel (1858–1955), a woman born into a rich Philadelphia family, took an early interest in Native Americans and African Americans and founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament to work for this cause. She even donated her fortune for ministry of this cause, endowing schools for the poor, including Xavier University of Louisiana in New Orleans. Those under consideration for sainthood include people assassinated by political factions, such as Archbishop Oscar Romero (killed while saying a mass in 1980), the three Catholic nuns and a lay worker raped and murdered (1980), and the six Jesuit priests, their cook, and her daughter (killed in 1989), all in El Salvador. In September 2006 Leonella Sgorbati, a missionary sister born in Piacenza, Italy, who had worked in Africa for forty years, was shot in the back by unidentified gunmen near a hospital in Mogadishu, Somalia. As a martyr she fits the mold of those saints dying in the odor of sanctity.

CLASSIFICATION OF SAINTS

The Catholic Church (through the papal bull *Divino Afflatu* [1911] of Pius X [1835–1914]) classified the feasts of saints of the New Testament—all the great figures of the Old Testament are saints—hierarchically in the following order:

- Mary, the Blessed Virgin Mother of Jesus
- the angels and archangels
- St. John the Baptist, the precursor of the Messiah
- St. Joseph, Mary's husband and Jesus' putative father
- Sts. Peter and Paul and all the apostles, who witnessed the life of Christ and are above all the others
- the four evangelists (each with a different symbol: John, an eagle; Luke, an ox; Matthew, an angel; and Mark, a lion), who with their writings testify to Christ's earthly life and miracles
- martyrs, who gained eternal glory having given their life for the faith, not only during the ancient time of persecutions but in recent times as well
- confessors and doctors of the church and founders of orders
- virgins, penitent holy women, and widows.

Then there are all the rest, particularly the patron saints of countries, cities, towns, dioceses, and parishes and the moral saints, the protectors of categories of people either because of their activity or biography.

The church has a liturgical calendar of saints, contained in the Roman Missal, and a saint (or more than one saint) is associated with every day of the year; with every

religious event concerning Mary, Jesus, Joseph, the Trinity, or the church itself; and with the liturgical seasons—Advent, Lent leading to Easter, Pentecost after the Resurrection, and the Ordinary Period. Saints are commemorated on the day of their death. The *Legenda aurea* (Golden legend) of Jacobus de Voragine (1228 or 1230–1298), a Dominican preacher beatified in 1816 by Pope Pius VII (1800–1823), has been a very popular source for narration on the official saints of the church and their legendary deeds. It begins with the Advent of the Lord, then covers St. Andrew the Apostle, St. Nicholas of Myra (d. c. 346), St. Lucy (d. 304), and so on, ending with Sts. Barlaam (d. 304; a type of Buddha) and Josaphat; St. Pelagius the Pope (d. 561); and the Dedication of the Church. The narrative emphasizes the church's teaching of the seven virtues; the ideals of chastity, poverty, and humility; and monastic life. The women saints represent a minority: Of the more than 200 saints mentioned, only forty-one are women and only five are married. Another text of the lives of the saints is the *Acta Sanctorum* (Acts of the saints), initiated by Jean de Bolland in 1643 and continued by the Jesuit Bollandists, which contains a general history of the saints from the beginning of Christianity to the sixteenth century. There are several martyrologies and, of course, the Bible and the apocryphal books of the New Testament provide stories about saints, Mary, Joseph, and the apostles.

PATRON SAINTS

One cannot underestimate the importance of the patron saints or protectors of countries, towns, cities, and orders and those moral saints who protect—because of their biography and hagiography—different categories of workers, professions, corporations, and general activities of every kind. Examples of the latter include Mary Magdalene, patron saint of repentant prostitutes (although she would be an apostle according to contemporary belief); St. Sebastian, patron of archers, athletes, and tapestry makers; St. Valentine, patron of lovers; St. Isidore of Seville, patron saint of computers, their users, computer technicians, and the Internet; St. Barbara, patron of lightning, artillery, bricklayers, and architects; St. Francis of Assisi, protector of animals and the environment, and patron saint of Italy; St. Thomas Becket, martyred in 1170 by King Henry II, patron of brush makers and coopers; St. Cecilia, patron of musicians; St. Luke, patron of painters, artists, and medical doctors; St. Matthew, patron of tax collectors and bankers; St. Januarius or San Gennaro, patron of volcanic eruptions and patron saint of Naples; St. Peter, patron of fishermen; St. Paul, patron of rope makers, basket makers, and writers; St. Lucy of Syracuse, patron of eyesight; St. Zita, patron of waitresses; St. Martha, patron of cooks; St. Brigid of Ireland, patron of dairy workers; St. Catherine of Alexandria, patron of

philosophers; St. Apollonia, patron of dentists and dental diseases; the Italian-born American St. Mother Cabrini, patron of emigrants; St. Teresa of Ávila, patron of heart disease and headaches; St. Roch, patron of invalids and pestilence; St. Monica (mother of St. Augustine of Hippo), patron of married women; St. Honorius of Amiens, patron of bakers; St. Jude, patron of lost causes; St. Mary of Loreto, patron of aviators; and St. Thérèse de Lisieux, patron of missionary activities. Among other notable saints is St. Benedict the Moor (1526–1589), patron saint of African Americans, although he was born in Sicily to African slaves and freed at age eighteen and joined the Franciscans; he could not read or write but his wisdom and work was an exemplum to all. Mary the Blessed Virgin is, among other things, protector of pregnant women, moral confusion, sickness of soul, and every kind of ailment.

Many cities and countries in the Christian world have patron saints (and usually more than one) along with a corresponding feast day. In this category are included St. Patrick, patron saint of New York City; St. James the Great, Spain and Galicia; St. Elizabeth, Hungary and Portugal; St. Joseph, Croatia; St. Ambrose, Milan; St. John the Baptist, Florence (his image was coined on the gold florin); St. George, Great Britain; St. Thérèse, Lisieux; Louis IX, St. Louis, Missouri; St. Joan of Arc, France; St. Geneviève, Paris; St. Petronius, Bologna; St. Mark the Evangelist, Venice; St. John the Baptist, Canada; St. Andrew, Scotland, Russia, and Greece; St. Casimir, Poland and Lithuania; Sts. Cyril and Methodius (ninth-century martyrs), the Slavic countries; Our Lady of Guadalupe, Mexico; St. Rose, Lima, Peru; St. Anthony of Padua, Brazil; St. Francis Solano, Argentina; and St. Boniface, Germany. Mention must be made of the many cities and countries who bear the name of saints, such as Santa Barbara, San Diego, San Francisco, San Pedro, San Mateo, Santa Anita, San Antonio (and others in California and Texas because of the historical legacy of Mexico), St. Paul, and St. Petersburg in the United States; São Paulo in Brazil; Santiago in Chile and Cuba; San Juan in Puerto Rico; Santa Cruz in Bolivia; San Salvador in El Salvador; Santo Domingo in the Dominica Republic; and the islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix. The list is enormous in the Christian countries because of the popularity of the religion and popular traditions. The saints of the early twenty-first century are more global, however, and they reflect a world in transition and all those people who dedicated themselves to help in a small but exemplary way to alleviate the problems of the world so that countries on every continent have special saints.

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

SALEM

SEE *Witch Trials, Europe; Witchcraft*.

SALOME

In the New Testament, Herod Antipas's stepdaughter dances for him. The dance pleases him, and he offers her whatever reward she names. Prompted by Herodias, her mother, she asks for the head of John the Baptist on a platter (Matthew 14:1–12; Mark 6:14–19). The first-century Jewish historian Josephus refers to Herodias's daughter, unnamed in the Gospels, as Salome, the name by which she is known to later tradition. Herodias's dancing daughter should not be confused with the only Salome named in the Bible, a disciple of Jesus who followed him from Galilee to Jerusalem and who, with Mary Magdalene, discovered the empty tomb (Mark 15:40, 16:1). While Salome, as Herodias's daughter is referred to herein, plays a small but significant role in Gospel narrative, her importance for gender studies far exceeds her limited role in first-century history. Salome is



Salome With Head of John the Baptist. IMAGNO/GETTY IMAGES.

an exotic cipher on whom artists, writers, and scholars project their fantasies about femininity, especially Oriental femininity. She has also offered a veiled alter ego to creative men, most notably Oscar Wilde, who seek to act out alternative gender identities.

John the Baptist won the enmity of Herodias by condemning her marriage to Herod, her second husband. Her first husband, Philip, was Herod's brother. Levitical law forbade a man from marrying the wife of a living brother (Leviticus 18:16). Herod imprisoned John to appease Herodias, who would have preferred that Herod execute him. According to Mark, however, "Herod feared John, knowing that he was a righteous and holy man, and he protected him. When he heard him, he was greatly perplexed, and yet he liked to listen to him" (6:20). The Herodian family was infamous for its ruthless appetite for power; the Gospel according to Matthew, for example, claims that Herod the Great, unsettled by inquiries by wise men from the East about the birth of the king of the Jews, ordered the slaughter of all male babies in the vicinity of Bethlehem (2:16–18). Herodias perceived the prisoner, probably rightly, as a threat to her power. As a Herodian, she saw one option: eliminate her enemy. Biblical tradition implies that the enmity between John

the Baptist and Herodias is political. In popular imagination, however, the demand of Herodias for John the Baptist's head, a demand mediated through Herodias's daughter, derives from the depraved femininity of mother and/or daughter.

Two details of the biblical account have riveted the imaginations of visual artists, writers, and musicians. The first detail is Salome's dance itself, and the second is the head of John the Baptist, usually depicted with the full beard and wild locks of desert dweller, bloodied, on a platter. The biblical accounts are laconic and thus allow the imagination free play. Mark refers to Herodias's daughter as a *korasion*, a girl on the cusp of adulthood, but those who flesh out the scene in painting, on stage, or in film often depict a fully fleshed woman performing an erotic striptease. Indeed, although Richard Strauss thought of his operatic Salome as a budding adolescent, the vocal demands of the role require a mature woman. On Salome, the Eastern princess, are projected Western male fantasies about Oriental femininity as tantalizing, mysterious, and dangerous. Wilde famously depicted Salome performing a dance of seven veils. The dance of the seven veils is crucial to cinematic adaptations of the Salome story. Unveiling can be a metaphor for self-revelation, as layers of artifice are stripped away. Unveiling is also seductive, intensifying the viewer's desire, teasing the viewer to want to see more. In literature, visual art, film, and music, Salome thus embodies a powerful, dangerous, and sexualized femininity.

In Wilde's play *Salomé*, Herodias is not behind Salome's demand for John's head. Rather, Wilde depicts Salome as consumed by desire for John. Sexually frustrated, Salome's desire is transformed into a castrating desire, a desire for John's beheading. Wilde anticipates Sigmund Freud's question, "What does woman want?" and proposes a response, "The head of John the Baptist," thus linking femininity and female desire to male destruction. In the play's final scene, Salome kisses the severed head of the man who refused to kiss her, a head grotesquely displayed on a platter. She says, "Ah! thou wouldst not suffer me to kiss thy mouth, Iokanaan. Well! I will kiss it now. I will bite it with my teeth as one bites a ripe fruit." In his writings, Wilde, once photographed in the garb of Salome, played with the desire both to veil and to unveil his homosexuality. With Wilde, as with many other creative interpreters of Salome, when the last veil is removed, the artist is finally revealed.

SEE ALSO *Camp; Folklore; Legends and Myths; Sex, Race, and Power: An Intersectional Study; Wilde, Oscar.*

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Jennifer A. Glancy

SALSA

Salsa is a hybrid genre of popular music and dance originating in urban Spanish-speaking communities of the Antilles and the United States, especially New York. Salsa, much like rock and hip hop, is also a meta-genre that involves particular ways of making music and moving the body that reflect specific cultural values, ranging from chivalrous machismo to an irrepressible celebration of life.

The music of Havana nightclubs and the New York jazz scene fused in the early twentieth century to create the foundations of salsa. Both Tito Puente (1923–2000), the New-York-born Puerto Rican known as the King of Salsa, and Celia Cruz (1925–2003), the Cuban-born Queen of Salsa (who thought of herself as a guaracha specialist), famously rejected the honorific labels and thought of salsa as fundamentally an Afro-Cuban-inspired musical confection born in New York in the 1960s. Cuban-born musicians such as Arsenio Rodríguez, Don Azpiazu, Frank "Machito" Grillo, Israel "Cachao" Lopez, and Mario Bauzá pioneered the fusion of Afro-Cuban music and Afro-American jazz between the 1930s and 1950s. Chano Pozo and Tito Puente revolutionized Latin pop before 1960 by using drums as lead instruments. The term salsa originated during the Cold War when the epicenter of Latin pop shifted from Havana to New York following the 1959 Cuban revolution and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Angel Quintero-Rivera (1998) argues that salsa became a popular response to the dissemination of rock music that arrived with Americanization in Puerto Rico and the expansion of U.S. military power in the region.

Overlapping musical tastes of Spanish-Caribbean women and men in New York created a market for upstart record companies, such as Fania (1960), the first *salsa* label, founded by the Dominican musician Johnny Ventura and his Italian-American lawyer, Jerry Masucci. Salsa incorporates Cuban mambo, son, rumba, and cha cha cha, as well as Puerto Rican bomba, plena, seis, and aguinaldo. Other flavorings come from Colombian cumbia and vallenato, and Brazilian samba and bossa nova. The musical foundation of salsa builds on African diasporic features such as call-and-response singing, and *clave*, a way of keeping time with a pair of sticks that puts varied emphasis on downbeats and upbeats (in patterns of 2–3 or 3–2). Together, these features make

a home for polyrhythmic syncopation in salsa music, singing, and dancing.

Whereas men have historically been the instrumentalists, women singers and dancers have always been expected to have a deep know-how of the basic musical principles in salsa. Technical command is often coded as masculine, but salsa culture involves a more full-bodied experience that women have actively participated in creating. Salsa dancing, performed in couples with occasional apart dancing, derived from the quick-quick-slow steps of Cuban son and international mambo. Dancers often divide into two camps (either *on-one* or *on-two*, within the *clave* beat). International mambo is akin to salsa but considered a separate dance form in Cuba.

Salsa music developed mainly in the hands of men under patriarchal norms in twentieth-century Spanish-Caribbean communities, but feminist scholarship on salsa, starting in the early 1990s, critiques exclusive attention to men's participation and analyzes gender dynamics in salsa lyrics and dance styles. Writers such as Frances Aparicio and Mayra Santos-Febres show how working-class Afro-Puerto Rican women subversively coauthor the meanings of salsa lyrics written by men rather than passively accepting objectification. Marisol Berrios-Miranda, Priscilla Renta, and Juliet McMains argue that the corporal delights and rigors of salsa dancing provide vibrant counterpoints to masculine instrumentality. Awilda Sterling-Duprey and Marta Moreno Vega show how the valorization of women's bodies in salsa dancing and lyrical imagery can be seen as a commercial facade that masks spiritual principles of feminine divinity (e.g., Oshún) derived from west-African belief systems.

Whereas it is still customary for men to lead women in salsa dancing, there are growing countercultural trends that permit women to bend the rules, allowing them to *lead while following*, participation of same-sex pairs, and so forth. There have also been a growing number of remarkable women artists in every generation of Latin pop, starting with the all-female Anacaona conjunto in Cuba that began in the 1930s. Cruz started singing in the 1940s and performed until her passing in 2003. Her compatriot Guadalupe "La Lupe" Raymond was a major star in the 1960s and 1970s. Contemporary salseras that have defied gender norms and countered the macho posturing of male lyricists include Deddie Romero, Olga Tañón, Brenda K. Starr, Linda "La India" Caballero, Albita Rodríguez, and the multitalented Choco Orta who excels as a vocalist, dancer, and drummer.

SEE ALSO *Blues; Jazz; Opera; Rap Music.*

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Halbert Barton

SAME-SEX LOVE AND SEX, TERMINOLOGY

The adjectival form *same-sex*, usually hyphenated, appears with some consistency in the early 1970s, not necessarily in relation to issues of homosexuality. The phrase is applied to homosexuality in a 1969 reader that argues for the normalcy of homosexuality (Weltge 1969). *Same-sex* is used in a 1973 review of literature hostile to homosexuality, seeing it as a sickness and a state, not an identity (Sagarin 1973, p. 10). In a 1978 article, Lillian Faderman applies the term freely to love, sex, and friendship. By the 1990s, however, with the debates between essentialists and constructionists, *same-sex* begins to lose its neutrality and to reflect anxieties around accusations of "essentialism."

"Same-sex" pertaining to love, sex, attraction, and so forth, between persons presumed of the same biological sex, is a linguistic and conceptual compromise. For scholars of the 1990s and beyond, the study of communities or individuals and same-sex sexuality in the past is closely entangled with issues of language. A precarious equilibrium is sought between those who, as Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr., summarize (1996, pp. 5–6), prefer to use the actual terms circulated in the past, "...underscoring the dissimilarity between past and present sexual categories," and those who deem historical language confusing and favor the clarity of the "judicious use of modern language." The liberal use of historically circumscribed and identity-based terms such as *gay*, *lesbian*, *queer*, or even *homosexual* has presented at times unsurmountable problems for the articulation of discourse about sexuality in the past. *Same-sex* thus seeks neutral ground within the politically invested field of sexuality studies, and strives for an above-board scientific accuracy by remaining purely descriptive and not prescriptive, and devoid of a problematic identity content easy to impune as anachronistic. It has also "authorized" work on distant-past same-sex sexuality over the stark objections of strict constructionists that, before the end of the nineteenth century, only behaviors can be studied. Yet *same-sex* is not immune to critique and questioning.

It merely deflates the charge of the term *homosexual*, because it literally translates it and has comfortably moved into nonscholarly discourse such as search engines and works of vulgarization, and even in library-catalog subject classifications. By the late 1990s and early 2000s, most likely reflecting the far-reaching impact of John Boswell's work on "same-sex unions" (Boswell 1994), the term was conflated with discussions of "gay marriage." Thus, the online encyclopedia Wikipedia speaks at once of "Same-sex marriage" and of "gay marriage," "homosexual marriage," "same-gender marriage," "gender-neutral marriage," and "equal marriage." The New York Public Library's

subject-classification list cross-references same-sex couples to “gay couples.” Out of its fifty same-sex subject entries, all but four are on same-sex marriage, and two of the remaining entries refer to gay couples.

Further, how does *same-sex* fare if the very notion of *sex* as immutable or even stable is contested? Indeed, if sex itself is not a given—following Judith Butler’s groundbreaking assertion—but the product of its own types of construction, of context, historical situations, and period-bound discourses, *same-sex* could no longer accurately identify relations between persons whose assumed biological sex might be in question, in transition, in the process of being changed, or simply uncertain (Butler 1990, pp. 6–7).

At the same time, in her discussion of the difficulty of ascertaining not only the language but the “historically situated nature of sexual desire,” Martha Vicinus (2004) chooses to use both *lesbian* and *same-sex sexuality* as a “convenient linguistic reminder that sex matters” (p. xxii). *Same-sex* may thus remain the most cogent of conventions, but not much else, and it may shield scholars from linguistic interdictions that would thwart the task of retrieving the past outside of heterosexuality.

SEE ALSO *Essentialism; Homosexuality, Male, History of; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview.*

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Francesca Sautman

SAND, GEORGE 1804–1876

Born on July 1 in Paris, Aurore Dupin, who later adopted the pen name George Sand, was educated mostly by her maternal grandmother in the family home of Nohant in central France. She is the best known nineteenth-century French woman writer, having published over seventy nov-

els between 1829 and her death in 1876. She also wrote various autobiographical works, including the monumental *Histoire de ma vie* [Story of my life], which she claimed was written not for those in search of gold and glory but for dreamers, those who were concerned with the life of the soul. She wrote more than thirty plays, some of which were adapted from her novels. The quality of her writing for the theater is reflected in the fact that it was in her 1870 play *L’Autre* [The other] that the celebrated actress Sarah Bernhardt made her first appearance. In addition, she was a feisty and energetic contributor of critical and political articles to newspapers; a tireless letter writer, engaging most notably in a lengthy correspondence with the novelist Gustave Flaubert; and a painter. As a painter she invented a process known as *dendritage* in which patches of color are pressed under cardboard or glass, producing branching patterns reminiscent of those which appear on the surface of certain rocks. She died on June 9 in Nohant, her family home.

INFLUENCES AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Her early literary works bear testimony to an urgent desire to change women’s lot, especially in regard to the constraints of marriage as it was conceived under contemporary French law, the patriarchal Napoleonic code. Under the influence of various nineteenth-century social reformers, particularly Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc, Félicité de Lamennais, and Pierre Leroux, Sand longed for a harmonious utopian society. When the 1848 revolution not only failed to produce such a society but descended rapidly into violence, she retreated to the family home at Nohant, where, while awaiting the arrival of what she called “a republican republic,” she turned to a series of works that convey ideal social systems.

Sand’s idealist novels have much to offer readers with an interest in gender roles, male and female, actual and possible. Sand argued that the writer’s mission was one of sentiment and love, that the modern novel ought to replace the parables of the naïve past, and that “writers had a broader and more poetic task than that of proposing a few prudent and conciliatory suggestions in order to attenuate the horror inspired by their representations.” Novels, she added, are not a study of reality but a search for ideal truth.

Sand rejected the calls of militant feminists for her to become a member of the National Assembly founded by the revolution of 1848. She claimed to prefer reform to revolt. Although she was not a feminist in the contemporary understanding of the term, throughout her life she rejected the trammels of conventional society, especially constrictions based on assumptions about gender. Although she did not indulge, as is sometimes believed,



George Sand. TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

in pornographic writing, she did abandon the unhappy marriage she had contracted at age eighteen and openly engaged in a variety of extramarital liaisons, most famously with the poet Alfred de Musset and the musician Frédéric Chopin. She wore men's clothing (an act punishable under the law) when she wanted to move in circles to which women were refused access. It is, however, in her fiction that she most powerfully revealed her thinking about the social constructs of gender.

THE NOVELS AND AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

The novel *Indiana* (1832), the first Sand published on her own, explores the physical and mental sufferings of a woman locked in an unhappy marriage, and although it remains somewhat conventional, even melodramatic, in its depiction of women as largely passive victims and men as actors it does foreshadow her later, more original writing. In *Mauprat* (1837) she began to examine the constraints placed on men by images of masculinity predicated on violence and brutality. In contrast to *Indiana*, *Consuelo* (1842) and its sequel, *La Comtesse de Rudolstadt* (1843), depict a far more independent woman and something like an egalitarian marriage in their analysis of a gifted singer who, together with her husband, attempts to found an ideal society.

In the year after the 1848 revolution, Sand's short novel *La Petite Fadette*, often dismissed as a "pastoral" work, offers a witty and insightful exploration of a young girl's path from tomboy to woman, at the same time examining what it means for a twin to carve out a personal identity. Among her most sustained analyses of individuals seeking their own identity in the face of society's images of femininity and masculinity is the 1853 novel *Les Maîtres-Sonneurs* [The master pipers]. This work also offers an image of an ideal society formed from the combination of the people of the Berry region—whose placidity provides stability but militates against necessary reforms—and the energetic Bourbonnais, whose energy can turn quickly to destructive violence. In this novel of individual education Sand brings together ideas on music (largely informed by her relationships with Chopin and Liszt); her thinking on maternal love, which she sees as something that is not necessarily instinctive but can be learned; and images of sexual love based on equality.

Just as vitally as her novels, Sand's autobiography and voluminous correspondence chart the progress of her thinking and offer the image of an intelligent and independent mind constantly questioning contemporary constructions of gender.

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Rosemary Lloyd

SANGER, MARGARET 1879–1966

Margaret Sanger, who was born on September 14 in Corning, New York, founded the Planned Parenthood Federation of America and was in the forefront of the fight for women's reproductive rights. Sanger believed that women should have access to the materials they needed to control their fertility safely and effectively. She spread the message that American women—and women around the world—should be able to choose

when and whether they wish to have children. She died on September 9 in Tucson, Arizona.

BACKGROUND AND CAREER

Margaret Louisa Higgins was born into a large working-class family. She attended nursing school and later served as an obstetrical nurse in the Lower East Side of New York City. From her experiences as a child among eleven in her family of origin and as a nurse, she recognized the connection between the inability to regulate fertility and families' economic struggles. Later in life Sanger recalled stories of women who begged her for information on how to avoid having more children and women who fell ill and in some cases died as a result of a botched, illegal abortion.

In the early twentieth century abortion was illegal in all states in most circumstances, and the provision of contraception was banned under the "Act of the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use" (Comstock Law of 1873). Sanger's efforts to find information on safe, effective means to regulate women's fertility merged easily with her socialist perspective. It was in her socialist-feminist periodical *The Woman Rebel* that she coined the term *birth control* in 1914. In the same year Sanger wrote and published a pamphlet on methods of contraception, *Family Limitation*, that was based on her research on techniques and technologies available around the world.

Because the publication of information on contraception violated the Comstock Law, Sanger was indicted for distributing obscene materials through the U.S. Postal Service. She realized that her response to those charges could challenge and perhaps dismantle laws that restricted a woman's ability to determine her reproductive life. She fled from the United States under an assumed name, leaving her husband, William Sanger, and three children behind. In her travels throughout Holland and England, Sanger met with both medical and social advocates of birth control and conducted research on how the birth rate changed when contraception was available. In Holland, for example, contraception was both legal and widely available. Coincidentally, Sanger found declining infant and maternal mortality rates and smaller families with higher economic status in Holland.

By 1916, with the charges against her having been dropped, Sanger returned to the United States. Armed with her improved knowledge of contraceptive methods, she opened the first American birth control clinic in New York City. That led to her arrest and a brief prison term, but she managed to keep the birth control clinic open despite continued police harassment. In 1917 Sanger began to publish the periodical *Birth Control Review*. For more than a decade, the *Birth Control Review* provided readers with news and information on the fight for



Margaret Sanger. PICTURES INC./TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

the legalization of contraception both in the United States and overseas.

Sanger also traveled widely as an advocate of contraception. She embarked on speaking tours throughout the United States, Europe, and Asia, including India; lobbied Congress; and organized birth control conferences. Those conferences included regional and national meetings in the United States and international meetings in 1925, 1927, and 1930. At the conferences Sanger coordinated the effort for the legalization of contraception and gathered both social and medical advocates for birth control. She utilized her international and national celebrity to draw attention to the need for legalized contraception, with a focus on the economic benefits of fertility regulation for individual families and for nations that faced problems as a result of overpopulation and limited resources. In the international arena Sanger also connected the ability to contain population growth with prevention of the next war. The pressure of population growth could drive a nation to seek additional resources to sustain the population or could lead a nation to expand its borders to accommodate the increased population. In the interwar era, Sanger identified both Germany and Japan as the nations at greatest risk of beginning the next war, because these were the two nations with the highest population growth rates.

By the mid-1930s restrictions on access to and information about contraception in the United States for the most part had been struck down in the courts. Sanger merged her American Birth Control League (founded in 1921) with other organizations to create the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942. She became the president of International Planned Parenthood Federation when it was founded in 1953. In addition to her work as a birth control advocate in the United States and throughout the world, Sanger was a prolific writer: She published and edited the *Birth Control Review* (1917 through 1929) and wrote a number of books, including two autobiographies (Sanger 1938), in the 1920s and 1930s.

SANGER AS A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE

Sanger remains a controversial figure in American history. Because she founded the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, critics of abortion connect her work with the abortion services offered at Planned Parenthood clinics across the country. In vilifying its founder, they attempt to discredit her organization. However, Sanger repeatedly disconnected the provision of abortion from contraception; she believed that contraception was the best way to prevent abortion. Throughout her career she never advocated the termination of pregnancy. A second link that continues to surface is the assertion that Sanger was racist; this is the result of her reliance on eugenics discourse in her speeches and articles in the 1920s and 1930s. Her support for the provision of contraception in the African-American community and overseas (in China, for example) has added fuel to this argument. Eugenics, however, has a long history, and before World War II it was a term invoked by many in mainstream society, from politicians to physicians to professors. An examination of Sanger's discussions of eugenics reveals that her focus was on health and economic improvement for families and was not connected to race.

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Julie L. Thomas

SAPPHO

c. 625–570 BCE

Sappho, one of the world's greatest poets, lived in Mytilene on the island of Lesbos in Greece, around 600 BCE. Little is known of her life, but her work has been acclaimed from her own time to the present day. Her contemporary, Athenian statesman Solon, is said to have expressed a wish to memorize a song of hers and then die, and the fifth-century philosopher Plato termed her the tenth Muse. Sappho's poems were composed for singing to the lyre. In the third century BCE, the library at Alexandria contained nine volumes of her verse, but only a few fragments have survived, most of them on papyrus scraps discovered in ancient rubbish heaps in Egypt, or from potsherds and mummy wrappings. Such discoveries continue to be made; a third-century CE manuscript was found in June 2005. A couple of poems were preserved by literary critics, such as Longinus, who, in his first-century CE treatise *On the Sublime*, reproduced a Sappho lyric as an example of sublimity.

Sappho is among the first poets to represent emotional interiority. Her poems powerfully evoke sensations of erotic longing, with woman as not only the object but also the agent of desire. The first-person speaker in her poems, named "Sappho," celebrates friendship, love, song, motherhood, and the pleasures of sunlight, bathing, dancing, wine, beautiful clothes, flowers, and sexual intimacy. She has a close relationship with Aphrodite, goddess of love. She loves beauty in all things, from the caress of sunlight to a woman's face, and she famously declares that the most beautiful thing on earth is not what most people think is beautiful but rather "whatever one loves." The poems describe relationships between women, several of whom are named, including Gongyla, Atthis, and Anaktoria. Sappho also wrote marriage songs and songs in praise of the gods.

To what extent the first-person female speaker represents the poet's own experiences has been the subject of long and fruitless debate. What is indisputable is that Sappho's poems represent erotic love between women as productive of a gamut of emotions, ranging from ecstasy in togetherness to anguish in separation. There is a remarkable absence of embarrassment, guilt, or shame with regard to a woman's desire for many different women, and also no sense of social persecution of this desire. Sappho's contemporary, Lesbian poet Alkaios (or Alcaeus), writes of male-male desire with similar ease, as do several Greek male poets thereafter.

Because of her enormous reputation, there was much speculation about Sappho's life in the centuries immediately following her death. Around the third century BCE, legends began circulating that she had fallen hopelessly in love with a younger man, and had subsequently committed



Sappho, Holding a Lyre. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

suicide by jumping off a cliff into the sea. There is no historical evidence for this legend, cemented into tradition by first-century Roman poet Ovid, or for speculations over the centuries that she was, variously, a courtesan, a schoolteacher, a priestess, a chaste widow, or a nymphomaniac.

More important is Sappho's abiding influence on European literature, especially on lyric poetry. First-century BCE Roman poets Gaius Valerius Catullus and Horace praised her work, and Catullus wrote an imitation of one of her most famous poems, turning female-female desire into male-female desire. Although her poems nearly disappeared during the Middle Ages, her reputation remained. In the fourteenth century, Giovanni Boccaccio included her in his catalog of famous women. In the late Renaissance, her work was rediscovered and translated into modern languages like French and English. Most translators expressed discomfort with the female-female desire her poems represent, and several heterosexualized the poems by changing the female beloved to a male. Others retained the female characters but explained away the desire as friendly affection.

Some poets, however, paid homage to her erotic muse. John Donne (1572–1631), in his poem "Sappho to

Philaenis," offers a detailed account and a defense of sexual pleasure between women. Romantic poets, such as Lord Byron (1788–1824), Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), and John Keats (1795–1821), whose work shapes the modern lyric tradition, read Sappho, and were inspired both by their ideas of her unconventional life and by the intensity of her songs. Several poets experimented with the stanza she invented, called the Sapphic stanza.

Sappho served as a model for women writers in particular. In the third century BCE, Nossis, an Italian woman poet, wrote an epigram in her honor; in the fourteenth century, proto-feminist writer Christine de Pizan eulogized her as an example of female wisdom and achievement. From the eighteenth century onwards, several women chose the pen name Sappho, and almost every woman writer was praised as a Sappho. Such were "the French Sappho," novelist Madeleine de Scudery (1607–1701), and "the English Sappho," poet Katherine Phillips (1631–1664), whose best poems are romantic effusions addressed to her female friends.

Sappho's name had always been associated with desire between women, and by the eighteenth century the word *Lesbian*, along with its original meaning of an inhabitant of Lesbos, came also to mean a woman lover of women. By the end of the twentieth century, this secondary meaning had almost entirely eclipsed the primary meaning. During the nineteenth century, words like *Sapphist* and *Sapphic* also came to connote lesbianism, and were so used by writers like Virginia Woolf in the early twentieth century. Sappho became a site for poets like Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909) and Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) to explore various sexual practices, and, in the twentieth century, for writers to excoriate lesbians as perverts or present them as titillating figures in pulp fiction.

From the mid-nineteenth century onward, women writers who wrote about female-female desire found in Sappho a model, a defense, and a malleable symbol. Thus, Aestheticist poets Katherine Bradley (c. 1846–1914) and Edith Cooper (1862–1913), who wrote under the joint pen name Michael Field, lived together as lovers, and considered themselves married, wrote a volume of poetic interpretations of Sappho's songs, entitled *Long Ago* (1889). Following them, almost every major lesbian writer has referred to, imitated, or recreated Sappho; the list includes Natalie Clifford Barney, Renée Vivien, Amy Lowell, Gertrude Stein, H. D. (Hilda Doolittle), Radclyffe Hall, Virginia Woolf, Vita Sackville-West, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Marguerite Yourcenar, May Sarton, Adrienne Rich, Rita Mae Brown, Judith L. Grahn, Audre Lorde, Monique Wittig, Olga Broumas, Marilyn Hacker, Suniti Namjoshi, and Jeannette Winterson. The modern lesbian movement threw up a plethora of cultural

Satisfaction

artifacts named for Sappho. And in the world of classical studies, her reputation has perhaps never been higher than it is in the early twenty-first century.

All in all, Sappho's prophecy, "Prosperity that / the golden Muses / gave me was no / delusion: dead, I / won't be forgotten" (Barnard 1958), has been amply fulfilled.

SEE ALSO *Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview; Lesbos; Love Poetry.*

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Ruth Vanita

SATIRE

SEE *Obscene; Political Satire.*

SATISFACTION

Satisfaction occurs when a sexual encounter meets one's expectations, provides physical and/or emotional pleasure, relieves desire and/or tensions, or bolsters one's self-esteem. It results both from the individual's experience of positive emotions such as contentment, happiness, and ecstasy and from the interaction with a sexual partner as both a single act and as part of a long-term relationship. Satisfying sexual relationships are marked by good communication, compatibility, and care for both the relationship and one's partner. Although orgasm often is considered the ultimate sign of satisfaction, it is not the only indication because the entire sex act can be satisfying with or without orgasm. Satisfaction also is measured commonly by the frequency of sexual activity because ideally one's sexual desire matches one's opportunity for sexual activity. Whereas sex that occurs too infrequently is a source of dissatisfaction, sex that occurs too frequently can limit satisfaction.

The Interpersonal Exchange Model of Sexual Satisfaction, developed by Kelli-An Lawrance and E. Sandra Byers in 1995 measures sexual satisfaction in rela-

tionships as a balance between costs (e.g., physical discomfort, having sex when one is not in the mood, and the risk of disease or pregnancy) and rewards (e.g., feeling comfortable with one's partner, amount of fun experienced, and frequency of orgasm). This model revealed that satisfaction is marked by experiences or relationships in which rewards outweigh costs and in which both partners experience a similar balance of rewards and costs. If the overall relationship has more rewards than costs, a single sexual encounter that is cost-heavy still can be satisfying.

In the four-stage human sexual response cycle identified by William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson (1966), satisfaction is linked to the final two stages: orgasm and resolution. The first two stages, excitement and plateau, set the stage for the physical and emotional release associated with satisfaction by heightening tensions and increasing blood flow in the body, especially in the genitals. When there is orgasm, the muscles around the sexual organs contract rhythmically and the accumulated blood suddenly leaves the genitals, an action that brings a great sense of relief and pleasure. In the following stage of resolution, which sometimes is experienced as afterglow, heart rate and blood pressure return to normal. For physical satisfaction to occur, the increased blood supply must leave the genital region. If it remains, muscle pain and irritability can result.

Other physical signs of satisfaction result from hormones that are released during orgasm, such as endorphins, which are tranquilizing and painkilling, and prolactin, which indicates sexual satiety because it suppresses further sexual desire. Orgasms from intercourse produce four hundred times more prolactin than do orgasms from masturbation, indicating that sex with a partner is not only physically but also emotionally more satisfying than masturbation.

Historically, women have experienced less sexual satisfaction than have men. This difference may be the result of cultural assumptions held before the twentieth century that women's pleasure is less important than men's. However, studies from the 1980s on show that women with a college education are more satisfied with their sexual experiences than are those who are less educated. That is less true for men. Highly educated women may be more informed about their bodies and ways to achieve physical satisfaction, acting confidently in their sexual experiences without feeling shame or guilt.

SEE ALSO *Orgasm.*

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Michelle Veenstra

SATYRIASIS

Satyriasis refers to a disease described in ancient times and now considered fictitious, as well as to a condition recognized by modern psychiatry. Both conditions deal with compulsive sexual activity in the male human. The ancient disease is considered fictitious because it is described as not only bringing about behavioral change (like the condition recognized in the early twenty-first century), but also physical transformation. The disease prompted its sufferer (called a satyr) to shun clothing and to become subject to a lust that was without limit or apparent discrimination in its object. Additionally, the satyr quickly grew excessive amounts of hair on all parts of the body, sprouted horns upon his head, and had his legs and feet transformed into those of a goat, including hooves. This condition is recorded in many texts, and was even a subject for painters over many centuries. The name of the disease, and the physical transformation supposedly accompanying it, are clearly indicative of a relationship to the satyr, a mythological creature.

Satyrs are followers of Dionysos, the Greek god of wine associated with what today might be recognized as carnival morality and licentiousness. Satyrs are known for their lusts for wine and sexual gratification and for their attraction to and pursuit of nymphs, female entities embodying various natural features. While satyrs' sexual tastes are wide-ranging, their preference for nymphs marks them as primarily heterosexual.

The modern condition of satyriasis is similar in many ways to the ancient one, excepting the physical transformation. It alternately has been called satyrisms, satyromania, erotomania, and Don Juanism, although these terms are largely out of use. Satyriasis need not have an object other than the satyr himself; compulsive self-gratification is as possible a manifestation as is the desire for sexual gratification with a partner or partners. Don Juanism is specifically a desire for multiple partners who are seduced and abandoned in turn, with no prospect for lasting relationships.

Satyriasis is often considered the male counterpart to nymphomania, a condition in which women experience

excessive sexual desire. Neither satyriasis nor nymphomania is recognized as a specific disorder in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (or DSM-IV) published by the American Psychiatric Association. Instead, the more general and gender-neutral term *hypersexuality* is used. It is an impairment associated with frequent genital stimulation. In patients where the stimulation does not lead to sexual gratification, desire for further stimulation can be created, resulting in a cycle that can be debilitating. In patients that do achieve sexual gratification, excessive promiscuity may result, as the desire for gratification is unlikely to be met with a single partner. Such promiscuity can be physically risky as it may lead to a higher incident of unsafe sexual practice and may also involve social risk in cultures that ascribe to normative monogamy.

Hypersexuality can be a debilitating condition, particularly when it is associated with another serious disorder. It is frequently codiagnosed with bipolar disorder and mania, as well as neural dysfunctions such as Kluver-Bucy Syndrome (produced by bilateral temporal lobe damage). There is no conclusive test for hypersexuality and therefore no accurate estimate of its occurrence. Some debate exists about the ability to define the difference between a high libido and hypersexuality. A primary concern is that sexual dysfunctions are classified with a binary system indicating only presence or absence rather than with a scale indicating the degree of dysfunction. Most authorities agree that when the condition becomes uncontrollable, often manifesting symptoms such as spontaneous inappropriate gestures, actions, verbalizations, compulsive masturbation, and debilitating preoccupation with thoughts of sex, hypersexuality requires treatment. Rarely is the sexual activity itself considered injurious, but its primacy in daily activity can lead to serious disruption in the life of the hypersexual. Most often the underlying condition is treated through psychotherapy, although psychopharmacology may be used to control symptoms. Additionally, there are several twelve-step-style programs that claim success in treating what they term sexual addiction, although there is little clinical evidence to support these claims.

Satyriasis differs from hypersexuality in one important way: Satyriasis is a condition based upon excessive sexual desire, regardless of how or if that desire is gratified. Hypersexuality is an excessive degree of sexual activity, whether it is based in actual desire or on some other factor. For instance, a hypersexual may engage in frequent sexual activity as a means of self-validation or in order to combat loneliness rather than as a means of achieving sexual gratification. Satyriasis remains largely a simplification, and to some degree a celebration, of a complex psychological condition.

SEE ALSO *Nymphomania*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

SCATOLOGY

Scatology, or scatologia, refers to a variety of related topics focused on literal or metaphorical defecation; the study of the act of defecation or of feces; an obsession with defecation or feces (also known as *coprophilia*); literary or artistic discussions of defecation; the use of obscene language or *dirty talk*. In each of these practices or conditions, defecation figures as a primary factor in human existence. There are numerous terms for the products of defecation, both proper (*feces*, *scat*, *dung*, *manure*) and slang (*shit*, *poo*, *crap*). Most of the slang terms are considered vulgar to some degree. Variants of these terms take on different connotations: *Bullshit* is considered a strong statement and usually describes relative untruthfulness, whereas *chickenshit* (usually a term used to describe a person) is a derogatory.

ACADEMIC SCATOLOGY

A scatologist is one who undertakes the academic and scientific study of feces. This has application in many disciplines, chiefly anthropology, zoology, biology, and environmental sciences. In most cases, nonhuman feces are studied to learn about animals and their environments. Anthropologists study human feces if they survive (often in fossilized form or within a body that has been preserved in some fashion), primarily to glean information about the diet or disease history of earlier humans.

SCATOLOGICAL SEXUALITY

In sexual practice, defecation and feces are eroticized in some instances. One type of scatological activity that is considered fairly common is anilingus, or licking the anus of a sexual partner (commonly referred to as rimming). The anus and the rectum both contain a large number of nerve endings, making them particularly sensitive to stimulation. It is most prevalent among individuals (both homosexual and heterosexual) who regularly engage in anal intercourse as a part of their sexual activ-

ity, but is also common among those who do not. In most cases of anilingus, there is no desire to come into contact with fecal matter. The receptive partner is generally expected to have thoroughly cleaned the anus and rectum. People who engage in anilingus may have a heightened attraction to the anus, but not to feces or the act of defecation. Others may simply enjoy the physical stimulation without regard to the particular anatomy involved. In popular slang, a "Dirty Sanchez" refers to inserting a finger into the anus of a sexual partner and then wiping the fecal matter from the finger under the nose of the partner to simulate a moustache. Coprophagia (the consumption of feces) is highly uncommon and is a practice with great risk for spreading disease or infection.

Feces contain a large number of bacteria and other infectious agents, which means that any contact with them is considered medically unsafe. Feces are the primary means of elimination of dead blood cells and bile from the body (which are the primary factors leading to their dark coloration), thus making the risk particularly great for blood-borne or liver-based infections. Contact with one's own feces is generally safer than contact with a partner's, but both carry risk. Hepatitis is a particular danger, although many other infections are also possible.

Scatological images and films are a small but recognized subset of the overall pornography industry. These can include depictions of people in the act of defecation, or with feces smeared on their bodies. Some also feature animals in the act of defecation. There is a very limited production of pornography involving coprophagia. The health risks involved in coprophagia, as well as the overall cultural taboo associated with it, make it unlikely that any mainstream pornographic actors would engage in the practice. The majority of examples seem to be low-budget or amateur recordings of individuals who practice coprophagia as part of their own sexuality, rather than staged commercial productions. Films that depict the act of defecation, but not the handling of or contact with the feces, are more common in commercial pornography, but still are considered a specialty product. Few public records exist to show the popularity of scatological pornography, but it holds a kind of fascination to many, primarily because of its taboo status. Its primacy as a proscribed activity is evidenced by the degree of outrage it can generate, even though it is recognized as an activity practiced by a relatively small group of individuals. In 2005, the George W. Bush administration launched an FBI antipornography program that sought to "gather evidence against 'manufacturers and purveyors' of pornography." Specifically targeted was pornography that "includes bestiality, urination, defecation, as well as sadistic and masochistic behavior" (Gellman 2005, p. A21). Each of these types of pornography is legal for consenting adults in the United States, which makes them an unusual focus of law enforcement.

This campaign shows that the the mainstream psyche considers such acts perverse, obscene, and immoral if not criminal. This attitude stems from the general refusal to accept or understand nonmainstream sexual practices. The activities targeted are fringe practices and are often attractive to participants because of their location outside the mainstream. They are associated with a variety of taboos whose violation can provide sexual pleasure. In sadism-based sexual practice, the humiliation involved in forcing a partner to violate taboos can likewise be pleasurable. The cultural prohibition against taking pleasure in feces and defecation is particularly strong, which potentially magnifies the degree of pleasure that can be found when it is violated.

SCATALOGICAL TALK

Dirty talk or the use of obscene language in a sexual context (sometimes called *potty mouth* or *shit-talking*) is a common scatological activity. It can vary from mild swearing before or during sex (as a slightly vulgar form of pillow talk) to the use of highly graphic sexual language. The use of impolite language in a sexual setting is considered to be a fairly common practice. The more extreme forms of dirty talk are thought to be less common, although still firmly within mainstream practice. It can range from a prolific use of obscenities during sex to obscene comments or commands directed at the partner. This is both a way of eliciting desired acts from the partner and a means of humiliating him or her.

Using commands (as opposed to requests or suggestions) in a sexual setting is frequently a part of sado-masochistic sexual practice and often figures in bondage and discipline scenarios. The desire for dominance in sexual relations, which can often be accomplished verbally through the use of graphic or obscene commands, is also common even among people who do not consider themselves to be formally interested in BDSM practice. *Coprolalia* (literally, “talking filth”) is a medical condition often associated with Tourette Syndrome, and involves the involuntary use of obscene or sexual language in inappropriate settings. It is popularly misunderstood as based in sexual desire, but is actually a neurological condition characterized by limits on occasional control over one’s utterances and a variety of other symptoms. Although the language used may be sexual in nature, sexual gratification is not the aim of individuals with Tourette Syndrome. While apparently similar to the scatological, the two should not be confused.

ARTISTIC AND LITERARY SCATOLOGY

Scatological references are found throughout the visual and literary arts, drama, and other media. Mainstream films that notoriously depict scatological practice include Peter

Greenaway’s *The Cook, The Thief, His Wife and Her Lover* (1989) which opens with a scene of a man being beaten, urinated upon, and finally smeared with and forced to eat dog feces. Italian director Pier Paolo Pasolini’s 1975 film *Salò* (adapted from the Marquis De Sade’s *120 Days of Sodom*) depicts a group of young people taken as sexual captives and forced to eat and wear their own feces. The film also depicts graphic genital torture. In a more comic vein, American director John Waters’s 1972 film *Pink Flamingos* ends with a scene of nonsimulated coprophagia. Divine, the star of the film, is shown eating the feces of a dog immediately after they emerge from the dog’s anus. The film is considered definitive of Waters’s celebration of bad taste. Literary scatology has a very long tradition, dating at least to Aristophanes’ play *The Clouds* (423 BCE). Other famous examples include Dante’s *Divine Comedy* (1314–1321), François Rabelais’s *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532–1534), Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), and Erich Maria Remarque’s *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1928).

In visual arts, bodily waste has been used in a number of works, primarily in an effort to provoke reaction against the juxtaposition of profane material and sacred subject matter. The photographer Andres Serrano caused great controversy with his 1987 image *Piss Christ*, a photograph of a plastic crucifix submerged in the artist’s own urine. The work was partially funded by the National Endowment for the Arts, a U.S. tax-funded arts program. When it was exhibited in 1989, the outrage over the perceived blasphemy of the piece caused a long-term dispute over public funding of the arts in the United States. While not strictly scatological, the work encompasses many of the same attitudes. A similar controversy erupted over the collage of the British artist Chris Ofili, *The Holy Virgin Mary* (1996), when it was shown in the Brooklyn Art Museum’s 1999 exhibition *Sensation*. The canvas depicts Mary as an African mother figure, mostly composed of glitter and resin. It also incorporates photographs of buttocks taken from pornographic magazines, and most famously, a mound of elephant dung in the approximate location of one of the figure’s breasts. New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani threatened to revoke city funding to the museum unless they removed the work from their show, leading to a lawsuit over the freedom of speech of artists. The work was part of the London Saatchi Gallery’s permanent collection when it, along with many other works, was destroyed in an accidental fire in 2004.

SEE ALSO *Sadism*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

SCOTTSBORO CASE

The events leading to what would infamously become known around the world as the Scottsboro case began on March 25, 1931, on a Southern Railroad train traveling through northern Alabama. The onset of the Depression caused thousands of laborers, both black and white, to “ride the rails” in search of jobs, food, or shelter. But although black and white passengers on the train shared the plight of poverty, this did not outweigh a sense of racial antagonism for some aboard.

Events began with a white youth stepping on Haywood Patterson’s hand as he and a few other white males made their way across a car. Patterson’s protests were met with racial epithets, and eventually there was an altercation on the train between a group of young white males and a group of young black males, including Patterson, who would become one of the “Scottsboro Nine.” The fighting concluded with Patterson and some others throwing the white youths from the slow-moving train. However, in the South of the 1930s, it was dangerous for black men to challenge white male authority; in the first four decades of the twentieth century, thousands of black men had been lynched at the hands of white communities. When the train stopped in nearby Paint Rock, it was met by a group of white men armed with rifles and shotguns; they yanked nine black youths, including Patterson, from the train. The others were Charlie Weems, Eugene Williams, Willie Roberson, Olen Montgomery, Clarence Norris, Ozie Powell, Andy Wright, and his brother, Roy Wright. Some of the nine had neither witnessed nor participated in the scuffle on the train. All were between the ages of thirteen and nineteen. They were questioned briefly, tied together, and then forced onto a flatbed truck and taken to Scottsboro, where they were detained in a jail for hours.

While deep-seated attitudes about race informed the public perception of the “Scottsboro Boys,” gender in this case exacerbated the situation intensely. Back in Paint Rock, two other laborers had gotten off the train. But these,

unexpectedly, were white women. Victoria Price, 21, and Ruby Bates, 17, had worked for very low wages in textile mills and, like their male counterparts, rode the train in search of a better living. Although all who rode the rails risked arrest for vagrancy, for women there was potentially the added charge of prostitution. To avoid arrest, the women claimed that they had been gang raped by the nine black youths being detained. A physician examined them, and confirmed that there were traces of semen in the women. When brought to the Scottsboro jail to identify their rapists, Bates was unable to spot anyone specifically, but Price—the more brazen and tough-mannered of the two—picked out six of the nine. It was assumed that the remaining three raped Bates.

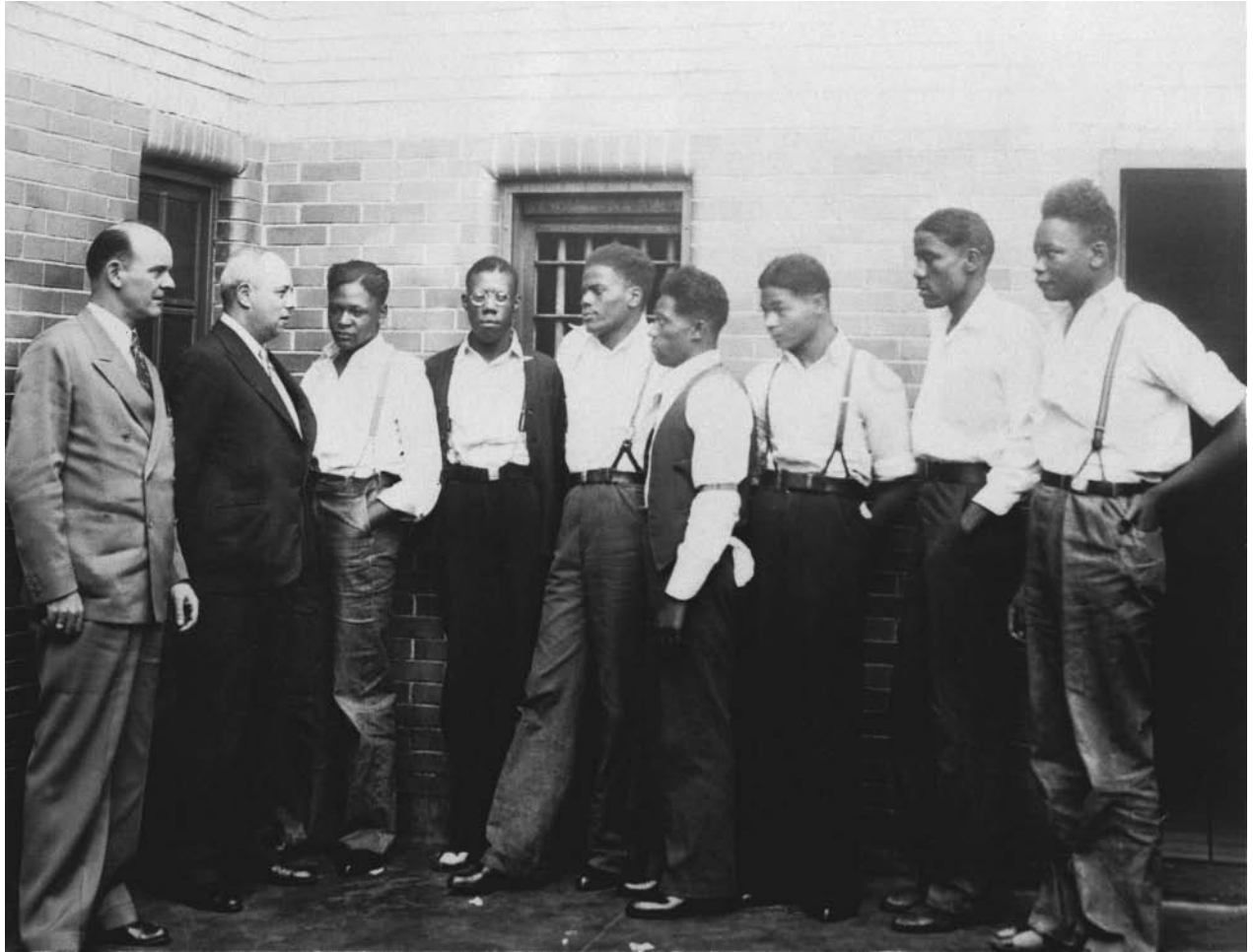
This false accusation touched a nerve with the southern public, and led to one of the most tragic and momentous cases in American civil rights history. The white male South attempted to defend the imaginary ideal of southern womanhood against myths of black male sexual aggression. But the irony is that neither Price nor Bates actually fit the ideal of the proper southern lady. Both lived in the black section of Huntsville, unable to afford housing elsewhere. Both cavorted with white and black men alike, at times exchanging sex for food or clothing. The semen found in them was a result of consensual sex both had had the night before. Unlike the Scottsboro Nine, who had no control over how cultural perceptions of their gender and racial identities would be used against them, Price and Bates used the presumed virtue of white femininity in their favor, at the expense of the accused.

In 1931, the youths were rushed through four trials in four days, with inadequate counsel. They were immediately found guilty, and all but one was sentenced to execution. The International Labor Defense (ILD), the legal arm of the Communist Party, intervened and stopped the sentencing, but new trials opening in 1933 and 1936 led to similar verdicts. By that time, however, the ILD had rallied support for the Scottsboro Boys around the world, making them an international symbol of racial and class-based struggles for justice, as well as of American civil rights reform. But even with broad support and virtually no evidence presented by the prosecution, the young men were not freed until the years spanning from 1943 to 1950. In a dramatic turnaround, Ruby Bates testified for the defense in 1933, confessing that the defendants never raped her. Victoria Price, however, never recanted her accusation.

SEE ALSO *Masculinity: I. Overview; Violence*.

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Scottsboro Defendants. Defense attorney Samuel Leibowitz (left), accompanied by Deputy Sheriff Charles MacComb, confers with seven of the defendants in the Scottsboro case. AP IMAGES.

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Habiba Ibrahim

SCOUTS, BOY AND GIRL

The history of the American scouting movement provides a unique perspective on shifting gender roles and expectations in the United States. The creation and maintenance of two separate scouting organizations, one for boys and one for girls, is the first indication that the Scouts simultaneously construct and reflect cultural understandings of the two biological sexes as being inher-

ently different. An overview of the origins and social functions of scouting provides insight into why the Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations have overcome criticism and controversy to become two of the most prominent youth organizations in the world.

HISTORY AND ORIGIN

The American versions of the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts trace their origins to the British scouting movement founded by Sir Robert Baden-Powell in 1904. Although there is some debate about the motivations behind the initial movement, the majority of historians consider the formation of scouting in the context of British imperialism: It was designed to train the next generation of British soldiers in the absence of mandatory military service. Baden-Powell consciously designed the organization for boys and was confounded when girls began to join by the thousands by 1909. To resolve that problem,

Baden-Powell and his sister, Agnes, established the British Girl Guides in 1910 as a means to contain the “moral threat” of girls resisting femininity through unrestrained physical activities. Although that solution worked initially, World War I and the women’s suffrage movement altered gender expectations in Britain, and the Guides’ role shifted to accommodate the demand of women to support the war effort.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

The Boy Scouts of America (BSA) was established in 1910, and, according to most historians and scholars, the American version was developed as a means of reactionary social control. The increased professionalization, consumerism, and modernization of the Progressive era invoked fears of emasculation, and the Boy Scouts were viewed as an effort to redefine masculinity amid dramatic social change. The Scouts, along with other boy-centered organizations, such as the Boys Club and the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), were designed to mold adolescent behavior and responsibility through civic participation and character-building activities. Nearly a century later, in 2006, the BSA was the largest youth organization in the United States and continued its early mission with its stated goal to “provide an educational program for boys and young adults to build character, to train in the responsibilities of participating citizenship, and to develop personal fitness” (Boy Scouts of America 2006).

The BSA offers a range of scouting opportunities, starting with the family- and home-centered Cub Scouts (ages seven to eleven), the Boy Scouts with an emphasis on outdoor activity (ages eleven to seventeen), and the high-adventure Varsity Scouts (ages fourteen to seventeen). The BSA also offers a Venturing program for both male and female young adults (ages fourteen to twenty). Operating on a charter system, the BSA is a network of more than three hundred autonomous councils that franchises program opportunities to youth-serving organizations. The Scout Oath and the Scout Law have remained unchanged since their inception in 1910 and have been the backdrop for contemporary controversy. The Scout Oath requires a Scout to promise to be “morally straight” and to “do my duty to God.” This has been used as a warrant to ban homosexuals, atheists, and agnostics. The Boy Scouts argue that the oath is incompatible with homosexuality and that avowed homosexuals cannot participate as adult volunteers, charter hosts, employees, or youth leaders.

The BSA serves a variety of religious faiths through its charter system, although Christianity is the predominant religious model. However, Scouts can participate in units chartered to Jewish, Buddhist, and Islamic organizations in most major cities. Individual organizations can control the program content, membership, and reli-

gious requirements within the basic context of the Scout Oath and Scout Law.

GIRL SCOUTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

If the early Boy Scouts were engineered to cultivate public citizens, the function of the Girl Scouts was to maintain the private and domestic sphere. For instance, the 1940 Girl Scout national convention adopted the theme “Half a Million Homemakers” and promoted the Girl Scout as a citizen of a miniature democracy: the family. Despite those foundations, the Girl Scouts of the United States of America (GSUSA) also has reflected broader impulses by periodically resisting traditional gender norms. In the 1970s, for example, the Girl Scouts embraced women’s liberation and asked the feminist Betty Friedan to serve on the national board.

When Juliette Gordon Low founded the Girl Scouts in 1912, she envisioned an organization that would release girls from home life and provide an experience of nature combined with service to the community. The Girl Scout organization became invested in ideas of progressive social justice, with the following mission: “Girl Scouting builds girls of courage, confidence, and character, who make the world a better place” (Girl Scouts of the United States of America 2006). In 1952 the Girl Scouts established the Public Policy and Advocacy office, and the organization has continued to build relationships with members of Congress and federal advocacy departments. It continues to work to raise public awareness of the Girl Scouts beyond their annual cookie sale, promoting outreach programs to underserved areas, including public housing, homeless shelters, juvenile detention centers, women’s prisons, and immigrant communities. The Girl Scout Research Institute (GSRI) was formed in 2000 as a research and public policy center for the healthy development of girls. Reflecting an awareness that girls increasingly are concerned about body image at younger ages, the Girl Scouts have worked to develop and implement wellness education in their schools and communities. Additionally, their Studio2B program (Studio 2B 2006) encourages teenage girls (ages age eleven to seventeen) to defy peer pressures through self-empowerment and community. Studio2B is an online community for girls that is intended to promote positive female role models and activities.

More than has been the case for the Boy Scouts, the form and function of the Girl Scouts have shifted over time to accommodate changing gender roles and expectations of women in society, and their progressive policies have been attacked by socially conservative groups. For instance, prolife advocates have criticized the Girl Scouts for their support of Planned Parenthood, an organization that advocates for women’s reproductive rights, including

abortion and contraception. Additionally, unlike the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts have striven for inclusion. Most notably, the Girl Scouts differ from their male counterparts in their inclusive nondiscrimination policy. The Girl Scouts maintain that issues of sexuality belong between a girl and her parents and do not take an official position on homosexuality. Although this has been criticized as a “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy, it remains a progressive example for youth organizations around the country.

In 2006 the Girl Scouts could claim the participation of more than 236,000 troops in more than ninety countries. Further, through membership in the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS), the GSUSA is part of an international scouting community of 10 million females in 145 countries.

RECENT CONTROVERSIES

The Boy Scouts have endured much more public controversy than have the Girl Scouts. Undoubtedly, the most pressing controversy for the BSA has been its policy prohibiting homosexuals from participation. In *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale* (2000), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Boy Scouts’ First Amendment right to free association as a private organization gave it the right to exclude a gay scoutmaster. The ruling gained national attention and prompted public debate about masculinity and homosexuality. Since the *Dale* decision, there has been increased publicity surrounding the BSA and its exclusionary practices and policies. Some scholars emphasize the significance of the *Dale* decision, arguing that the case allows the average citizen to confront the ways in which masculinity is constructed around the exclusion of “sissies” and/or nonnormative role models.

In the aftermath of the *Dale* case, the BSA has faced several instances of local backlash. For instance, in March 2006 the California Supreme Court ruled that groups receiving government subsidies are required to comply with local antibias policies, including those that provide protections on the basis of sexual orientation and religion. This decision is one of many that have proved costly to the Boy Scouts and other organizations that have not adopted inclusive admissions policies.

In light of the fact that the Boy Scouts originated in part as an effort to rehabilitate a certain form of masculinity, it is not surprising that the organization has resisted associations with male homosexuality. It is not clear whether the BSA will adopt a nondiscrimination policy in regard to homosexuality. However, the crisis of masculinity that characterized the early Boy Scout movement continues to affect the American organization. In 2001 several Scout packs announced that they would admit gays, and their charters were revoked. Scouting

groups in Canada, Europe, and Australia do not have policies that ban homosexuals from participation.

SEE ALSO *YMCA/YWCA*.

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Jamie Skerski

SEDUCTION

From the Latin *seducere* meaning “to lead astray,” the modern term *seduction* means to allure, entice, tempt, or even succeed at engaging someone in sexual relations or unsavory activities such as criminal acts, adultery, or other antisocial behaviors. Seduction implies a set of strategies and actions calculated to convince someone to do something he or she might not otherwise do. It operates through a canny psychological estimation of another person’s needs and fears. Seduction’s strategies often appeal to a person’s ego, vanity, or her or his desire to belong and be loved. Seducers prey on these feelings, not only through compliments and actions designed to show the person he or she is special, but also by establishing commonality, shared interests, and enemies, and the desirability of the activities for which the person is being seduced. Although not all seductions are insincere, the idea of seduction connotes the falseness and masquerade of the seducer as well as the implication that the seducer has ulterior motives. Famous seducers have included Giacomo Casanova (1725–1798), the fictional Don Juan, and Mata Hari (Margaretha Geertruida Zelle, 1876–1917), the famous spy during World War I, as well as a legion of film characters from Crystal (Joan Crawford) in *The Women* (1939), Tony Powell (Adolph Menjou) in *Stage Door* (1937), and Phyllis Dietrichson (Barbara Stanwyck) in *Double Indemnity* (1944) to more recent examples such as Catherine Tramell (Sharon Stone) in *Basic Instinct* (1992), Cristal Connors (Gina Gershon) in *Showgirls* (1995), J.D. (Brad Pitt) in *Thelma and Louise* (1991), and the television character Samantha Jones (Kim Cattrall) from *Sex and the City* (1998–2004).

The deviousness ascribed to seduction comes from a sense of the falseness of the tactics employed by seducers such as compliments, insincere protestations of love and fidelity, and false promises as well as from the seducers' often ulterior motives. Seducers may use seduction as a means to other ends such as using the person seduced to gain information or aid in committing crimes. Seduction's bad reputation also comes from the implication that seducers are deliberately leading their prey astray, enticing them into losing their virginity, committing adultery, spying, or otherwise acting out of character. Because seduction plays with appearances—the appearance of sincerity and feeling, the appearance of attraction, the appearance of a rationale that justifies transgression—seduction also belongs to the fairly old-fashioned fear of deceptive appearances in which a range of evil figures, including the devil, are imagined to participate. Of course, lovers seduce one another all of the time inasmuch as dating and courting involve the same kinds of activities as seduction. In this context seduction becomes seduction only if the seducer is proven to have been insincere or if a committed relationship does not result.

Despite the sense that those who are seduced are somehow innocent of the acts they might commit as a result, seduction requires the cooperation of both parties. Seductive tactics are effective because they tap into the unconscious desires of the one being seduced. Seducers offer the appearance of a fulfillable wish to their target as an alternative to the mundanity of existence or the limits of the forbidden. As Jean Baudrillard suggests in his study of seduction, "In seduction, . . . it is somehow the manifest discourse, the most 'superficial' aspect of discourse, which acts upon the underlying prohibition (conscious or unconscious) in order to nullify it and to substitute for it the charms and traps of appearances" (1988, p. 149). Seducers present the appearance of what they understand someone wants as if they are reading the seducee's mind, inviting the one they are seducing to trade virtue, inhibitions, and reservations for the possibility of the fulfilled wish. Those who are seduced displace one set of values for another on the basis of the appearances and promises made by the seducer.

The idea that the seducer embodies immoral and devious practices was long reflected in criminal laws against seduction, which was understood as akin to enchantment or a coercion that weaker parties, such as innocent and gullible women, could not easily withstand. For this reason, women and girls seduced into extramarital sexual relations were regarded as the victims of a fraudulent assault that they understandably could not resist. The logic underlying criminal laws that punished (mostly) male seducers included both a belief in women as members of the weaker sex who were unable to counter the forays of men and the model of romantic court-

ship and marriage as the desirable end result of any wooing. If a woman capitulated, engaged in extramarital intercourse, and the relationship did not end up at the altar, seduction laws permitted her to accuse her unfaithful suitor of a crime. She could claim she was coerced, that apart from her suitor's representations, she would not have been tempted into such behavior, and that her seducer's assurances materially forced her choices.

Thirty-five states in the United States had enacted seduction laws by the end of the nineteenth century, but states began to repeal the laws in the 1930s. Laws criminalizing seduction became an anachronism as changes in culture such as the introduction of the automobile, the increased independence of dating couples, and shifts in perceptions about women's will and choice altered notions of female helplessness.

Seduction as a mode of alluring the less powerful is still a matter of social concern, especially in relation to the predation of juveniles over the Internet. In chat-rooms and other Internet venues for discussion, adults posing as peers of the youths use computer conversation as a way to lure unwitting children and teens to a personal meeting, hoping to engage them in sexual activities or pornography.

Seduction has another side, however, as the set of practices, the gathered wisdom, and the thoughtful gestures of courtship. Several manuals for seduction have been published, some of which focus on the hoped-for result of *getting laid*, but others suggest ways to make oneself more attractive as a potential partner as well as strategies for conversation, dating, and social relations in general. Although one might refer to these tactics more as dating than seduction, all dating is a form of seduction, at least initially. In this sense, seduction is intrinsic to human mating and relationships.

SEE ALSO *Flirting; Foreplay.*

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Judith Roof

SEMIRAMIS

SEE *Queens.*

SEX

The term *sex* has five meanings. It refers to an organism's reproductive capabilities, as in male or female, as well as to which of these divisions an individual might belong, as in: What sex are you? It refers to the processes by which we discern what sex an organism might have. By extension to this reproductive meaning, the term *sex* also refers to an entire sexual division, as in *the fair sex*, or women. *Sex*, however, usually refers to the pleasurable physical activities that occur in conjunction with reproduction and sexual gratification, although such activities may not have reproduction as their goal.

The word *sex* comes from the Latin *secare*, meaning to cut or divide. In this sense it refers to the idea that most living organisms that are large enough to be seen may be divided into female organisms, or those whose gametes (germ cells) are eggs, and males, or those whose gametes are sperm. Although some species are neither male nor female but both (as in earthworms) or may not be the same sex throughout their lives (as happens with some fish), most organisms develop a single reproductive capability. Whether or not an organism produces eggs or sperm also involves other aspects of the body, such as the endocrine system that produces sex hormones such as estrogen and testosterone, or secondary sex characteristics, such as mammary glands, gestation pouches, or strong muscles that help the organism perform its reproductive roles.

Sometimes it is difficult to discern the sex of an organism, particularly babies, so processes have been developed by which their sex can be identified. These processes are called *sexing* and are used often to determine the sex of baby chicks, rabbits, kittens, and any species where the differences between males and females are slight or are important to their subsequent treatment, especially in animal industries that might house females to produce eggs and raise males for meat.

As a noun the term *sex* has traditionally referred to females as the fair sex, or simply the sex. This reference reflects the underlying ideas often held in patriarchal cultures, or societies organized around males, that females have sex and males are neutral or universal beings. In this sense, *sex* implies a weakness or incapacity in relation to male dominance and centrality.

Generally, however, the term *sex* refers to physical activities that occur between individuals, aimed toward sexual gratification and usually necessary to reproduction. In humans reproductive processes include foreplay (preparing the partners for copulation) and sexual intercourse. Sexual activities often include, in addition, other kinds of pleasurable touching and stimulation to orgasm. Although biologically *sex* enables the joinder of egg and sperm, it also occurs without any thought or hope of

reproductive outcome. In this way *sex* serves as a form of bonding, pleasure, and satisfaction.

Sexual gratification is accomplished through a number of practices with a variety of aims and objects. Because the body has a number of erogenous zones—genitals, nipples, anus, mouth—sexual activity may be focused around one or all of them. Sexual intercourse is generally understood to occur when a male's penis penetrates the female's vagina. This sexual practice tends to be the central model for *sex*, as it is the activity linked most directly to reproduction. *Sex*, however, can involve penetrations of other orifices, partial penetrations, frictions, licking, kissing, and other activities. It can occur between males and females, males and males, and females and females. An individual may have *sex* alone or in groups of two or more. *Sex* may occur between adult individuals and children, a practice forbidden in most cultures, and between humans and animals, or objects such as blow-up dolls.

Sexual practices are categorized both according to which orifice the penis penetrates and the gender of the participants. Sexual practices not involving the penis are categorized according to the orifice involved, the kind of partner, or the kind of practice involved. The diversity of sexual activities has a long history. Although many books central to religious beliefs discourage *sex* for pleasure's sake, cultures have preserved a long tradition of sexual variety, being present in paintings, manuscripts, and traditions of pornography from almost every culture.

Genital *sex* involves contact of the genitals, most often penetration, but also partial penetrations, or rubbing, called *frottage*. Genital *sex* involving a male and a female is called sexual intercourse, coitus, or copulation. Males with females, males with males, and females with females may practice *frottage*. Penetration can occur between partners in a number of positions: male on top, or the *missionary position*; female on top; penetration from behind, or *doggy style*; and penetration side by side, sitting up, or even standing up.

Penetrations may also involve body parts such as fingers or objects. The insertion of fingers into the vagina is called *finger fucking*. Partners of all kinds might penetrate vaginas with dildos, vibrators, vegetables, or other objects.

Anal *sex* involves penetration of the anus by the penis, fingers, or other objects. Penetrating the anus with a penis is called *sodomy*. Both male and female partners may participate in anal *sex*. Other kinds of anal *sex* include oral stimulation of the area around the anus, called *rimming*.

Oral *sex* occurs when mouths stimulate genitals. This can occur when a penis is caressed by a male or female mouth—called *fellatio*, a *blow job*, or *giving head*. If a male or female caresses a female genital area with

mouth and tongue, the practice is called cunnilingus, or *eating*. Partners may also stimulate one another to orgasm with their hands. Rubbing the penis is called manual stimulation, or a *hand job*. Stimulating the clitoris manually is a direct means to female orgasm.

Sex itself often consists of several of these practices combined. Other sexual practices enjoyed among partners may include cuddling, kissing, caressing nipples, bondage, spanking, urinating (golden showers) or defecating on or around one's partner, or participating in sexual activities with more than one person at a time. When three people enjoy sexual activities together, it is called a *ménage à trois*. More than three is called *group sex*. Having sex with successive partners within a group is called *swinging*. Some cities have sex clubs that accommodate swinging and group sex. Some individuals enjoy only looking at others who are engaged in sexual activity; this practice is called *voyeurism*. Others gain sexual pleasure from exhibiting their sexual organs to others. Called *exhibitionism*, when such an act is done without the permission of the other person, it is usually a criminal offense.

Some sexual practices involve a desire for partners whose participation in sex is illegal and seen as immoral. In many places sex with prostitutes is illegal, and both the prostitute and his or her customer can be arrested. Homosexual practices as well are still thought to be immoral in many locales, and they are also sometimes illegal. In some places any kind of sodomy, which may include anal sex, oral sex, and sex with objects, is illegal, and some governments have outlawed all sexual practices that do not involve heterosexual genital intercourse with the male on top. Most universally illegal is sexual activity with children. Called *pedophilia*, sexual activity with children is seen as highly immoral, although there are a number of people for whom children are the most desirable sexual object. *Incest*, or sexual activity with close relations, is also illegal, but as with pedophilia, occurs with some regularity.

Individuals may also involve animals in sexual activity. This practice, called *bestiality*, most often involves male copulation with farm animals, such as cows and sheep, though occasionally it may involve human female copulation with dogs or horses.

Finally, individuals enjoy masturbation, or sexual activity with themselves. Called *onanism* or *self-pleasuring*, masturbation involves stimulation of one's own erogenous zones either manually or with the aid of vibrators, dildos, pornography, artificial partners, or other sex toys and devices.

Historically, many religions have discouraged sex without a reproductive purpose, seeing sexual pleasure without this redeeming value as a fleshly indulgence that may lead believers away from their duty into a life of pleasure for its own sake. Christianity, Judaism, and Islam regulate sex as a strictly marital and reproductive

duty, forging rules about the use of birth control methods, the frequency of intercourse, and the roles of the sexes. Such religions forbid adultery, bestiality, homosexuality, and sometimes even masturbation, as all of these are aimed toward pleasure rather than reproductive possibility. Eastern religions such as Hinduism encourage healthy sexuality between heterosexual partners in such texts as the *Kama Sutra*, whereas Buddhism's focus on enlightenment understands the quality of the relationship as more important than the kinds of sexual activities or partners involved.

Many cultures try to control the sexual activities of their members, limiting sexual activity to heterosexual, reproductive practices. Because these cultures see sexual activity as a reflection of morality and public health, they try to legislate sexual behavior consonant with the religious beliefs of the majority. In addition, many cultures produce laws to protect children from sexual activity and punish incest and almost any nonconsensual sexual activity such as sexual assault and rape. Although laws limiting what consenting adults do in private have diminished and some governments are less inclined to inquire about the private sexual practices of citizens, the idea of sexuality as a set of illicit practices may also be a part of what makes sex a fascinating topic for many.

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Judith Roof

SEX AIDS

Sex Aids are objects that are used in sexual activity to produce sexual titillation and stimulation, lend variety to sexual expression, make sex more fun, and help produce a diversity of sexual behaviors and sexual expression. Sex aids used to be called *marital aids* and included vibrators, penis extension sleeves, pillows, and aphrodisiacs. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, sex aids range from dildos and butt plugs to sex furniture, restraints, bondage and domination/sadism masochism (BDSM) paraphernalia, pornography, mood-enhancing drugs, vibrators, sex dolls, and genital jewelry. The name change says it all: Where once inanimate objects were supposed to assist married couples in achieving heterosexual sexual intercourse, were secret and

slightly shameful, and had to be ordered from medical catalogs or purchased in sleazy sex shops, in the early twenty-first century sex aids are readily available, are commonly used for masturbation and casual sex, and are considered fun and playful sexual accessories. Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, sex-toy shops opened in the toniest urban neighborhoods and were considered respectable businesses by the end of the twentieth century. Most U.S., Canadian, European, and Australian women who are not strictly religious own at least a vibrator, and many own dildos as well. Many sexual subcultures define themselves by the sex aids they use, including leathermen; straight, gay, bisexual, and transgender BDSM people; and lesbians.

DILDOS

The most common sex toy, and the first to come to mind for most people, is the dildo. Dildos are phallic and can be made of silicone, latex, cyberskin (silicone and PVC), glass, leather, bone, stone, jade, horn, or pottery. Dildo-like objects have been around for at least 6,000 years and have been found in archaeological sites around the world. Whereas the origins of the word *dildo* are not precisely known, it may trace to the Italian *diletto* (delight).

Dildos are generally used to produce the pleasurable sensations associated with penetrating erogenous zones, such as the vagina. Dildos come in all shapes, sizes, lengths, and diameters. They are usually shaped like penises, but can look like animals, which allows them to subvert obscenity laws and be sold as toys in countries such as Japan and certain U.S. states, such as Texas and Alabama, where the sale of dildos for sexual use is restricted or illegal. Dildos can also vibrate, though many people consider vibrators to be a separate class of sex aids. Dildos can be used in the vagina or anus; double-ended dildos can be used by two people at the same time. Some dildos can be worn in harnesses and can be used by women on women or men, and men on men or women.

VIBRATORS

As with dildos vibrators come in all shapes and sizes. They are often sold as massagers, which can be used—depending on the shape—for clitoral, vaginal, and anal stimulation. Some vibrators fit on the hand or fingers; others rotate and flutter. They can plug in to an electrical outlet or be battery operated. When used on or around the genitals and other erogenous zones, vibrators are a source of constant stimulation.

PENIS SLEEVES

Penis sleeves can be used for masturbation or worn on the penis to stimulate the clitoris or anus of a partner. Some have ridges or nubs on the outside for this purpose.

BUTT PLUGS

Butt plugs are thicker and usually shorter than dildos and are designed to stimulate and stretch the anus. They can be used in a manner similar to a dildo or inserted and worn. They are similar to dildos in that they can be made of a variety of materials. There are vibrating butt plugs as well as simple rubber or silicone ones, and they can be long and smooth; short and ridged; thin, fat, and any combination of these. Butt plugs are generally used to produce the pleasurable sensations associated with penetrating the anal region.

BEN WA BALLS

Ben Wa balls are thought to have originated in Japan and consist of two balls, usually metal, that are hollow inside or sometimes filled with mercury or some other liquid. They are inserted into the vagina or anus and stimulate the wearer when that person rocks back and forth.

HARNESSES, LEATHER, AND LATEX

Harnesses can be worn as restraint devices, fetish wear, costume, or to facilitate being suspended in a sling or on a rack. They are also useful for grabbing onto and holding a person during sexual activity. Torso harnesses are usually made of leather and favored by leathermen and women who practice BDSM. Dildo harnesses fit around the waist and abdomen and can be worn by men or women to hold one or more dildos in place for penetrative sex with another or with one's self.

Leather and latex are the preferred materials of BDSM people, so leather harnesses, chaps, boots, vests, hoods, and jackets are often associated with the leather community for this reason. Leather is strong, which makes it good for sturdier uses such as restraint, suspension, and dildo harnesses. Latex is not strong for hanging, but it can be sturdy for restraint, for blindfolding and enclosing, and for general wear. Latex stretches, which makes it better suited than leather for garments that enclose a person very tightly.

Restraining devices such as masks, cuffs, harnesses, and gags are meant to control a partner, to render her or him helpless or make her or him feel as a safely held prisoner. Restraining devices range from elaborate harnesses, racks, and slings to simple handcuffs. Handcuffs, like vibrators and dildos, are fairly ubiquitous, and are often used by people who would never consider themselves BDSM. More elaborate devices such as fisting slings are used mostly by gay men and lesbians who practice some form of slight, moderate, or heavy BDSM, though heterosexual BDSM people also use them. Other restraining devices include cages in which submissive sexual partners may be held to furniture used for sex such as tables with cages in the middle or chairs with straps.

COCK RINGS, NIPPLE CLAMPS, WHIPS

Cock rings are worn around the base of the penis to impede blood flow and make erections last longer or make the penis look bigger and more erect in clothes. Some cock rings fit around the testicles as well and act as restraining devices.

Nipple clamps range from wooden or plastic clothespins to metal clamps that use a spring or screw to tighten pressure when worn on the nipples. These are used to pinch the nipples and stimulate them, and often they have chains on them. Sometimes they can also run an electrical current.

Whips of varying shapes and sizes can be used for stimulation and discipline during sexual activity. Contrary to popular belief, whips are often used more in BDSM for stimulation than to draw blood or beat someone up; working over a sensitive part of a person's body with a leather whip increases blood flow to the skin and results in heightened sensitivity to that area.

Piercings on the genitals, tongue, and nipples are for stimulation, restraint, and general ornamentation. Jewelry of various sizes can be worn on the genitals and used much as any sex toy would for self-stimulation and stimulation of a partner. Tongue piercings stimulate the clitoris and penis during oral sex. Nipple piercings can function much as nipple clamps do, and chains can be run through rings in the nipples or on the genitals for added stimulation. Genital piercings also create heightened stimulation and friction for both the person with the piercing and for his or her sexual partner.

SEX DOLLS

Some people enjoy engaging sexually with a replica or doll. These can be life-sized, realistic, and very expensive works of rubber, latex, and silicone; or the cheaper, *blow-up doll* version. These figures are made to resemble a person, usually a woman, and are given orifices for the insertion of the penis. One brand of high-end sex dolls offers dolls that are customized to fit the preferences of their owners. Many owners use these dolls for sex and companionship, though some owners buy them because they consider them to be art. Items such as these adult dolls truly illustrate a playful, pleasurable, and sometimes over-invested fascination with sex aids.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay; Performance Enhancers.*

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Jaime Hovey

SEX AND EMPIRE

Sex and empire have been linked in European thought from antiquity to the present in a direct line of inheritance that descends from ancient Athens via Rome and the Roman Empire to Portugal, Spain, France, Britain, and America.

In Greek myth, city foundation is frequently the result of divine rape: characteristically, an Olympian male deity violates a local nymph whose name is taken by the city founded on the location of the rape. This mythic paradigm figures city-foundation as the conquest of “culture, male, and Olympian” over “nature, female, and locality” (Dougherty 1993, p. 67) and assumes a landscape uninhabited except by the indigenous nymph. Throughout the history of classical Greece, beginning in the Archaic period (eighth–sixth centuries BCE) and continuing well into the Hellenistic age (323–31 BCE) in the wake of Alexander's conquests, the Greeks founded cities throughout the Mediterranean from Spain to the Black Sea. Colonization brought the Greeks into contact—and conflict—with indigenous peoples, whom they either expelled from the land they occupied or whose women they took in intermarriage. A wide-ranging propensity in Greco-Roman (and later European) literature to characterize the earth as a generative female body and, conversely, the generative female body as a fertile field to be ploughed enabled Greek authors to redescribe, through the rhetoric of marriage, the violent seizure of land a harmonious union of Greeks and indigenous peoples. The assimilation of (foreign) women and (foreign) landscape, in conjunction with the agricultural metaphor implicit in descriptions of Greek marriage as “a form of ploughing, with the woman as the furrow and the husband as the labourer” (Vernant 1977, p. ix), legitimizes Greek (male) colonists' mastery of foreign (female) ground.

If, in classical Greek thought, marriage and landscape are assimilated in the association of the marriageable woman with the fertile field, in ancient Roman thought women and landscape are linked still more closely by the association of marriageable foreign women with Roman territorial expansion. The metaphorical association of territorial expansion with marriage is particularly visible in the Roman republican myth of the rape of the Sabine women, rehearsed by Livy (59 BCE–17 CE) and Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE), among others. The marriage of Roman men with Sabine women that results



The Rape of the Sabine Women. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

from the women's rape underwrites, through the familiar association of foreign women with neighboring territory, the political transfer of Sabine country to Roman domination (Hemker 1985, Keith 2000).

The Roman association of sex and empire is most fully elaborated, however, in the late first century BCE when the Battle of Actium (31 BCE) brought to a close a century of Roman civil wars. In this period, the propaganda of Octavian (63 BCE–17 CE, Julius Caesar's grand-nephew and heir, the future emperor Augustus) recast civil war between Roman strongmen as a conflict between a feminized East, represented by the Egyptian queen Cleopatra (69–30 BCE—who has sexually enslaved Marc Anthony (c. 82–30 BCE) and threatens to enslave all Roman men politically—and a masculine West, represented by Octavian, the "son" of Caesar who restores male liberty and Mediterranean hegemony to Rome by conquering Cleopatra and reducing Egypt to a province of the Roman empire (Keith 2000, Quint 1993).

Augustus's territorial assignments of gender are reflected in Virgil's *Aeneid*. With the loss not only of most Hellenistic epics (some commemorating Greek city-

foundations, others Alexander's Greek empire) but also of the Roman poet Quintus Ennius's epic *Annales* (celebrating Rome's rise to Mediterranean dominion), Virgil's *Aeneid* stands as the inaugural European epic of empire, "tied to a specific national history, to the idea of world domination, to a monarchical system, even to a particular dynasty" (Quint 1993, p. 8). The opening lines of the *Aeneid* announce the goal of Aeneas's journey to Italy as Latium, particularized in the phrase "Lavinian shores" (1.1–2), where tradition located the original Trojan foundation of Lavinium. Virgil derives the name of Lavinium from Lavinia, the daughter of the indigenous Latin king Latinus, and he predicates the political foundation of Lavinium, which lies beyond the narrative scope of the *Aeneid*, on the dynastic marriage of Aeneas with Lavinia (Keith 2000). Sex and empire are further linked in the poem through Aeneas's dalliance in North Africa with the Carthaginian queen Dido, which constitutes a divergence from his imperial mission and an indulgence in the "wrong" dynastic marriage. In the disastrous coupling (and subsequent rupture) of Aeneas and Dido, Virgil locates the origin of the Punic wars, a

century of conflict between the empires of Rome and Carthage for control of the western Mediterranean (264–146 BCE).

Both Aeneas and Augustus constituted significant prototypes for subsequent classical and medieval authors as models of sexual and imperial conquest. On December 25, 800, Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne “Emperor of the Romans.” The Pope’s act envisaged a renewed Roman Empire in the Latin west superseding the eastern remnants (which we call the Byzantine Empire) at that time ruled by a woman, the Empress Irene (c. 752–803), to whom Charlemagne sent envoys proposing marriage. Scholar Alcuin of York (735–804) saw in Charlemagne’s coronation the possibility of realizing a Christian empire, but the Frankish king’s renewed Roman Empire was short-lived. Nonetheless, the title “Emperor of the Romans” eventually passed (in 962) to a German king, Otto the Great (912–973), whose vision of a Holy Roman Empire—more in keeping with that of Charlemagne than Augustus—lasted for almost a millennium (to 1806).

The author of the *Roman d’Eneas* (twelfth century CE) rehearsed more insistently the precedent of Aeneas for contemporary Angevin imperialism. Henry II (r. 1154–1189), like Aeneas, claimed Trojan ancestry, moved westward to build his empire, and “gained his largest territory through a wife (Eleanor of Aquitaine) who had been attached to another ambitious prince (Louis VII)” (Baswell 1994, p. 151). The romance, however, displaces Aeneas’s affairs with women (Dido and Lavinia) from the center of the work to focus instead on the military and homoerotic union of Nisus and Euryalus, Virgil’s *fortunati ambi* whose celebrated love threatens to undo the Angevin Eneas’s sexual and imperial designs (Baswell 1994, Boswell 1980, Williams 1999). Walter of Chatillon, however, offers perhaps the most thoroughgoing medieval literary meditation on empire and its subversions in his epic *Alexandreis* (also twelfth century), which considers the place of Alexander’s conquests—carnal and spiritual—in the succession of empires that prepares for the coming of Christ (Wiener 2001).

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A.M. Keith

SEX CHANGE

SEE *Transsexual F to M; Transsexual M to F*.

SEX CRIMES

The term *sex crimes* is a rubric attached to a number of different types of criminal offenses that are or may be construed as sexual. A criminal offense is an act that has been defined as illegal by a legislative body. Sex crimes consist of a range of illegal acts involving the commission of sexual acts on others without their permission, the use of violence to gain sexual ends, or the commission of sexual acts on those who cannot under the law give permission, such as children, family members, or employees. Sex crimes may also consist of acts that have been deemed immoral by legislatures but that involve others only with their consent, including prostitution, viewing or producing pornography, adultery or polygamy, or engaging in nonreproductive sexual acts such as sodomy or homosexuality.

Most state penal codes cover a number of sex crimes, but these crimes are rarely defined as such. Rather, they exist scattered through legislation, depending more on the context, character, or victim of the crime than that the crime is in some way linked to sexual ends. Specific crimes that may be considered sex crimes include adultery, assault, bestiality, compelling to marry, domestic violence, gross indecency, indecent exposure, incest, lewd behavior, sexual murder, necrophilia, pedophilia, pimping, polygamy, pornography and other forms of speech, prostitution, public lewdness, rape, sodomy, stalking, and sexual intercourse as a part of medical treatment.

SEX CRIMES INVOLVING NONCONSENSUAL BEHAVIOR

Such acts as indecent exposure or exhibitionism, voyeurism, sexual touching, stalking and Internet stalking, sexual assault and rape, domestic violence, and abuse by caregivers involve the attempted imposition of sexual behaviors and desires on others who are unaware of the attention, who are unwilling participants in an exchange involving sexual behaviors, or who have no power to refuse unwanted attentions. Most of these actions involve some degree of violence or the threat of violence and it may be argued are less sexual crimes than they are crimes of anger or power.

Indecent exposure and voyeurism are threatening but are perhaps the least violent of these crimes. Indecent exposure involves someone, most often a male, exhibiting his sexual parts to an unwilling bystander. Because European and North American cultures in particular do not comprehend males as the unwilling recipients of such exhibitions, the crime of indecent exposure is rarely committed by females. Voyeurism involves those, again usually males, commonly called *peeping toms*, who trespass in order to steal a look at unwitting female victims who are simply living in their own homes or who are using facilities, such as bathrooms, considered to be private. Voyeurism may be a way for the criminal to gain sexual pleasure or may sometimes be a part of a pattern of increasingly violent behaviors, including stalking, rape, and murder.

Stalking and Internet stalking involve someone paying unwanted attention to an individual. Stalking may involve everything from persistent mailing, telephoning, and harassing, to visits, home entries, and physical attacks and murders. Generally, stalking involves repeat victimization in which the same person is forced repeatedly to suffer the fear, anxiety, lack of freedom, and stress of someone else's predations. Although celebrities are the most notorious victims of stalking, stalking may happen to anyone. In 2006 one out of every twelve women and one out of every forty-five men is a stalking victim. The large majority of victims are thus women (78%), whereas

the majority of perpetrators are men (87%). Stalkers are often irrational and have little understanding of boundaries and privacy. They may be former spouses or partners, have some other connection to the victim, or be total strangers.

Sexual assault and rape are usually classified as *criminal sexual conduct* and are codified in a set of decreasing degrees of severity—first degree being the most serious and carrying the highest penalty. First-degree criminal sexual conduct involves the forced sexual *penetration* of someone else that involves additional injury and harm. The victims are defined not only as any single person, but also as belonging to one of the categories on a list of specially defined victims that includes children, household members, friends (*date rape*), and incapacitated people. The perpetrators occupy specific relations of trust to the victims, such as parents, teachers, or relatives, and use weapons, help from others, drugs, or threats. Lesser degrees of sexual assault and rape are defined either by the lack of a special relation of trust between perpetrator and victim or by a lesser degree of violence, coercion, and injury. All rape is serious and is understood by many to be a crime of vengeance and rage rather than a crime of sex.

The crime of rape has mobilized communities and groups of women to recognize that rape is a violent crime and to remove the stigma of imagined cooperation that often lingers with victims. It has traditionally been difficult to prosecute rape cases because of the ways the criminal justice system permitted evidence of the victim's sexual history to be introduced at trial, humiliating the witness and suggesting that the crime was in fact a sexual one. Improved forensic technologies have made the prosecution of rape cases easier, as has an increased understanding of the crime.

Domestic violence and assaults committed on dates that do not include sexual penetrations are part of a more general crime called *assault*. Assault occurs when one person inflicts harm on someone else. Harm may be only verbal, such as name calling, or include physical damage, sometimes called *battery*. Many states provide specific provisions for assaults occurring between people in domestic or romantic relationships. Domestic violence is particularly dangerous because of the familiarity of the parties and the victim's loss of safety. The emotional involvement of the parties often confuses the victim, who may feel guilty or feel that she or he caused the other's behavior.

In general the law considers children to be unable to give consent to any kind of sexual conduct. There are, thus, special laws defining sexual crimes against children. In most states, for example, having sexual intercourse with any person under the age of sixteen is considered *statutory rape*. Under the law minors are deemed not to be capable of consenting to sex, so that even if a minor

consents, the sexual intercourse is a rape because the victim could not legally consent. The same logic applies to other degrees of sexual assault.

The law is particularly harsh on those who sexually abuse, rape, kidnap, and/or murder children. Although a desire for sexual encounters with children is often a sexual preference, children's inability to give consent or even to defend themselves against predators makes such crimes particularly outrageous to the public. Convicted pedophiles, particularly those who employ violence, must undergo extensive therapy and are often abused by other inmates in prison; some have been chemically castrated. When released from prison these sex offenders must report their presence in a neighborhood in some jurisdictions. Others are forbidden from having contact with children.

Many states have laws protecting minors from exposure to any kind of obscenity. It may, for example, be illegal to sell pornography to minors or to exhibit any kind of obscene material where children may see it. In addition it is generally a crime to make or even look at pornography that features children as sexual objects or witnesses. This kind of material is considered to be *child sexual abusive* material, and anyone involved with the production, distribution, sale, or importation of such material is criminally liable.

Although incest, or sexual intercourse with a relative, is not limited to children, children are especially vulnerable. Also, laws are especially harsh on those who misuse positions of trust, such as adult family members, teachers, and medical professionals. Some states have special laws prohibiting sexual conduct between doctors and patients and most have special provisions in statutes defining sexual assault dealing with assault by teachers, family members, friends, and others in positions of trust.

SEX CRIMES REFLECTING IDEAS OF IMMORALITY

Many acts that are considered to be sex crimes involve parties who participate in such acts willingly. These crimes relate to issues of marriage and infidelity, nonreproductive sexual activities, prostitution and pandering, and pornography and obscenity.

Crimes surrounding marriage include adultery, defined as sexual intercourse between two persons, one of whom is married to a third person; polygamy, or being married to more than one person at a time; compelling a woman to marry by force; and, in some states, having sexual relations outside of marriage. This last crime is referred to as *gross lewdness* or *lewd and lascivious cohabitation*. Some of the statutes are rarely enforced as crimes because in many places, concepts of morality have changed or victims of such crimes have other remedies, such as divorce.

Nonreproductive sexual activities are often deemed immoral. They include all homosexual activities, some kinds of sexual activities between consenting heterosexual married couples, and sexual activity with the dead or the nonhuman. Sodomy, considered by some as a *crime against nature*, is defined as the penetration of an inappropriate (i.e., nonvaginal) orifice, including those of animals. Some states have repealed laws against sodomy between consenting adults, whereas others have extended the definition of sodomy to include oral sex between women. In addition there are also statutes prohibiting *gross indecency*, a catchall rubric that covers almost any kind of homosexual behavior between men or between women, and some kinds of sexual behavior between heterosexuals, including, presumably, sodomy and oral sex, but may include other kinds of nonreproductive sexual acts. Most states have laws prohibiting desecration of the dead, which includes any kind of sexual activity, or necrophilia. Some states also have laws against the abuse of animals, which may include bestiality, or having sex with them.

Prostitution, or offering sexual encounters for money, is generally illegal in the United States except in parts of Nevada, but it is legal in some parts of Europe. Laws against prostitution apply both to those offering the services and those purchasing them. They also apply to those who facilitate the sales—the pimps or madams who run the street business, provide protection, or manage houses where clients purchase the services of prostitutes. Although prostitution occurs between consenting adults, the sale of sexual favors by males or females to males or females is deemed immoral and is, hence, criminal.

Obscenity and pornography, apart from any involvement with or display to minors, may itself be a criminal activity. What constitutes pornography is often an issue for a locality to decide based on its own local standards of what may be obscene. Most locales permit the sale of pornography only within restricted premises. Some permit strip shows and other sexual entertainment at facilities that control entry. Some communities do not permit either the sale or display of obscene material at all. The Internet has become a popular means for distributing pornographic material, mostly because it can be purchased and consumed in private and in some anonymity.

Although masturbation is not a crime unless performed publicly, in some jurisdictions owning sex toys, sex aids, or other sexual material is illegal. It is also illegal in some states to advertise such materials, as well as contraceptives and cures for genital ills. Many states also have catchall statutes called *sexual delinquency* or something similar that focus on repeat sexual offenders or on actions that may not fit within other indecency statutes.

SEX CRIMES THROUGH HISTORY

Through history public concepts of the kinds of acts that might constitute sex crimes has broadened, and responsibility for defining and preventing some sex crimes has shifted from the church to the state. Some sex crimes were previously considered the natural domain of marriage (e.g., wife beating, involuntary sexual intercourse), whereas others—crimes involving technology, stalking, pornography—are more modern inventions. The age of consensual sex shifts from culture to culture and through history, becoming gradually older in Europe and North America. Greek culture did not necessarily understand sex between men as a crime, whereas religions deriving from the Bible condemned sodomy and bestiality as acts but did not acknowledge sex between women at all. Adultery was the province of the church, whereas understandings of what degrees of relation were incestuous have changed from culture to culture.

Public attention to crimes involving sexual behavior, domestic violence, and obscenity has only gradually come within the province of the state. The state's definition of such crimes is very much linked to contemporaneous notions of morality and proper gender relations. How cultures have understood rape, for example, has evolved significantly in the last 100 years. Before the twentieth century, rape was considered heinous but was not as often recognized in the law as it is under twenty-first-century legislation. Because rape was understood as a *sex* crime, the victim was often held as responsible as the perpetrator. If there was not physical damage beyond penetration, the rape was often not prosecuted. Date rape was inconceivable primarily because the victims were understood to have consented to the behavior. Male rape of other males was not acknowledged until into the twentieth century. Domestic violence and rape were seen as the province and sometimes even the marital duty of the husband.

Tolerance for prostitution and obscenity, too, has changed from culture to culture and through history. Whereas Greek and Roman culture permitted prostitution, and some countries, such as Japan, ceremonialized some aspects of it in the geisha, Christian countries tended to take a less open view. Some countries, such as the Netherlands, have come to understand that when controlled and monitored, prostitution is a safer business than when illegal. Nonetheless, greater tolerance for prostitution in some locations and greater demand for prostitutes in others has increased the international trafficking of women who are essentially enslaved as prostitutes. It has long been illegal in the United States to transport underage women across state lines for immoral purposes.

Laws concerning pornography also vary from locale to locale. Relatively modern techniques of printing and photography have made the distribution of pornography much easier and more profitable, making pornography a big

business since the nineteenth century. The easing of moral restrictions on sexual content has made pornography more visible, as has ease of access on the Internet. Child pornography, however, has become increasingly taboo, whereas nudity, language that might previously have been understood as obscene, and explicit references to sex and sexual organs have become commonplace on television.

The criminality of other sex crimes continues to depend largely on the relation of religious belief to state action. For example, in countries such as Nigeria where religion strictly prohibits adultery, adulterers may be stoned to death. In certain places homosexual males may be executed. And in some locales polygamy is legal.

SEX CRIME STATISTICS

In the early twenty-first century a sexual assault occurs in the United States every two minutes. The contemporary frequency of sex crimes has as much to do with the increased number of sexual acts defined as crimes as with increased urbanization and crowding, less repressive environments, increased frustration and depersonalization, and the expected mobility and social exposure of women, who are the primary victims of assaults. It is also due to increased reporting of such crimes, particularly sexual assaults upon men. Despite increased reporting the rate of sexual assault and rape declined slightly between 1996 and 2002. In 1996 1 man out of every 2,500 was a victim of sexual assault, whereas in 2002 that figure had decreased to 1 in every 3,300. In 1996 5.75 women out of 2,500 were victims of sexual assault and rape, whereas in 2002 the figure had dropped to 4.5. Other sex crimes, such as stalking and crimes committed on children, have increased, partly because the Internet has provided criminals easier access to their targets.

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Judith Roof

SEX INDUSTRY

The term *sex industry* refers to the people and organizations that provide sexual products, services, or performances in exchange for monetary compensation. The term encompasses a variety of enterprises, including print, video, and Internet pornography, prostitution, sex shows, phone sex

operations, sex shops, peep shows, massage parlors, sex tourism, and strip clubs. Those employed in the sex industry are typically known as sex workers and might include street prostitutes, call girls, escorts, strippers, exotic dancers, lap dancers, phone sex operators, brothel workers, actors and actresses in pornographic films, models for pornographic magazines, dominatrices, and bodyworkers or erotic masseuses. The sex industry also includes the managers, staff, owners, producers, directors, photographers, pimps, madams, businesses, organizations, and enterprises that provide the infrastructure and support necessary to this multi-billion-dollar industry.

INDUSTRY DATA

Because of the nature of the sex industry, in which many enterprises are illegal or only semilegitimate and in which much earnings and activity goes unreported, estimates of the scope of the industry are necessarily flawed. Nonetheless, all available data suggest that the sex industry plays a very significant role in the U.S. economy, as in other countries. Since the rise of video recording technology and home videocassette players in the early 1980s, the consumption of hard-core pornographic videos in the United States has increased dramatically. A federal study in the 1970s estimated that the total value of hard-core porn in the United States was under \$10 million; by 1996 estimates indicated Americans were spending more than \$8 billion per year on pornographic videos and magazines, sex shows, peep shows, and sex toys (Schlosser 1997). This figure included 665 million hard-core video rentals, \$150 million spent on pay-per-view adult movies, and \$175 million on pornographic movies viewed in hotel rooms. Additionally, the United States exports a high volume of pornographic videos overseas, where it dominates the European market (Schlosser 1997). Americans in the mid-1990s spent close to \$1 billion annually on phone sex; many of these calls were routed through overseas companies to foreign operators in order to evade U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) restrictions on obscene communication. As with hard-core video production, the number of strip clubs in the United States rose astronomically throughout the 1980s. As of 1996 there were 2,500 major strip clubs in the United States, each of which earned between \$500,000 and \$5 million annually. Much of the revenue generated by these clubs comes from booking well-known porn stars as dancers. A very small percentage of these actresses can earn as much as \$20,000 per week dancing at a club (Schlosser 1997). And though it generates less income than the adult film industry, pornography on the Internet is almost ubiquitous and often quite lucrative.

Although data on prostitution are much harder to come by, national surveys have suggested that between

15 percent and 20 percent of the American population has paid for sex at one time or another; the figures are somewhat lower for British and Canadian men. In most countries prostitution is illegal, and because prostitutes are susceptible to harassment and prosecution, they tend to be cautious and secretive, rendering it difficult to assemble accurate data. Estimates of the prevalence of prostitution are thus highly variable and incorporate a substantial margin of error. Even in countries where prostitution is legal, such as Germany and the Netherlands, estimates of the number of prostitutes vary widely because prostitutes may not be registered or they may be in the country illegally. Estimates from the mid-1990s suggest that in Germany, 50,000 to 400,000 prostitutes transacted with some 1.2 million clients daily. Some studies have suggested that in the 1980s, there were between 250,000 and 350,000 prostitutes in the United States. Other studies have suggested that there were more than 200,000 prostitutes in Poland and between 140,000 and 300,000 in South Korea in the mid-1990s. In many European countries a substantial percentage of prostitutes are foreigners, often from developing countries (Oppermann 1998). In Spain, where the legal status of prostitution is somewhat ambiguous, many prostitutes work for *mega brothels*. A 1998 report from the International Labour Organization (ILO) found that in some Southeast Asian countries revenue from prostitution comprised 2 percent to 14 percent of the gross domestic product. In Thailand prostitution generated around \$25 billion between 1993 and 1995.

SEX TOURISM AND TRAFFICKING AND MARRIAGE BROKING

Migration and tourism has raised awareness of the global nature of the sex industry. Both Germany and the Netherlands have large red-light districts in major cities; studies suggest that many of the prostitutes are immigrants, and a substantial percentage of the districts' clients are tourists. Though sex tourism occurs in most areas of the world, some countries, such as Thailand and the Philippines, are particularly known for it. Although the Europe and North America tends to conceive of the sex tourist as a white heterosexual male visiting an exotic Asian or tropical locale, the evidence provides a more varied picture. In Thailand, for example, the vast majority of sex tourists are from nearby countries rather than from the United States. There is additionally a \$10 billion industry surrounding homosexual sex tourism, and in locations such as Kenya, female sex tourists are more common than male sex tourists. Though in many cases the sex tourist is from an economically richer country than the local sex worker, evidence suggests that there is often a high local demand for sexual services as well.

Sex traffickers and marriage brokers also comprise part of the global sex economy. Just as tourists travel to

other nations to visit sex workers, so, too, do many sex workers. This may be voluntary on the workers' parts, but very often they are forced into sexual labor or—because of economic exploitation and their often-illegal immigrant status—are unable to leave the service of pimps, brothel owners, or managers. In addition many companies offer matchmaking services that pair men from industrialized nations with women from poorer countries. Although women often enter such contracts willingly in hopes for greater opportunity in another country, they are at the mercy of their fiancés and frequently have little financial or legal recourse.

LEGAL ISSUES

Despite the importance of the sex industry to both the international economy and the economies of individual nations, the legal status of the industry and its workers is often ambiguous. Even those industries that operate legally are often somewhat unregulated or subject to ambiguous or conflicting legislation. Strip clubs in the United States and Canada, for example, are subject to various local ordinances aimed at defining the acceptable limits of exotic dancing and delineating the difference between legal client–dancer physical contact and illegal paid sexual activity. Such regulations are necessarily somewhat arbitrary, difficult to enforce, and may criminalize those actions—such as lap dances or manual stimulation—that are most lucrative for the dancers.

Additionally, the extralegal or semilegal operation of much of the sex industry tends to increase the workplace exploitation of sex workers. Prostitutes, for example, report extremely high rates of rape and assault by both pimps and clients, but—because their injuries are sustained in the context of illegal sexual activity—are less likely to report crimes to the police for fear of themselves being arrested. Even in cases in which prostitutes do report assaults to the police, they often find that police are unwilling to file charges or a judge unwilling to hear the case. Sex workers in legal industries are similarly more subject to exploitation by managers or owners. Strippers in the United States, for example, are sometimes required to pay house fees to a club in order to work. At times these fees are so high that the majority, if not all, of the dancer's tip money is owed to the club manager or owner. As with other sex workers, the stripper has little or no legal recourse in such a situation.

SEX WORKERS' RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Widespread exploitation of sex workers has led to a sex workers' rights movement in the United States and other countries. Although some argue that legalization and regulation of all facets of the sex industry is the best means of

ensuring worker rights and safety, such measures are often not the goals of these sex workers' rights organizations. Many prostitutes, for example, worry that legalization and regulation of prostitution might adversely affect their profits or—as in the case of Nevada's brothel system—unfairly concentrate power in the hands of owners and managers rather than the workers themselves. There are, however, a number of organizations in the United States that advocate for workers' rights, improved disease prevention, and educational programs for both sex workers and the general public. Although in the United States such organizations—including Prostitutes of New York (PONY) and Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE)—wield relatively minimal political power, sex workers unions in other countries are a part of the larger labor movement and—as in the case of De Rode Draad (The Red Thread) in Amsterdam or the Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee in Kolkata (Calcutta)—may have a more substantial political voice in their respective governments.

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Maureen Lauder

SEX MANUALS, ANCIENT WORLD

Evidence of the existence of this literary genre (as distinct from other forms of licentious literature) relies almost entirely on quotes found in repertories or encyclopedias (Athenaeus, second to third century CE; the Byzantine *Suda*, tenth century CE) or in parodies (most notably in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*). The only surviving textual fragment was found in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (early second century CE) and published by Edgar Lobel in 1972 (see Cataudella 1973). This fragment, highly damaged,

contains the introduction to a work (*Peri Aphrodision*, i.e., “On the Things of Aphrodite”) attributed to Philaenis (fourth century BCE). According to the *Suda* the originator of the genre was a woman, Astyanassa, a maid of Helen of Troy who wrote a treatise on sexual positions. As in the case of this mythical inventor, sources attribute almost all of the ancient manuals on sexual schemata to female writers, usually slaves or hetaerae who wrote drawing on personal experience. This feminine authorship is almost certainly a (slandering) fictional cliché. In the case of the scholar and philosopher Pamphile of Epidaurus (first century CE), the hypothesis, quoted in the *Suda*, that her treatise (titled, traditionally, *Peri Aphrodision*) might have been authored by her father or her husband shows how problematic (either for the scandalous nature of the work or for the erudition that writing per se required) was the notion of a woman author who was not even a prostitute.

Scholars have suggested a close relationship between sex manuals and other “technical” books such as cookbooks, medical treatises, and other scientific works. Their appearance coincides with an era (between the end of classical Greece and the beginning of the Hellenistic age) when the episteme becomes dominated by a compulsory taxonomic attitude, stemming from the canonization of Aristotelian philosophy, and by the proliferation of systematic treatises on rhetoric. As Holt N. Parker (1992) points out, “the scientific classification extended not only to the parts of speech but also the figures of speech, the *Skhêmata* (Latin *figurae*), a word ambiguous between the positioning of words in a sentence and the positioning of bodies in a bed” (p. 101). In general, sex manuals were regarded as obscene not because of their sexual content but rather because they were perceived as advocating immoderate indulgence in luxury and pleasure (thus incurring the same condemnation levied against gourmet cookbooks). Uncontrollable appetites were considered inherently feminine, hence the feminine “authorship” ascribed to these works.

Ovid’s reuse of sex-manual literature occurs in Book III (lines 769–788) of the *Ars Amatoria*, the one addressed to women (specifically, hetaerae). Given the lack of more direct ones, this parody is a particularly valuable source. The author gives advice on eight different positions, all pertaining to the female body, clearly implying that the woman, not the man, is the raw material of the *Ars* (see Myerowitz 1985). According to modern feminist theorists, it is this objectification of the female body that makes these manuals intrinsically “pornographic” (a notion that in post-Foucauldian scholarship has become acceptable, though with varying terminology, also in reference to the ancient world. See Richlin 1992, pp. xi–xxii). Particularly noteworthy is that these manuals dealt only with heterosexual intercourse (and, possibly, the preliminaries of seduction), clearly

aiming at enforcing a strictly heteroerotic normativity. In Parker’s (1992) words, they “make their appearance at the time of a fundamental shift in Greek society from a predominantly aristocratic and homoerotic code to a bourgeois and heteroerotic code” (p. 104).

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Paolo Fasoli

SEX MANUALS, CHINA

Throughout ancient Chinese history, sex was considered a natural and essential aspect of life; in fact, the Chinese words for sex and nature are the same, *xìng*. Sex manuals reflect this general concept, as well as different religious beliefs, particularly Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism; sex manuals convey sex customs, philosophies, and sex techniques. The best-known manual is *Su Nu Jin* (The manual of lady purity)—of around the third century CE—in which the characters the Emperor and the Plain Girl discuss sexual benefits. Chinese sex manuals are unique in that they are often interwoven with teachings about philosophies, medicines, and the natural world and focus on health and longevity concerns. This category traditionally includes texts with or without explicit illustrations, and works of fiction or nonfiction that function as manuals. For example, a novel with explicit sexual narratives is often considered a sex manual.

Two famous works of Chinese erotic literature are *Su E Pian* (The lady of the moon), and *Jing Ping Mei* (The golden lotus), both of the seventeenth century. The former recounts forty-three lovemaking styles practiced by an imperial official and his consort in gardens and in the woods, with each tree or flower suggesting a new way for pleasuring each other. *Jing Ping Mei* offers a vivid account of the numerous sexual affairs of the fictitious Xi Men Qin, of his pleasures and of his perils.

Almost all Chinese sex manuals focus on the balance of yin and yang, two essential and opposing forces in the



An illustration From a Chinese Sex Manual. THE KINSEY INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SEX, GENDER, AND REPRODUCTION.

universe—embodied by female and male bodies, according to Taoism. The ultimate balance of yin and yang, through the sexual acts between the male and female, results in better health and longevity for both parties, though the benefits the male receives are often the primary concern.

Other Chinese sex manuals include *Yu Fang Mi Jue* (The secrets of the jade room), and *Yu Fang Zhi Yao* (Important guidelines of the jade room), covering topics such as foreplay, conception (usually of male offspring), sexual positions, and sexual energies; they incorporate sex into a general framework of the universe, presenting sex as a way to reach the harmonic balance of yin and yang. Sexual pleasures are derived from the physical unions of individuals, sometimes through multiple partners. Men

are instructed to satisfy a woman to orgasm but to refrain from ejaculating. Marriage or social relationships are not necessary for a sexual union to occur.

After the socialist movement in 1949, traditional sex manuals were destroyed or denounced and disappeared until the 1980s, when they reappeared as part of the new national policy on family planning. One of the first published Chinese sex manuals was written by Ruan Fang Fu, titled *Xing De Shou Che* (Handbook of sex knowledge) (1985), introducing sex terms and opening discussions on sexual conduct; it sold more than 1 million copies. From the 1990s sex manuals have been popular on the streets and the bookstores. These are translations of sex manuals published in Europe and North America, as well as instructions for specific age or gender groups—adolescents, newlyweds, and seniors—on sexual development, marriage, sexual disease prevention, marital harmony, and most important, contraception. When the act of sexual intercourse itself is covered, the manuals specify that it occurs between married, heterosexual couples.

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Liana Hong Zhou

SEX MANUALS, INDIA

Sexual references, symbolism, and discussions of the erotic are common in Indian literature, where the erotic is often expressed in divine consort figures and in human couples in ritual embrace (*maithuna*). In this context intercourse for ritual purposes, sexual activity for pleasure (*rati*) within the institution of marriage, and a specialization of Āyurvedic study on sexology are key. In the Atharvaveda, for example, there are spells to win a woman's (or man's) love, to recover a man's virility or to make a man impotent, and to rally Kāma, the god of love, in some cause. In the *Gṛhyasūtras* (domestic practices) there are detailed prescriptions for what is to happen sexually on the wedding night, as well as ritual mantras for successful coupling; in the *Dharmasūtras* (law), there are rules covering when, how, and under what circumstances sexual intercourse can take place between husband and wife; and in the *Yogasūtras*, there are techniques for controlling the energy of male and female sexual organs.

The *Kāmasūtra* (known in Europe and North America as the *Kama Sutra*) is the most important Indian sexual manual, being an educational book on *kāma* or *sensuality*, to be studied by men and women as part of the development of the other three aims of life, that is, *dharma* (personal duties), *artha* (worldly affairs),

and *mokṣa* (liberation). Kāma covers aspects of courtship such as choosing a bride, gaining her confidence, useful games and tricks, and various types of adverse marriage—for example, *gandharva vivāha* (by theft—a love marriage opposed by the parents of bride and groom), *Āsura vivāha* (by purchase), *paśāca vivāha* (by drug or alcohol intoxication), and *rākṣasa vivāha* (the violent seizure or rape of the woman after the defeat of her relatives). Giving advice primarily for the well-off, the *Kāmasūtra* details a wife's running of the household and the politics of harem women—including wives, mistresses, servants, and slaves, all of whom are involved in hierarchies of status, economics, and sexual favor. There is counsel for the wife who is neglected, and for illicit love—adulterous relations between men and married women, courtesans, or loose women, most of which are handled with the help of a go-between.

What the *Kāmasūtra* is most known for, however, is a chapter on lovemaking that details issues of compatibility, various types of embraces, kisses, nail marks and love bites, positions for lovemaking, love blows and love cries, and oral sex. The manual ends with a section on aphrodisiacs and spells and the admonition that, even though the text details various sexual practices, it must always be used with wisdom and with mindfulness of the appropriateness of the context.

While not exactly sex manuals, Hindu Tantras describe and illuminate the use of sexual union (*maithuna*) for spiritual progress. *Maithuna*, or a couple in close embrace, is one of the five *m's* used in the ritual indulgence of Tantra, the other four being *madya* (alcoholic drink), *māmsa* (meat), *matsya* (fish), and *mudrā* (symbolic hand gesture). Hindu Tantra cultivates activity that arouses the libido, awakening dormant energies for expression in sexual intercourse. This energy is then yoked to rituals, yoga, and meditation in order to propel human consciousness toward blissful enlightenment. In some Hindu Tantra orgasm is an analogue to the fire sacrifice: the rubbing of sexual organs is the friction of the fire sticks, male ejaculation is the poured oil, and the female vagina is the altar on which the oil is poured. Moreover, each of the four Hindu ages of time has corresponding religious literature for orthodox Hindus, and Tantra belongs to the last age, the *Kaliyuga*.

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SEX MANUALS, ISLAM

Despite the image that many contemporaries wish to cultivate, premodern Islam was open and frank on questions of sexuality. This included discussions in anecdotal collections and, of course *The Arabian Nights*. But the most important sources of material on sexual practices were the ubiquitous sex manuals. Far from being marginal (or being considered pornographic), such manuals were frequently written by educated individuals, such as North-African jurist Ahmad al-Tifāshî (d. 1253).

The situation at the turn of the twenty-first century is in many ways different. The neopuritanical strain that is so prominent in the late-twentieth, early twenty-first-century Islamic revival (and especially in its political wing, the Islamists) has combined with the remains of a Victorian prudery that developed under European colonial influence. The result has been to largely drive these sex manuals underground. As the majority of these sex manuals are censored in the Arab lands of the Middle East and North Africa, it has been left up to Arab exiles in European capitals with large Arab populations, such as London, to make them available. This is presently the case for the famous works by Tifāshî, al-Tijānî (d. after 1309), and Umar Ibn Muhammad Nafzâwî (d. after 1324).

A diligent search will, however, turn up local editions of classical sex manuals. In Morocco in the 1990s, manuals were on sale in a market in Taroudant, and an edition of the famous sex manual (old, worn, and in Arabic), *Ruju' al-Shaykh ilâ Sibah* [The return of the old man to his youth] by Ibn Kāmâl Bāshâ was available at the well-known and colorful market in the Djemaa el-Fna in Marrakesh. Probably not coincidentally, the edition listed no place or date of publication. Despite its title, *The Return of the Old Man to His Youth* is actually a comprehensive sex manual. The range of clandestine availability and the integration into social practices is indicated by the fact that a Christian Palestinian told this author that in the Mediterranean village that was his hometown, the men possessed one copy of the book that was handed from one young man to the next when it was time for their marriage.

The sex manuals combined practical information with anecdotes or stories that were both illustrative of the variety of sexual behaviors (including between women) and entertaining. The practical material included sexual positions (for oral as well as vaginal sex) and advice on foods or medicines that could promote or support sexual activity. Advice was also available on practices or products to induce or reduce the chances of conception.

Many of these works were translated into European languages and diffused in those countries in the nineteenth century. As Jamāl Jum'a makes clear in his introduction to his edition of Nafzâwî's *The Perfumed Garden*,

Ellison Banks Findly

this sexual manual (as was others) was published secretly in the Islamic world with no indication of the date of publication or the publisher, even though its translation into European languages ran the gamut from English through German and Danish to French.

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Fedwa Multi-Douglas

SEX MANUALS, JAPAN

As with sex manuals of other languages and cultures, Japanese sex manuals are illustrated sexual instructions or stories to inform, educate, and entertain the young, newlyweds, or other audiences. Japanese sex manuals are often known as *shunga*, meaning spring pictures—spring signifies the beginning of a life cycle and is often used interchangeable with the word *sex*. *Shunga* is a term used for erotic paintings, prints, and illustrations. Another common name for the Japanese sex manual is *pillow book*, which refers to the book format or scrolls of stories or poetry with illustrations of artistic expressions of pleasure and joy.

Because of their essential artistic component, Japanese sex manuals are often considered synonymous with erotic art. Most of the books are illustrated with colorful, wood-block prints known as *ukiyo-e*, meaning the floating world, an art form that flourished from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. The wood-block prints are issued as singles or in book form, with eight or twelve pictures of sexual positions, accompanied by narrative text.

Shunga with *ukiyo-e* prints are perhaps the best-known sex manuals since the seventeenth century; however, sex manuals existed in Japan long before then. *The Tale of Genji*, a classic of Japanese literature written circa 1000 by Murasaki Shikibu, was rich with the sexual relations and love affairs of Prince Genji. Scrolls or rolls based on this and other erotic stories were made and copied and became widely available among the rich as

well as the general public. Inspiration for these sex manuals derived from folklore, the Kabuki theater, pleasure houses and their famous courtesans, as well as Chinese sex manuals.

Whereas most of the authors of the sex manuals were unknown, the contributing artists were identifiable. Hishikawa Moronobu (1618–c. 1694), one of the first *shunga* artists intensely interested in book illustrations, is known for his adaptation of Chinese erotic prints of the Ming period. Kitagawa Utamaro (1753–1806) illustrated *Ehon Warai-jigo* (Book of pictures outside all traditions [Mandel 1983]). Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), perhaps the best-known *ukiyo-e* artist, created the three-volume erotic book of *Manpuku wagojin* (The fat-bellied god of profit [Mandel 1983]), detailing in pictures and narration the lives and sexual journeys of two women, Osane and Otsubi.

Japanese sex manuals cover a wide range of topics, including body parts, courtship, sexual intercourse, oral sex, masturbation, sadomasochism, masochism, and prostitution. It is also not uncommon to see coverage of incest, bestiality, voyeurism, and rape as part of the sexual plots revolving around the characters. Sexual expressions were often associated with the character development contained within the narrations.

A few aspects of the Japanese sex manuals are culturally specific: The characters are seldom completely nude, and genital organs are often exaggeratedly enlarged. Children are present in most of these books, which may suggest the openness of sexual attitudes in Japan.

Contemporary sex manuals are produced following the artistic tradition and traditional sexual expressions, but the best known are produced as *manga*, the popular comic books that are widely available for all ages. Sexual messages or sexual instructions are delivered to targeted audiences often specified by gender and age group.

SEE ALSO *Sex Manuals, Ancient World; Sex Manuals, China; Sex Manuals, India; Sex Manuals, Islam; Sex Manuals, Old and Modern West.*

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Liana Zhou

SEX MANUALS, OLD AND MODERN WEST

Sex manuals are books that contain pictures and/or texts that instruct how to perform sexual intercourse and other sexual practices. Some sex manuals may also include therapeutic sex and intimacy exercises, advice on various methods of birth control, and/or advice on relationship and marital matters (which may or may not include sexual intercourse). Sexual literature in the form of sex manuals and erotic art has existed in European and North American cultures throughout history. Shifts in political climate and obscenity laws have at times influenced the proliferation of sex manuals; however, black markets and underground sources have enabled the literature to endure such restrictions.

Contemporary sex manuals include not only typical sex behaviors and practices but also various other forms of sex, such as oral sex (fellatio and cunnilingus), anal sex for both heterosexual and homosexual audiences, as well as an array of various sexual positions and behaviors that challenge the traditional discourse of sex. In contemporary sex guides masturbation techniques may also be included as a new self-help method for achieving sexual gratification and orgasm. Despite historical and contemporary differences, sex manuals have existed to facilitate what is socially and culturally believed to be healthy sexual behavior.

THE ANCIENT AND EARLY WEST

Some of the oldest documented sex manuals and sexual literature derives from the ancient Greek and Roman cultures. Sexual imagery lined the walls of baths and brothels in ancient times, serving the same purpose of images found in contemporary manuals. Some of the most famous images of ancient Roman times were found in the excavation of the Stabian Bath of Pompeii. At Stabian, the walls were covered in frescos depicting various sexual acts, positions, techniques, and sex behaviors that are believed to be representative of ancient Roman sex practices.

Between about 1 BCE and 1 CE, Ovid, an ancient Roman poet, wrote one of the oldest sex manuals of the West to include text. The manual was titled *Ars Amatoria* [The art of love] and contained three separate books in a series, each written in verse. The first two books were directed at a male audience, one advising how to win a woman's heart and another on how to maintain her as a lover and partner. The third book in the series addressed women, advising ways for them to lure men to their hearts. Though the practicality of the books may be limited in regard to sexual practice, it does give a historic view of gender roles and relations in ancient European culture.

In the seventeenth century an anonymous author using the pen name Aristotle composed his *Master-Piece*, a popular guide to sex and procreation. Essentially, the book presented the traditional Christian view of intercourse, which included that sexual intercourse should only be conducted in the sanction of legal marriage and for the exclusive purpose of procreation. Underlining this point *Aristotle's Experienced Midwife* was often attached to *Aristotle's Master-Piece*, which maintained mainstream popularity well into the nineteenth century.

In spite of modern attitudes toward sexuality and sex in Europe and North America, sex manuals were completely banned in the United States and some parts of Europe at various times, particularly in what is known as the Victorian period. During this time most sexual materials consisted of either illicit pornography obtained from other countries or from underground markets. Sexual information was only available to doctors and other medical professionals, focusing primarily on sexual disorders or dysfunctions (e.g., female hysteria, vaginismus, and erectile dysfunction). Often these texts were written in Latin, limiting their accessibility to the general population. Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), a German sexologist, was one of the few professionals of the late nineteenth century to write and publish sexual information for the medical field with his book *Psychopathia Sexualis: A Medico-Forensic Study*.

SEX MANUALS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The twentieth century was one the most evolutionary centuries for sex manuals. During this time sex manuals transitioned from medical literature for professionals to sex and marital information for the general public. The earliest sexual literature in the twentieth century focused specifically on marriage and birth control. Marie Carmichael Stopes (1880–1958) was one of the first Scottish women in Europe to complete a doctorate in science. Her scientific knowledge allotted her the authority to write *Married Love* (1920), one of the most influential sex manuals in Europe. *Married Love* was the first sex manual to raise radical notions of egalitarian marriage and equality in sexual pleasure. Stopes's book emphasized the importance of female orgasm, as well as shared emotional intimacy between partners, both before and after *union* (the metaphor Stopes used for sex). Another female author to write about sex and marriage was Margaret Sanger (1879–1966), an American birth control activist who also founded Planned Parenthood. Sanger was one of the first women to gain public and political support for a woman's choice to determine how and when she will bear children. Her book *Happiness in Marriage* (1926) not only discussed sex and marital issues but

included information about pregnancy and birth control. This was the first time mainstream North American and European culture had access to nonmedicalized birth control information.

In the 1960s there was a significant shift in the content of sex manuals. The tone and style advanced from discussion of marital practice and procreation to sexual practice for pleasure and orgasm. During this time sex manuals first began to gain mainstream popularity in Europe and North America. Physician David Reuben published one of the first sex manuals, *Everything You always Wanted to Know about Sex, But Were Afraid to Ask* in 1969. Reuben's book was filled with descriptions of sex acts, but to avoid being considered obscene, the book did not include any sexual pictures or diagrams. In the 1970s, however, a plethora of sex manuals were introduced to mainstream European and North American culture. Alex Comfort, a psychologist, was one of the first authors to publish a fully illustrated sex manual that included various sexual positions and sexual practices (including fellatio, cunnilingus, bisexuality, threesomes) in his seminal book *The Joy of Sex*. Comfort's book was free of medical jargon and terminology, making it one of the first books intended for a popular audience. In response to the women's liberation movement and the development of women's reproductive rights, research psychologists Julia Heiman, Leslie LoPiccolo, and Joseph LoPiccolo wrote *Becoming Orgasmic* in 1976. This sex manual focused completely on the achievement of orgasm, marking the first time a sex manual had solely focused on female pleasure and enjoyment. As sex manuals began to focus more explicitly on pleasure, greater variation in sexual behavior was represented in the texts. *The Joy of Sex* only touched on the topic of bisexuality, but in the late 1970s, Charles Silverstein and Edmund White broadened their scope of behaviors in *The Joy of Gay Sex*, which targeted a gay male audience.

In the 1980s a flurry of sex manuals was published, giving rise to terms like *sex therapist* and *sexpert*, two professions that described individuals who were considered professionals of sexual knowledge. During this time Ruth Westheimer became one of the most publicized sex therapists in North America and Europe. Her earliest books, *First Love: A Young People's Guide to Sexual Information* (1985) and *Dr. Ruth's Guide for Married Lovers* (1986), were filled with information about relationships, marriage, sex, sexual positions, and sexual exploration. However, some critics have perceived her work to be a conservative approach to the milieu of sex and too exclusively directed at married heterosexuals. Conversely, Paul Joannides, a research psychoanalyst, took a more liberal approach to sex in his book *The Guide to Getting It On!: For Adults of All Ages* (1996). Joannides's book explores a wide range of sexual practices

and behaviors that he describes as varying from traditional to kink, and is written like a sexual encyclopedia for an average reader.

In contemporary context *sexperts* (individuals who have self-educated on sex and sexuality through both experience and/or independent research) began to write sex manuals and guides from a new perspective. Authors Cathy Winks and Anne Semans penned *The Good Vibrations Guide to Sex: The Most Complete Manual* (1994), which is considered one of the most extensive layperson's guide to sex. Their expertise developed from working at Good Vibrations, the sexuality product retailer based in San Francisco, California. The *sexpert* approach allows authors to use their experience from working in the sex-toy industry to reach a wide audience of readers who may be looking to try new sexual practices. The context is explicit and straightforward and contains less medical or academic language, making these books more accessible to a wider audience.

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Brandon J. Hill

SEX MUSEUMS

Beginning in 1985 with Amsterdam's Venus Temple, sex museums have become a special genre of museum display. Their subject matter is sexuality in all of its manifestations, from masturbation to group sex, erotic art, erotic objects, books and manuscripts, furniture, sex toys, and sexual subcultures. The collections of such museums span histories and cultures from ancient China, Africa, and Central America to modern Europe and North America. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, there were sex museums on four continents: the Ancient Chinese Sex Culture Museum in Tongli, China, and in Seoul, New York, Paris, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Berlin, Hamburg, Copenhagen, and Canberra, Australia. Most sex museums are privately owned and operated, as many governments do not envision collections about sexuality as central to history or civic memory.

The functions of a museum are to organize and display significant historical artifacts, especially those items that might otherwise be lost or forgotten. The purpose of such display is to preserve the past, provide a sense of the foundations and precursors to current practices, and show the variety of beliefs and folkways humanity has embraced. Sex museums may also arrange their materials thematically to enable museum-goers to explore various aspects of human sexuality. To accomplish these ends, museums think carefully about the design of their displays, often making sure that the mode of display reproduces the feeling or environment of the display's topic. The designers of New York's Museum of Sex, for example, tried to produce an architectural space that would enable the museum to "re-evaluate ideas and concepts" about sex.

Sexual artifacts are not, however, the typical material for museologists. Most museums of fine art define such art as not specifically erotic. This does not mean that fine art museums do not display work that has sexual content, but rather that the work's value lies more in its accomplishment as art than in its ability to communicate erotic content. Natural history museums and historical societies do not understand specifically sexual material as their province either, which means that most collection and display of erotica is left to private individuals and foundations.

Most sex museums are legitimate, even scholarly displays of carefully collected artifacts whose cultural uses have been scrupulously documented and analyzed. Understanding the ways various cultures have treated issues of sexuality is one of the main purposes of displaying sexual artifacts. Because sexual issues are central but often regarded as private, the history of sexual practices is often much harder to trace and display than those events typically regarded as either culturally or politically important. For this reason, some sex museums often carefully consider the relations between artifacts and the way they display them, making



Museum of Sex Director Discusses Artwork. *The director of New York's Museum of Sex, discusses several pieces of artwork on display.* AP IMAGES.

them less objects of titillation or embarrassment than integral parts of domestic existence. The age, beauty, and value of many of the objects provide a sense of sexuality as a central and revered part of most cultures.

Many of the artifacts displayed in sex museums are considered works of fine art. Erotic paintings and etchings from ancient China and Japan mix with manuscripts of the *Kama Sutra*, African and Maori wood carvings, and Aztec images. Many museums house works by such masters as Pablo Picasso, Joan Miro, Aubrey Beardsley, Otto Dix, and Jean Cocteau as well as celebrities like John Lennon. Such paintings and etchings depict a variety of subjects either exhibiting sexual behaviors and acts or rendering scenes associated with sexual behavior. Paintings of sexual positions and practices, sexual parts, fetish objects, and subjects in the act of enjoying sexual activity constitute the body of erotic art. These works are often more explicit than the more subtle eroticism of typical art museum displays.

Sculptures range from global folk art renditions of sexual symbols and Indian temple art to work by contemporary sculptors. Some carved items, such as Maori wood carvings or Indian temple sculptures, depict sexual activity, while others once served as fertility symbols or objects in sexual or religious rituals. Yet other sculptures, such as carved dildos, served as sex toys.

The museum collections include books, manuscripts, and scrolls that are sex manuals, collections of instructions and advice, and erotic stories. Along with books, museums also often display other printed material in the form of erotic postcards, photographs, magazines, advertisements, games, and comic books.

The more unusual items sex museums display, however, include sex toys, sex aids, and sex furniture. Most museums have large collections of dildos and erotic items

such as clamps and restraints, erotic clothing, leather outfits, and shoes. Several museums feature erotic furniture, such as male masturbation chairs or chairs that raise women's hips for intercourse. One museum, The Shanghai Museum of Sex Culture, even displays a mask used to cover the genitals after death.

Museums also collect and screen erotic films, provide sexual biographies of celebrities, and document sexual subcultures such as 1970s disco culture or leather cultures in various cities or the history of burlesque. To do this, many museums also try to produce "experiences," displays that organize as a coordinated production multiple aspects of a single phenomenon, such as the clothing, fetishes, music, and famous figures of leather culture, or the costumes, music, and tools of strippers, or artifacts from gay male cruising culture. Many exhibits documenting such multifaceted phenomena are multimedia, merging the museum's archival qualities with entertainment as well as a serious reconsideration of the part such subcultures have played in history as well as in the development of sexual communities.

Many sex museums are tourist attractions, located in urban areas known for their nightclubs. Amsterdam's two sex museums are both located near the city's red light district, while Hamburg's Erotic Art Museum resides in the Reeperbahn (an area known for its sexually oriented businesses) and Paris's Musée de l'Erotisme is situated in Pigalle close to the Moulin Rouge. For tourists who frequent these more sexually charged areas, sex museums are also a site for titillation, and the value of a museum lies in its ability to provide a varied and sexually stimulating experience here this is also modified by the idea of those museums located in explicit areas.

SEE ALSO *Sex Manuals, Ancient World; Sex Manuals, China; Sex Manuals, India; Sex Manuals, Islam; Sex Manuals, Old and Modern West.*

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Judith Roof

SEX MUSEUMS, CHINESE

There are two major publicly known collections of sex-related art objects in China, one in Tongli (Jiangsu Province) and one in Beijing. The former is the China Sex Museum, founded by Liu Dalin, a retired sociology

professor. It has six branch museums throughout the country. The Tongli museum displays 1,500 objects covering 9,000 years of Chinese sexual culture and is organized into four categories: prehistoric times, women and marriage, sex in everyday life, and unconventional sexual behavior. Some of the items presented include brothel coins, clay vessels, porcelain figurines, and erotic paintings. The museum first opened in Shanghai in 1999, moved to a second location in the city in 2001, and opened at its current location in December 2003. Shanghai officials had prevented Liu from using the word *sex* in advertising the museum, tour books from designating the museum as a *scenic location*, and a state-run tourism company from lending it its support.

Another showing of sexual objects also ran into trouble. In October 2003 Ma Xiaonian, deputy head of Beijing Sexual Health Research Association, organized the "Exhibition of Sex Culture" in Beijing with 700 artifacts, but it closed after one day when the display room became overcrowded. As of October 2004 the exhibition, retitled "Sex and Reproductive Health Sciences Exhibition," had nine rooms displaying 1,400 items. They include objects of stone, jade, ceramic, and porcelain, as well as marriage certificates and mail-order-bride forms. The museum has a few to a few hundred visitors per day.

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Donna J. Drucker

SEX, RACE, AND POWER: AN INTERSECTIONAL STUDY

In 1983 Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press republished *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. This uncompromisingly political and brutally honest anthology of "prose, poetry, personal narrative and analysis by Afro-American, Asian American, Latina, and Native American women" (the reader may check the back cover of that book), which had gone out of print even before its original publisher ceased operation, soon became a staple in many women's studies classes, and by 1986 it had sold more than 65,000 copies and won the Before Columbus Foundation American Book Award. *Bridge* raised the consciousness of a generation of U. S.

feminists about the intersections of gender, race, and class, as well as the interlocking nature of the multiple oppressions that women of color have had to endure and overcome. It is therefore fitting to preface this interrogation of the complex relationships between *sex* and *power* with this tribute to *Bridge*, to acknowledge an intellectual and political debt. The approach taken in this essay is also informed by critical race feminist theory.

Critical race feminist theory emerged in the early 1990s out of two schools of radical legal thought: critical legal theory and critical race theory. Adrienne K. Wing explains in her introduction to *Critical Race Feminism: A Reader* (1997) that a group of feminist legal theorists, most of whom were women of color, became impatient with the fact that its antecedents and mainstream feminism continued to marginalize women of color. They envisioned critical race feminism to be a corrective to these omissions and a commitment to deconstruct and dismantle structures of power that oppress women of color.

Long before the term *critical race feminism* entered the academic lexicon, Barbara Smith and members of the Combahee River Collective (founded in Boston in 1974) were already practicing this form of politics, which Smith details in “A Black Feminist Statement”: “We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in Black women’s lives as are the politics of class and race. We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously” (1983, p. 213).

Smith does not see her work as that of staking out a separate feminist movement; rather, she struggles to make it more inclusive and responsive to the realities of all women’s lives. She writes, “A political contribution which we feel we have already made is the expansion of the feminist principle that the personal is political. In our consciousness-raising sessions, for example, we have in many ways gone beyond white women’s revelations because we are dealing with the implications of race and class as well as sex” (p. 213).

Critical race feminism also requires taking an intersectional approach, defined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in her groundbreaking article “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color” as “a methodology that will ultimately disrupt the tendencies to see race and gender as exclusive or separable” (1985, p. 378). Understanding and practicing the intersectional approach is more than an academic exercise. For example, in policy deliberations about domestic violence, before pushing through mandatory arrest legislation, one would have to ask what might be the consequences for women of color who are victims of domestic violence, if such a law was enacted. One would have to ask, given their experience with police brutality in communities of color, whether mandatory arrest laws might actually prevent

women of color from seeking law enforcement intervention, for fear of jeopardizing the life of their abusive partners? As Crenshaw puts it, “The effort to politicize violence against women will do little to address the experience of black and other nonwhite women until the ramifications of racial stratification among women are acknowledged. At the same time the antiracist agenda will not be furthered by suppressing the reality of intraracial violence against women of color” (p. 374).

How, then, would such a theoretical perspective illuminate a vexed question such as the relations between sex and power for instance? “Sexuality as a term of power belongs to the empowered,” argues literary critic Hortense Spillers in “Interstices: A Small Drama of Words” (1985, p. 73). Perhaps a good place to begin is to identify who are the *empowered*.

ANATOMY OF OPPRESSION

The work of Iris Marion Young is a good entry point for this section. Tapping into her experience as a political theorist and advocate for social justice, Young devised a framework of analysis that does not limit oppression to mean only “the exercise of tyranny by a ruling group” or “conquest and colonial domination.” Instead, oppression is “structural, rather than the result of a few people’s choices or policies. Its causes are embedded in unquestioned norms, habits, and symbols, in the assumptions underlying institutional rules and the collective consequences of following those rules.” Young agrees with French political theorist Michel Foucault that to fully understand how oppression operates it is necessary to “analyze the exercise of power as the effect of often liberal and ‘humane’ practices of education, bureaucratic administration, production and distribution of consumer goods, medicine, and so on” (1990, pp. 40–41). Furthermore, Young identifies “five faces of oppression”: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence (pp. 48–63).

If Young’s framework is applied to an analysis of women’s oppression, the analysis cannot be limited to scrutinizing only patriarchy, and even as attention is focused on patriarchy, it should be kept in mind that patriarchy affects women (and men) differently, based on race, class, sexual orientation, and other factors. Cynthia Enloe, author of numerous articles and books on the impact of globalization and militarization on women’s daily lives, believes that it is impossible to discuss the constructions and systems of power without talking about patriarchy. She points out that patriarchy is “rarely self-perpetuating” but requires “daily tending” (Cohn and Enloe 2003, pp. 1191–1192).

In most societies gender roles, definitions of femininity and masculinity, myths, laws, customs and/or religious practices, are some of the instruments used to

perpetuate patriarchy. An overt example of the daily tending that Enloe refers to is the ideology of sexuality that underpinned rape laws in China during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). In 1646 the Qing government enacted a law that made it very difficult for women to prove that they were rape victims. For the crime of rape to be irrefutably established, the victim was required to provide evidence that she had struggled against her assailant *throughout* the entire ordeal. Such evidence had to include: (1) witnesses, either eyewitnesses or people who had heard the victim's cry for help; (2) bruises and lacerations on her body; and (3) torn clothing. Moreover, when violence had been used initially, but subsequently the woman had submitted "voluntarily" to the act, the case was not considered rape, but one of "illicit intercourse by mutual consent," in which case the women would be subject to punishment. Additionally, the law stipulated that when a man, having witnessed an illicit affair, proceeded to force himself on the woman, the incident could not be regarded as rape, because the woman was already a fornicator. In such a case the incident would be considered one of "illicit sexual intercourse in which both parties intrigued to meet away from the woman's house" and the punishment for both parties would be 100 blows with a heavy bamboo stick (Ng 1987, p. 58).

It is plausible that the main thrust of the rape law was to ensure that women in Qing China would forcefully defend their chastity, even if it meant giving up their lives. Such an interpretation would make the Qing rape law both misogynic and sadistic, but so too was the cult of chastity. "It is a small matter to starve to death, but a serious matter to lose one's virtue" was only one of many aphorisms used to indoctrinate young women in Qing China. Women were expected to be chaste even after being widowed, and widow remarriage was fiercely opposed by Neo-Confucian moralists. The Qing state celebrated chaste widowhood by erecting memorial arches in honor of widows who had lived up to what society demanded of them. The prestige accorded widows after decades of self-denial extracted a heavy price, and many widows found that they could not bear it. Suicide committed by widows was not uncommon (Ng 1987, p. 60).

Glorification of chastity is not unique to the Chinese, of course, and history is full of similar examples from different cultures and across different epochs. Cross-cultural studies of rape and rape laws uncover commonalities in ideologies of female sexuality and further the understanding of the power of patriarchy. At the same time *whitewashing* women's experience of violence against their persons must be avoided. As mentioned in the previous section, critical race feminists fault liberal feminist legal theorists for their failure to *race* patriarchy. It is also important to avoid the simplistic characteriza-

tion of Third World women as victims of *traditional practices* that have not changed over time; otherwise, there is the always and present danger of becoming complicit with performing acts of cultural imperialism.

SOCIAL SCRIPTS

Shortly after 1 A.M. on January 10, 1993, Truong Loc Minh, a Vietnamese immigrant, was viciously beaten by a gang of young white men in Laguna Beach, California, in an area of town where three gay bars were located. Police who were called to the scene suggested that it was a hate crime. But what kind of hate crime was it? The *Los Angeles Times* covered it as a gay-bashing incident and Truong's ethnicity was mentioned only once in the story. The Chinese-language *International Daily*, on the other hand, reported it as a case of Asian-bashing and went out of its way to assure its readers that Truong was not gay.

In *Williamson v. A. G. Edwards & Son Inc.*, Williamson, an African-American man, accused his employer of discriminating against him because of his race and sued for reinstatement. A. G. Edwards, however, insisted that Williamson was dismissed solely because of his homosexuality—specifically, that he wore makeup at work and talked openly about his *lifestyle*. The judge ruled against Williamson because his claim of racial discrimination could not be substantiated.

In *Watkins v. US Army*, Sgt. Perry Watkins, an African American, appealed successfully to the Ninth Circuit after his discharge from the army in 1981 because of his homosexuality. This case has been widely touted as a victory for lesbian and gay rights because the Ninth Circuit found the army's policy unconstitutional because it singled out homosexuals on the basis of who they were—that is, their sexual identity. Watkins's race has been practically ignored; indeed, except for the occasional reference to his race in the original discharge papers, that he is black would not have surfaced at all (Ng 1997, pp. 222–224).

The invisibility of lesbians and gay men of color is a reality that has been socially scripted. This script is a product of cultural imperialism that Iris Marion Young explains in the following manner:

The culturally dominated groups undergo a paradoxical oppression, in that they are both marked out by stereotypes and at the same time rendered invisible. As remarkable, deviant beings, the culturally imperialized are stamped with an essence. The stereotypes confine them to a nature which is often attached in some way to their bodies, and which thus cannot easily be denied. These stereotypes so permeate the society that they are not noticed as contestable.

(1990, p. 59)

Thus, in dominant discourse, Asian and black men cannot be gay and gay men cannot be Asian or black.

Academic disciplines or fields of study themselves can operate as dominant groups in enforcing monolithic discourses of sex and power. In her article "The Power of Patriarchy," Jennifer P. Ting calls on her colleagues in Asian-American studies to extend their inquiry to include overt discussions of sexuality. The fear of the construct "sexuality," which in Asian-American studies has been used to mean "orgasm, vaginal-penile intercourse, homosexual existence, sexual identities," has obscured an already existing component of their work. "For example, the assertion that Asian Americans don't write or talk about sexuality implies that discussions of immigration and marriage, anti-miscegenation laws, dating and socialization, prostitutes, political eunuchs, and the standards of beauty are not also, to some degree, discussions of sexuality." (1998, p. 65) Even in instances where Asian-American scholars broach the subject of sexuality, their discussion normalizes heterosexuality and avoids homosexuality altogether. David Eng, in his book *Racial Castration* (2001) explains the consequences of this narrow scripting of Asian-American experiences: It entails the failure to link the *feminized* nature of work that early Asian-American men were allowed to do, for example, in laundries and restaurants, to the stereotype of Asian-American men as asexual; in other words, failure to explain how they have been *racially castrated* in America. Being able to define instead of being defined is central to affirming sexual agency.

In the early 1980s Spillers surveyed the terrain of public discourse and discovered that African-American female sexuality has been rendered invisible or distorted. In 1991 Anita Hill's testimony against Clarence Thomas, who had been nominated to a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court by President George H. W. Bush, at the U.S. Senate confirmation hearings divided the African-American community. The essayist bell hooks (1998) writes about how her sisters were scandalized whenever she stood naked in front of the mirror. A common thread runs through these three examples: the history of slavery and colonialism. Frantz Fanon, writing about the legacy of European and North American colonialism in *Black Skin, White Masks*, states bluntly that "the Negro is eclipsed. He is turned into a penis. He *is* a penis" (1970, p. 120). Paula Giddings explains that the Thomas hearings were especially traumatic for the African-American community because both men and women had to face the "last taboo," sexual violence committed against African-American women by African-American men. This is a taboo subject because racism has scripted black men to be rapists of white women and, so as to explain away the endemic rape of slave women by their masters, black women have been scripted as "morally obtuse," "openly licentious," and having no sense of morality whatsoever (1992,

p. 444). Confronting this taboo would mean opening old wounds and risking distortions (again) by an uninformed public.

THE EROTIC AS POWER

The prudery of her sisters, explains hooks, is rooted in slavery: "Naked with shame on auction blocks. Black female slaves watched the world that was our body change. Nakedness that cannot be covered must be forgotten, shrouded in the cloaks of modesty" (1998, p. 65). For black women to reclaim their lives, they must first rehabilitate their bodies. To achieve this goal they must dismantle white supremacy *and* sexism, including internalized sexism: "Every day of our lives black females are assaulted by images of ourselves constructed by the white racist/sexist imagination. . . . The 'shame' that such images evoke in individual black women has yet to be fully named. . . . We must . . . decolonize our minds and imaginations in ways that empower us to create subversive and alternative images" (p. 73).

There is no better way to conclude this exegesis on critical race feminist theory's reading of power than to invoke Audre Lorde's 1984 essay "Uses of the Erotic: the Erotic as Power," because she shows women how to decolonize their minds. This essay is an affirmation and celebration of the possibility of genuine connections that can be made between and among women. Some women are afraid to do so because the erotic has been misnamed and distorted into the pornographic, but by giving in to this fear, they have deprived themselves of a powerful, transformative force:

Recognizing the power of the erotic within our lives can give us the energy to pursue genuine change within our world, rather than merely settling for a shift of characters in the same weary drama. For not only do we touch our most profoundly creative source, but we do that which is female and self-affirming in the face of a racist, patriarchal, and anti-erotic society.

(p. 59)

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Courtesans; Domination; Family; Hierarchy; Prostitution; Queens.*

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Vivien Ng

SEX RESEARCH

Sex research addresses sex, gender, and human sexuality as a legitimate field of scientific inquiry. Within its status as sexual science, sex research has manifested itself in a variety of ways. From its romantic origins with psychologist Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), to the rigorous empiricism of biologist and sex researcher Alfred Kinsey (1894–1956), to the politicized feminism of sex researcher Shere Hite (b. 1942), sex research has attempted to provide an encompassing picture of sexual practice and behavior. By its very nature the science of sexuality is multidisciplinary and has been conducted across medical, legal, psychological, sociological, anthropological, biological, endocrinological, and epidemiological fields. Across these disciplines sex research may employ quantitative or qualitative methodologies and thus does not produce one coherent view on sex or its study. Qualitative studies focus more on discussion and the discursive contours and construction of sexuality. Quantitative research is more interested in discovering truths about sexuality and as a result is more prone to measuring, counting, and diagnosing sexual behavior and abnormality. Even with these methodological differences, most sex researchers have been motivated in some way by the urge to combat sexual ignorance and repression, whereas more contemporary sex researchers contend with shifts in the sexual climate such as the global pandemic of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), the commercialization of sex in high capitalism, and meeting the needs of clients in the wide-ranging sex-therapy industry. Despite the urgency of many of these concerns, much resistance and opposition has been mounted against sex research and sexual science, making the development of sex research in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries illustrative of the shifts in cultural attitudes toward sex and sexuality.

SEXUAL MODERNISM AND SEX RESEARCH

Sex research as a systematic science was born in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century under the name of *sexualwissenschaft*, or *sexology*. For the most part early sexologists did not focus their writing on sex research per se. Physician Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), Ellis, and psychiatrist Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) are all sexual modernists whose work contested what they perceived to be Victorian prudery and repression. The work of all three attempted to broaden the range of legitimate sexual behavior and, in doing so, managed to revolutionize views on sexual energy, sexual desire, and female sexuality. The work of early sexology relied heavily on stories, whether literature, myth, case studies, or sexual case histories, as is evidenced by the thirty-three biographies at the heart of Ellis's treatise on

homosexuality, *Sexual Inversion* (1897), or Freud's tracts on such renowned cases as the Wolf-Man and Dora or the Oedipus complex. These early sexologists were also trained in psychology and medicine, which provided them legitimate means to gather these stories and ultimately helped to establish modern sexual science as the new sexual orthodoxy. Writer Paul Robinson claims, in *The Modernization of Sex* (1976), that Ellis laid the groundwork for modern sexual theory with his tolerant and enthusiastic approach: "In effect, [Ellis] established the atmosphere, though not the explicit theoretical context, in which later sexual thinkers were to pursue their tasks" (Robinson 1976, p. 41). In its categorization of *paraphilias*, or sexual deviances, modern sexology identified and profiled many new sexual types, including the transvestite, the homosexual, and the fetishist.

SEX RESEARCH AND THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

Decades after the Nazis obliterated sexology and its sexual progressiveness in the 1930s, Ellis's defining tolerance and optimism reemerged and fused with conventional scientific methods of the 1950s in the work of Kinsey. As the center of sex research moved from Germany to America, sexual science became more empirical and less theoretical. With funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, in the years between 1938 and 1956, Kinsey and his interdisciplinary team interviewed 18,000 Americans about their sexual practices and attitudes. Determined to collect a representative data set, Kinsey interviewed people of different classes and races instead of focusing on individuals who professed to be sexually abnormal or who suffered from sexual dysfunction. As with the sexual modernists Kinsey wanted to broaden the range of acceptable sexual behavior by identifying sex as an ordinary and natural experience and openly discussing such sexual practices as masturbation, oral sex, homosexuality, and prostitution.

Many scholars have posited the *Kinsey reports* as a watershed turning point for the sexual revolution of the 1960s. His data belied the repressive sexual morality of the United States in the 1940s and 1950s, revealing much premarital, extramarital, and homosexual sexual behavior. His findings were published in the best-selling volumes *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953). Although his method was the personal interview, Kinsey interpreted his data with regard to numbers and behavior, not in terms of the self-identification (gay/straight) or claims of his subjects. This approach, which in one domain counted the number of orgasms experienced with same-sex partners, produced the *Kinsey scale*, a continuum that ranged from zero to six, with zero indicating *zero homosexual orgasms*. The pioneering nature of

Kinsey's work lies in the breadth and diligence of his enterprise and in the radical implications of his findings. His work demystified much that was taken for granted about sexuality and sexual behavior, and featured, among his most controversial results, claims that women and men experienced a similar physical sexual response, that masturbation was very widespread, and that one-third of American males and 13 percent of females had at least one homosexual orgasm before age forty-five. Kinsey also founded one of the most important institutes for sex research, now called the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, in Bloomington, Indiana, at Indiana University, where he was a professor from 1920 until his death in 1946.

In 1957 physician William H. Masters and Virginia Johnson, a registered nurse, joined forces to take a more clinical approach to sex research. Through direct observation of sex in a laboratory and their collection of data centered on human sexual response and physiological sexual mechanics, the Masters and Johnson research team studied masturbation and heterosexual intercourse. Masters and Johnson synthesized sex research and sex therapy with the ultimate goal of improving marriages by enhancing their clients' sex lives. Although their subjects in no way constituted a representative sampling of the population, many of their findings were groundbreaking, especially with regard to female sexuality and the understanding of masturbation as a sex act in itself. Their most influential research was published as *Human Sexual Response* (1966) and *Human Sexual Inadequacy* (1970). They documented women's ability to have multiple orgasms, discarded Freud's notion of the vaginal orgasm, asserted the sexuality of older people, and did not differentiate male and female sexual response. Masters and Johnson devised the four-stage model of sexual response: excitement phase, plateau phase, orgasm, and resolution phase.

Although Masters and Johnson were feminist in their approach and much of their content, in the 1970s, Hite built on the work of earlier sex researchers and launched a counterargument to the claims of Masters and Johnson about the female orgasm. Hite's initial research was conducted through the widespread dispersal of questionnaires that were anonymously answered by women across the United States. Her goal was to allow women (and later men) to define their sexuality and sexual experience for themselves, and the results, published in five *Hite reports* from 1976 to 1994, with the first being *The Hite Report: A Nationwide Study on Female Sexuality* (1976), presented a multifaceted array of personal narratives that Hite contextualized with data analysis, feminist criticism, and historical background. Hite claimed that women orgasm from direct clitoral stimulation, not from intercourse, rejecting the accepted belief from Masters and Johnson that women who did

not orgasm through intercourse have a sexual dysfunction. Hite argued for male and female sexuality to be redefined, and her work linked the production of sexuality to the production of culture, highlighting the many disconnects between cultural assumptions about sex and sexuality and the realities of these experiences.

More contemporary sex researchers include Edward O. Laumann, a sociologist who was an advisor for the 2001 Pfizer Global Study of Sexual Attitudes and Behaviors, and Anne Fausto-Sterling, a biologist whose work has challenged many scientific assumptions about sex, gender, and sexuality.

SEX RESEARCH AND SEXUAL MORALITY

Kinsey's research and publications provoked immense backlash, and the controversy (including the revocation of his funding) surrounding his work contributed to his ill health and death. Christian organizations continue to condemn his work, using his personal life and questioning his scientific methods to discredit his work. Since Kinsey, funding for sex research has for the most part been successfully blocked by conservative groups. Many sex researchers are critical of the cultural and scientific turn from the psychological to the mechanical aspects of sex, as seen in the growing focus on sexual-enhancement drugs.

Nonetheless, Kinsey's work and the work that followed succeeded in changing the sexual landscape. The effects of the sexual revolution have persisted in the face of challenges from political conservatives, and the liberating political and sociological ideas generated from sex research have extended to developing countries. Yet the global AIDS pandemic, the enduring inattention to sexual abuse and trauma, the question of reproductive rights, the vast lack of knowledge around childhood sexuality, and many other urgent dilemmas speak to the pressing need for well-funded sex research.

SEE ALSO *Hite Report; Kinsey, Alfred.*

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Emma Crandall

SEX ROLES

Sex roles refer to socially coded behaviors and practices often related to a person's reproductive capacities, such as women with the roles of motherhood and men with fatherhood. The term *sex role* is often used interchangeably with the term *gender role*; however, the modifier *gender* implies roles may be socially or culturally produced whereas *sex* implies roles may be naturally or biologically determined. Notions of sex roles tend to privilege biological factors such as internal or external sex organs, chromosomes and hormones as determining a person's social placement as either male or female, man or woman. Such determinations rely on a dualistic or binary understanding of sexual difference emphasized in most patriarchal cultures, but how the differences between the two sexes are expressed varies greatly between cultures and historical periods. Stereotypes about sexual difference—such as men are rational and strong, therefore, women are emotional and weak—often affect a person's notions of sex roles but fail to indicate any natural or essential truth about sexual differences. Some scientists and scholars argue that external and internal sex markers are overwhelmingly ambiguous, which suggests that sex is not binary but multiple and that even notions of biological sex are culturally, not naturally, produced. Among scholars of sex and gender, however, there is considerable debate about how and to what degree biological sex may be linked to social roles and gender identity.

The dichotomization of male and female roles based on sexual reproduction is common across cultures. Whereas not all women menstruate, become pregnant, or breastfeed, a female's social roles are in part informed by the possibility that she will give birth and take up the duties of childrearing. Likewise, not all males will impregnate a woman or become fathers, but their social roles may be in part understood according to their potential to do so. The earliest work in women's history examined this frequent social division according to *public and private spheres*, wherein men were associated with a public sphere of work and politics and women with a private sphere of household and family. More recent gender histories, however, explore the range of roles men and women have had, noting greater cross-cultural differences and the ways a neat division between public and private break down. For example,

Merry Wiesner-Hanks observes that in classical India and in matrilineal Judaism, “for much of its history, the ideal for men was one of renunciation of worldly things for a life that concentrated on study and piety. In Judaism this ideal often meant that women were quite active in the ‘public’ realm of work and trade to support the family” (2001, p. 96). The influx of women into professional or work positions in industrialized countries during the twentieth century further suggests that whereas a capacity for sexual reproduction may influence a woman’s roles in regard to family structures, a woman’s genitalia or reproductive organs do not naturally predispose her to motherhood and household management. The degree to which men and women are understood in relation to sexual reproduction changes over time and is interpreted according to particular cultural and social systems.

In European and North American cultures, the fixing of social roles to anatomical sex began as part of modern (mid-eighteenth-century) scientific and sociopolitical projects. According to sociologist Gail Hawkes, prior to the eighteenth century, “there had always been character distinctions between manly and womanly behaviour, but in premodern times these were not causally linked to either direction of desire or anatomy of the body” (2004, p. 178). Premodern views of the body often described a body in flux, with alterable or changeable sexual markers. Women and men were understood to share the same physicality, the same body; only the introversion or extroversion of genitalia provisionally classified a person as male or female. Perceptions of the body in ancient Greece indicated, for example, that wombs could move around the body, women could suddenly produce penises, and penises could shrink or become inverted. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, the human body was resexed through the scientific *discovery* of different male and female anatomies. Notably, these scientific findings coincided with political imperatives for social stability—to stabilize the body was to renovate society. Scientific findings on sexual difference supported sociopolitical moves to restrict the discourses of revolution and democracy to nation-states. In other words just as women such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) argued for greater educational and social freedoms for women based on democratic principles, modern science restricted ideas of woman to anatomy and nature. Increasingly through the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, a woman’s reproductive capacities became the first and primary marker of who she was. According to this modern biological model of human sexuality, “men were the dynamic actors in biological and social evolution, women, in both senses, the caretakers of the species” (Hawkes 2004, p. 129).

Because the external body can be ambiguous (for genitalia are not always clearly male or female), twentieth-century science turned to internal markers such as chromosomes, hormones, and genes to understand and secure biological sex differences. However, these internal markers are also highly ambiguous; for instance, a person with certain chromosomal abnormalities could be judged male even if that person had breasts and a vagina. “The intensity of the search for an infallible marker of sex difference, and the uncertainties in most ‘biological’ markers, have indicated to many scholars that cultural notions are certainly influencing science in this area, and that ‘gender’ may actually determine ‘sex’ rather than the other way around” (Wiesner-Hanks 2001, p. 3). The division of sex roles in a society may then be more a product of cultural mechanisms such as language, religion, and the like than a product of biological sex and natural reproductive imperatives.

In the early twentieth century social scientists such as anthropologist Margaret Mead (1901–1978) took up the study of sex roles as a complex interaction between nature and culture, yet by the 1970s many scholars shifted terminologies to speak of gender roles as key to understanding social differences and inequalities between men and women. Feminist scholars began taking up Simone de Beauvoir’s assertion in *The Second Sex* (1949) that “one is not born, but becomes a woman” to understand how sociocultural apparatuses such as language, literature, performance, and clothing create *woman*. “No biological, psychological, or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society” argued Beauvoir, “it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between, male and eunuch, which is described as feminine” (1993, p. 281). By the late-twentieth century scholars of gender and sexuality began articulating the ways cultural beliefs and practices constructed gendered behaviors, discourses, and even the very notion of sexual difference itself. Despite the greater elasticity of the term *gender roles*, which allows for studying how multiple genders operate within a given society, much of the discourse used to explore gender roles and differences continues to rely on notions of sexual difference—male and female, man and woman.

SEE ALSO *Gender Roles: I. Overview.*

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Kristina Banister Quynn

SEX SHOP

The sex shop—or, as it is often called, the adult bookstore or novelty store—is a store that sells products, occasionally referred to as *marital aides*, designed for the promotion and enhancement of sexual activity. Sex shops typically sell personal vibrators and dildos, anal plugs, masturbation aides, herbal aphrodisiacs, condoms, lubricants, nipple rings and clamps, various bondage and discipline and sadism and masochism (BDSM) accessories, instructional and sexual self-help books, and pornography.

The world's first sex shop, opened by the German sex industry group Beate Uhse AG, opened in Flensburg in 1962. Founded in 1946 by Germany's first female stunt pilot, Beate Uhse-Rotermund, Beate Uhse AG began as an organization that created and circulated family planning pamphlets. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Beate Uhse AG was the sex industry's most lucrative chain.

While the sex industry continues to be a lucrative business, sex shops meet with reactions from open acceptance to violent hostility. Laws regulating the sex shop industry have tried to simultaneously acknowledge factions that accept the public sex shop while catering to groups that do not. For this reason zoning laws are typically used to regulate and close sex shops, usually stating that sex shops may only be open in areas located a considerable distance from schools and churches. Zoning ordinances are occasionally manipulated in order to force sex shops out of commercial areas and into *off-ramp* zones and rural areas.

Many *traditional* and typically geographically marginalized sex shops provide viewing rooms, or video booths, for pornographic material. Users purchase coins, good for one to three minutes of viewing time each, which are used to access pornographic films. Most of these viewing rooms are private, enclosed spaces, and these spaces may be used by individual users; however, it is not uncommon for couples or groups to use these viewing rooms as semi-public spaces for group viewings or sexual encounters.

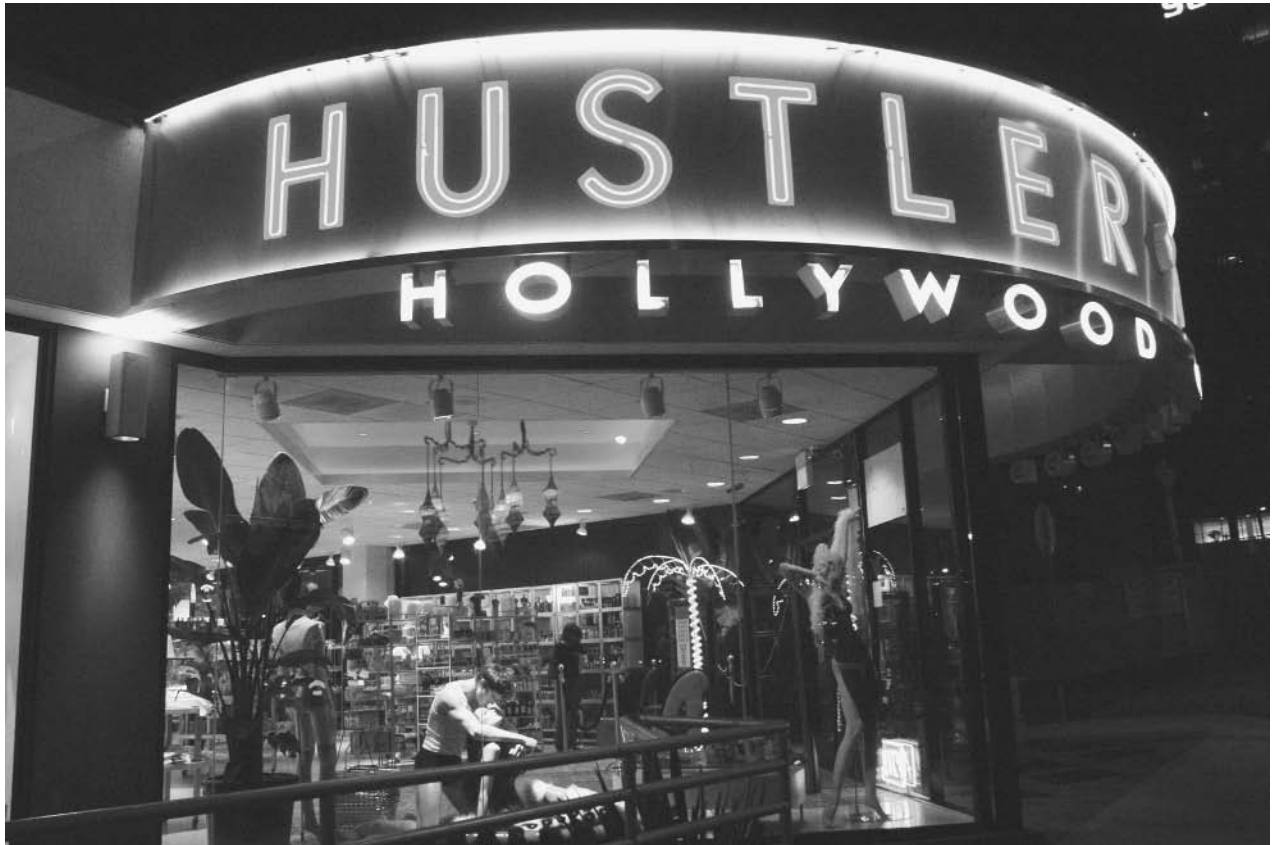
In one wall of some video booths, glass partitions (partitioned booths are called *buddy booths*) or *glory holes* (small apertures) connect two rooms. In a buddy booth

users in separate rooms may simply opt to watch each other masturbate or engage in other autoerotic behavior. In the case of glory holes, users may simply watch one another through these fist-sized holes, but, as is typically the case, users may also engage in various types of sexual activity through these holes. Glory-hole etiquette dictates that if a male user wishes to perform sexual activity on another man's penis through the glory hole, the man making the offer should stick his finger through the hole long enough for the other man to see it. At this point either man might put a condom in the hole, indicating that they desire or are willing to offer oral or anal sex.

In the 2000s women-focused sex shops are becoming more prevalent and are being met with higher levels of social acceptance. Sex shops for women are typically viewed as a more tasteful and aesthetically pleasing response to the male-centered, masturbation aide shops that are typically housed in seedier districts. Women-owned shops have functioned to promote a shift in social views of sexual enhancement products, bringing sex toys closer to the forefront of mainstream social awareness. Joani Blank founded Good Vibrations, the oldest women-owned, women-run sex shop, in 1977 in San Francisco. In 1993 Claire Cavanah and Rachel Venning followed suit by creating Toys in Babeland, opening their first store in Seattle and their second five years later in New York. The store was renamed Babeland in 2005. In 2001 Searah Deysach opened Chicago's Early to Bed, also known for its dedication to female clientele. In the United Kingdom David Gold's Ann Summers chain, purchased in 1972, likewise focuses on female clientele and on presenting a more tasteful approach to the sex toy industry. Such shops are often credited for promoting a healthy and socially responsible approach toward sex education and sexual tolerance. The Good Vibrations web site, for example, states that "[w]e look forward to the day when talking about sex, shopping for sex toys and teaching our kids about sex is so easy, so comfortable and so common that we take it for granted".

The Internet has broadened the range of clientele and bolstered the availability of sex products while pushing them into the mainstream conscience. Babeland's owners, for example, opened the store's virtual online incarnation in 1996; the virtual version, as with many of its kind, offers discrete service and women-centered information (such as how to choose the right vibrator) while protecting the buyer's anonymity.

Although the Internet has certainly augmented the privacy of purchasing sexual-enhancement products, it has not replaced the traditional sex shop. Some Internet sex shops might offer the opportunity to view segments of pornographic material, but they certainly cannot offer an equivalent to the video booth described above. The



Hustler Store in West Hollywood. The store sells sex toys, sex videos and DVDs, sex magazines, clothing and other sexual oriented merchandise and devices. © ANDREW HOLBROOKE/CORBIS.

online sex shop's greatest asset may be that it provides discretion and anonymity for buyers of sexual-enhancement products. Moreover, by facilitating access to sexual aides and by fostering availability and demand of such products and services, online sex shops have helped make such products easily accessible and affordable for the general public.

Although many online sex shops exist as virtual manifestations of physical spaces, including Babeland.com and goodvibrations.com, there is an ever-increasing number of web-exclusive shops offering to satisfy the full range of sexual desires, offering products that appeal to more than just the *vanilla* appetites of mainstream buyers. Such shops, in addition to offering an array of vibrators, dildos, clitoral stimulators, anal plugs, and other products referred to as *penetralia*, sell BDSM products such as sex harnesses, bondage beds, wrist cuffs, nipple clips, spanking devices, and so on.

The sex industry represents the Internet's oldest and most lucrative sales industry. Porn sites and Internet sex shops have set the standards for online sales, usually developing software and platforms that inform more traditional online stores, such as Amazon and eBay. In

2001 *Forbes* magazine estimated that the online sex industries generated billions of dollars per year in revenue. Although it is next to impossible to pinpoint an exact figure and to allocate these funds to various types of services—such as porn sites, dating services, and novelty stores—it is safe to say that the online sex shop has been and continues to be a lucrative venture for online sellers.

Although the online sex industry has certainly helped foster an increasing acceptance of healthy, consensual, and autoerotic sexuality, it is most often criticized for enabling minors to access sexually graphic materials. Many online sex shops offer advertisements and links to online sex chatrooms as well as to sites that offer pornographic material. Additionally, the online sex industry has come under fire for exposing minors and adults alike to sexually *deviant* tastes, such as bestiality and coprophilia, and thereby promoting sexual views that objectify women or encourage the viewer to develop more “unusual” tastes and desires (Fisher and Barak 2000, p. 578–579). In response, a host of Internet *nannies*, or web-based mediation services, have developed in order to regulate the accessibility of such materials.

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Jeremy Justus

SEX SYMBOL

A sex symbol is someone whom large numbers of people consider to be attractive and appealing. Although beautiful women and handsome men have always existed, the sex symbol is a product of modern celebrity, made possible largely by the public circulation of personalities in the film industry. This circulation began in the early twentieth century and is best known as a Hollywood phenomenon, though similar features of celebrity personality marketing can be seen around the world in cinema, sports, the arts, fashion, and politics.

By 1910 Hollywood was beginning to realize that moviegoers wanted to know more about its film stars. Initially the studios resisted, fearing that fame would encourage actors to leverage higher salaries, but eventually the marketing potential of celebrity proved impossible to ignore. Magazines such as *Photoplay* (founded in 1911) quickly developed large circulations, and studios began manufacturing publicity around various stars in order to fan public interest and public consumption.

Viewers felt closer to film stars than they did to stage actors and vaudeville performers, an intimacy that increased with the development of film techniques such as the close-up and the compartmentalized fetishization of various body parts. Audiences were encouraged to identify stars with the characters they played in their films, furthering this illusion of familiarity. Film stars were referred to by their first names, and seemed close enough to touch. Studios controlled information about stars and controlled their romantic lives as well, in an effort to produce perfect idols.

Sex symbols developed out of this star system of circulating movie idols. Film star Theda Bara (1890–1955), known as *The Vamp*, is considered the first female sex symbol of the silent era, making her debut in 1915.

Although *nice* girls such as Mary Pickford (1893–1979) and Clara Bow (1904–1965) would later become sex symbols of a different cast, Hollywood's first sex symbol was produced as a dangerous femme fatale, typecast in roles that accentuated her predatory and seductive qualities, such as Cleopatra, Salome, and Carmen. Her dark beauty and hungry eyes heavily accented with kohl enhanced her image as a woman full of brooding and insatiable desire, and that personality drew moviegoers to her films in hordes.

Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926) is generally regarded as the first male cinematic sex symbol, making his film debut in 1914. As with Bara, he smoldered onscreen, a Latin seducer with dark eyes that bored into women's souls and discerned their latent desires. His passionate acting style, athleticism, and olive skin helped typecast him as a hot-blooded Arab lover. When he died prematurely at thirty-one, women were said to have killed themselves from grief, and thousands of women and men mourned him in the streets.

As the example of Valentino illustrates, sex symbols often appeal to both women and men as extraordinary examples of masculine or feminine beauty. All sex symbols are stars, although not all stars are sex symbols. Objectification is a crucial aspect of becoming a sex symbol, and most often stars become sex symbols because they are beautiful and fans can identify with them as well as desire them. For women beauty remains paramount for sex-symbol status; however, as too much beauty is considered by many to be less than ideally masculine, other sexually attractive qualities, such as eloquence, athleticism, vocal ability, money, or power, can make a man a sex symbol as well. Ex-U.S. president Bill Clinton may not be physically beautiful in the same way actor Brad Pitt is physically beautiful, but Clinton's eloquence, political power, and extraordinary personal charisma have made him a sexually appealing ideal for many people. Forcefulness and a dominant version of masculinity can keep a man in the running as a sex symbol long after a woman would be considered too old; actor Sean Connery, born in 1930, was still considered one of the sexiest men alive well into the 2000s.

Some of the most famous male Hollywood sex symbols include Clark Gable, Cary Grant, Marlon Brando, James Dean, Burt Reynolds, Paul Newman, Robert Redford, Denzel Washington, Tom Selleck, Mel Gibson, and Brad Pitt. Most of these men were known for their dashing masculinity, handsome faces, and vulnerability tempered by a touch of brutality, though as the times have changed, male sex symbols have gotten prettier and less overtly aggressive.

The most famous female Hollywood sex symbols include Greta Garbo, Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, Jean Harlow, Dorothy Dandridge, Lana Turner, Jayne

Mansfield, Elizabeth Taylor, Marilyn Monroe—the most famous of them all—Halle Berry, and Angelina Jolie. Two of the twentieth century's greatest sex symbols, Brigitte Bardot and Catherine Deneuve, were stars of the French cinema, and another smoldering sex symbol, Sophia Loren, began her film career in Italy before coming to Hollywood. Female sex symbols are generally known for their facial beauty, voluptuousness, grace, and vulnerability tempered by strength. Contemporary sex symbols are thinner and more athletic than their predecessors, with surgical breast augmentation to compensate their gym-toned bodies for the loss of curves.

Other film industries such as India's Bollywood have produced sex symbols, such as Jaya Bhaduri, known for her emotional intensity; Vyjayantimala, the south-Indian actress famous for her accomplished dancing; Madhuri Dixit, also an accomplished dancer; and Mallika Sherawat, Bollywood's reigning bombshell in the early twenty-first century. Chinese actresses such as Zhang Ziyi are developing an international following, as is Mike Ho, a young actor from Taiwan. Spain's Antonio Banderas is one of the most famous male sex symbols in film in the 2000s, and Mexico's Salma Hayek has achieved international fame. Conservative countries that frown on sexual objectification in the Middle East and Africa tend not to circulate sex symbols as prolifically as countries in Europe and the Western Hemisphere, but globalization and the growth of domestic film industries will no doubt change this in the future.

Sex symbols do not have to be actresses; several, such as Tyra Banks and Naomi Campbell, are famous primarily as models. Many international sex symbols are athletes or musicians, such as Russia's Maria Sharapova and Anna Kournikova, both beautiful blonde tennis stars. The flowing blond locks of Swedish tennis star Bjorn Borg also made him one of the 1970s biggest male sex symbols, as did the long curls of American tennis champion Andre Agassi in the 1980s. Olympic track star and fastest woman ever, Florence Griffith Joyner, became an international sex symbol in the 1980s for her combination of athletic prowess and dramatic feminine style. Britain's David Beckham, the soccer player, is also an international sex symbol because he combines athletic prowess with handsome good looks and a bad-boy attitude. Rock stars such as Britain's Sting, handsome as well as talented and famous, remain sex symbols as they age, as does Britain's Mick Jagger, born in 1943. Until a penchant for extreme plastic surgery and allegations of pedophilia began to decimate his career, Michael Jackson was an international sex symbol because of his combination of shy good looks and extraordinary dancing, singing, and choreography.

Despite the international proliferation of sex symbols, most of them still tend to be white. Sex symbols in



Halle Berry. Halle Berry makes an impressive entrance as Jinx in MGM Pictures and Eon Productions' *Die Another Day*.
MGM/EON/THE KOBAL COLLECTION/HAMSHIRE, KEITH.

classic Hollywood cinema were overwhelmingly white, their *dangerous* ethnicities downplayed and erased by name changes and fabricated pasts. Vamp Theda Bara, the first Hollywood sex symbol, was born Theodosia Burr Goodman in Cincinnati, Ohio; a Hollywood name change allowed her to seem less Jewish and more exotic. Dorothy Dandridge was one of the first African-American women to come close to consideration as a sex symbol; she was nominated for a best actress Academy Award in 1954, the same year she appeared on the cover of *Life* magazine. Her premature death at the age of forty-two from an overdose of antidepressants spoke volumes about the hardship endured by actresses of color in the civil rights era. Only recently have African-American actors and actresses, such as Denzel Washington and Halle Berry, gained crossover appeal as sex symbols, and as interracial relationships become more tolerated in the United States, the number of sex symbols of color serving as romantic icons will continue to grow.

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James Hovey

SEX TOURISM

For many in the immediate post-Vietnam War era, the words *sex tourism* were associated with organized trips to the massage parlors and brothels of Thailand or to the red-light districts of cities such as Amsterdam and Hamburg. The phenomenon seemed apparently simple and was explained in terms of men exercising the dominion of the wallet over women, who were generally perceived as unwilling victims. Where women were categorized as other than victims, the conceptualization often owed much to Victorian concepts of the diseased woman, an outcast from mainstream society, to be banished from respectable society. However, the nature of the debate as to what constitutes sex tourism, and the impacts it has, had widened considerably by the turn of the twenty-first century. Factors that contributed to the expanded debate include the growth of feminism and a concept of sisterhood that embraced and gave voice to prostitutes, and the adoption of the terminology of *sex worker* to emphasize a point about the nature of female work in the sex industry; the realization that females could also be *predatory*, as evidenced by trips to the Caribbean to find sex with the *rent-a-dread* (dreadlocked Caribbean male); and the context of freer sexual expression illustrated by advertising, television soaps, and dramas. Alternative terminologies are also used, such as *romance tourism*—yet even this remains essentially a commercial transaction, albeit softened by *gift giving* as distinct from the payment for the thirty-minute or hourly transaction in the brothel.

Whereas the *rent-a-dread* may occupy an honorable mention in the academic literature, Kamala Kempadoo (2004) notes that this style has gone, to be replaced by the Michael Jordan look, and by males locally named as the *rentals* in their stylish dark glasses and baggy shorts. She continues to also note that the former *rent-a-dreads* have progressed to being tourist guides, ganja dealers, souvenir salesmen, and property caretakers. Just as the *rent-a-dread* terminology is symptomatic of a given time period, so, too, are other concerns.



Teenage Sex Tourism. A row of massage parlors that specialize in sex with teenage masseuses in Bangkok, the sex capital of the world. © ANDREW HOLBROOKE/CORBIS.

Historically, it was argued that Thai sex tourism arose from the history of the Vietnam War and the presence of U.S. military on leave. Equally, massage parlors are still found to be located near military bases in countries such as South Korea and the Philippines. Although connections exist with sex tourism, the relationship is not consistent, and sex tourism flourishes in different locations that do not possess such histories—for example, Kenya. Arguably more pervasive is the role of the Internet as a means of communication and access to sex workers, and in that sense, the purposeful sex tourist is able to access sex workers more easily, and the Internet has made the organized sex—tour as it was understood in the 1970s—less needed.

One factor that has led to the involvement of government agencies with sex workers is the incidence of HIV/AIDS. With the advent of this disease in the 1980s and before the wide dissemination of antiretroviral medication, one major means of halting the spread of the disease was to ensure that sex workers practiced safe sex. This required a recognition and validation of consortia that represented sex workers and at the same time empowered groups of sex workers by legitimizing their concerns about the need for safety, protection from

corrupt practices by local police, and a need for degrees of freedom from prosecution.

For females who work in the industry, examples can be found of those who view sex work as a continuation of an older tradition of the vestal virgin, as protector of a knowledge of the female derived from an older age when various incarnations of the fertility goddess ruled supreme. Such workers, however, form a minority, albeit vocal group. Most sex workers in European and North American societies perceive sex work as a means of securing a good income, with hours of work that are temporally and spatially flexible, and as being consistent with other female roles such as motherhood. In many countries it is possible for such women to work within a framework of mutual female support through brothels or massage parlors. Escort agencies are also able to ensure the safety of female sex workers by using trusted taxi drivers who maintain notes of clients and addresses. A few females use the opportunities provided by the industry to meet their own needs for sexual adventure, for diversity of experiences, and to satisfy basic sexual hunger. Such workers tend to reject the notion of the sex worker as victim, arguing it is, to a degree, an occupation of choice—or at least, a choice within the constraints that many women face without access to higher education, limited work opportunities, and the challenges of single parenthood.

It is also necessary to recognize that several areas of prostitution are arenas for the victimization of females and exploitation of the worst possible kind. Louise Brown (2000) in her work *Sex Slaves: The Trafficking of Women in Asia*, makes clear that female children as young as ten years of age are deliberately traded for purposes of prostitution. She additionally writes persuasively of the political and social amnesias to such circumstances that mark many countries—particularly, she feels, in some countries characterized by strong Islamic movements.

Generally, however, sex tourism as practiced in many holiday locations exists spatially apart from such exploitation by a local red-light and porn industry. Because local consumers are unable to pay the *high* prices that tourists to third-world countries can afford, those who meet the needs of tourists tend to have higher degrees of control over their own modes of business. To meet the needs of tourists requires many social skills, including a command of a foreign language and the wherewithal to blend, at least in part, into the surroundings of hotels and resorts. In various works, Kempadoo (1999, 2004) has argued that, at least in the Caribbean, sex work generates positive economic multiplier effects for otherwise low-income communities, and through the earning of relatively significant sums of money, women are empowered and potentially able to break from lower-income backgrounds. The monies from servicing the

sexual desires of tourists become the sources of capital for small business start-ups in other areas of economic activity.

There is, nonetheless, little doubt that there is trafficking in women, even in some areas associated with the sex tourism industry. Again, to cite Kempadoo (2004), female sex workers from the Dominican Republic can be found in many other parts of the Caribbean. Those (generally men) who organize such spatial movements of female workers commonly employ tactics such as withholding passports and requiring repayments much higher than the costs of transport and accommodation involved. However, from her studies Kempadoo observes that many women know what they are doing—that they see through the vague outlines of promised work in bars and strip clubs—and as professionals in their line of work, accept the risks for the rewards offered. Indeed, the role of *victim* can be useful to secure deportation in preference to imprisonment. The existence of sex work is a reflection of dominant economic and social structures in society—the same structures that permit tourists from higher income countries to visit the resorts and complexes built in less developed countries. Tourism and the sex industry are thus bound by social realities of relative deprivation and affluence, by those who have and those who desire to have—and the medium of exchange in this unequal bartering is sex.

Although the lines of demarcation are sometimes blurred, child prostitution represents a separate specific aspect of sex tourism, with places such as Bali, Cambodia, Fiji, and Thailand being mentioned by bodies such as ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes). This organization has special consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) and has done much over the last few decades to raise awareness of the problems. Organized sex tours are comparatively unimportant, unlike in the early 1970s, but individuals continue to seek sex with underage children. With bodies such as ECPAT acting as effective pressure groups, many countries have introduced legislation whereby a national of that country can be tried for sex against an underage person regardless of where the offense was committed. Thus, in this arena of law, the need for extradition orders may be averted.

Sex tourism occupies a subversive, liminal ground in contemporary European and North American societies: *subversive* because it is a recognition of needs and desires not met by the socially approved monogamous relationships of the Judeo-Christian belief system. In its emphasis on the body and the role of lust, sex tourism represents modes of behavior outside the approved confines of mainstream behavior. *Liminal* because sex workers occupy roles outside the mainstream of activity, and

tourists, too, are temporary liminal people occupying spaces of escape from responsibility—escape that can extend to extramarital affairs with sex workers and others. Such an observation is obviously culturally constrained and cannot be held to be easily transferred to other cultures. Equally, the role of sex worker is different from, in degree at least, to that of mistress. In short, the phenomenon is both complex and fuzzy in its relationships with other social boundaries.

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Chris Ryan

SEX TOYS

SEE *Sex Aids*.

SEXOLOGY

Sexology, the multidisciplinary scientific study of sex, is a professional field whose goal is to construct a comprehensive classification of human sexual behavior. Sexology presents sexual activity as a natural biological phenomenon and thus has done much to detach sex from moral and religious authority. It has been influential in legitimizing sexual practices as a result of its mapping of normal and abnormal sexualities. Sexologists approach questions of sexuality and gender in a context of scientific objectivity to pursue systematized sexual knowledge. They construct interpretive systems and vocabularies to chart sexual and gender development and variation.

Early sexology was primarily the realm of scientific scholars, but it has developed into a diverse and increasingly commercial field populated by academics, sex therapists, researchers, epidemiologists, and clinicians. Despite, or perhaps because of, its ever-evolving methodologies and overlapping disciplines, the status of sexology as a true

science has been questioned frequently, making its quest for legitimacy fraught with controversy.

THE ORIGINS OF SEXOLOGY

Despite extensive observations of sexual behavior by the ancient Greeks, significant treatment of sexual issues by Islamic scholars, and philosophical discussions of sexual ethics and morality during the Enlightenment, the onset of the modern age laid the groundwork for the rise of sexology as a separate science. With roots in late-nineteenth-century psychoanalysis, sex reform, and anthropological research, the history of sexology corresponds with the major cultural movements and anxieties of modernity, especially in its relationship to the rise of a *sexual liberalism* that infiltrated medical, literary, and artistic discourses with its opposition to Victorian morality, assertion of heterosexual female desire, and challenge to traditional gender norms and roles.

Sexology emerged in Europe around the turn of the twentieth century as an indirect response to the criminalization of prostitution and the transmission of venereal diseases in urban areas. The rise of sexology also corresponded with the eugenics movement and its taxonomies of racial and sexual *weaknesses*. Despite earlier writing on sexual behavior by Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), Havelock Ellis, and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), sexology (*sexualwissenschaft*) as a formal composite science first was conceived in 1907 by the dermatologist Iwan Bloch in *The Sexual Life of Our Time in Its Relations to Modern Civilization* (1928).

Sexology erupted onto the scene in Germany, where eighty sex-reform organizations had been founded by the 1930s that together had a membership of 350,000 people. In Berlin Bloch founded the first professional sexology association in 1913, and six years later Magnus Hirschfeld founded the first sexological institute, the *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft*, which had a huge archive and library and a full-time staff and was housed in a former royal residence. The institute hosted international visitors and researchers who included Margaret Sanger (1879–1966), Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), and André Gide (1869–1951). A thriving culture emerged around the study of sex and sexuality, and films, congresses, and journals disseminated those new ideas. Expansive projects were proposed, as in Bloch's comprehensive monograph series, which ultimately included coverage of only two major sites of sexological inquiry: his own two-volume *Die Prostitution* (1912, 1925) and Hirschfeld's *Homosexuality of Men and Women* (2000 [1914]). The explosive success of early sexology and the related prominence of gay life in Weimar, Berlin, were put to an end with the rise of Nazism. Film footage of Nazi book burnings depicts the contents of Hirschfeld's institute being destroyed.

PROMINENT SEXOLOGISTS

Bloch, Freud, Albert Moll (1862–1939), and Max Marcuse (1877–1963) were important early sexologists, but the work of Ellis and Hirschfeld is the most important and representative of early sexology. Ellis's seven-volume *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897–1928), which included *Sexual Inversion*, addressed a wide range of sexual behaviors and represented a departure from the tradition of sex pathology. Hirschfeld was a talented organizer and archivist of early sexology, and his work, which included films and many multivolume works, was similarly prolific. His best-known texts are *Transvestiten* (1941 [1910], in which he coined the term *transvestism*), *Sexual Pathology: A Study of Derangements of the Sexual Instincts* (1940 [1916–1920]), and the massive *Geschlechtskunde* [Sexual knowledge] (1926–1930).

The return of sexual science as a popular and potent cultural force was instigated in the late 1940s by Alfred C. Kinsey, who conducted detailed interviews with over 18,000 subjects about their sexual practices and experiences. Kinsey's findings, which he published in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953), upset American conceptions about actual sexual practice, including the rate of premarital, extramarital, and homosexual activity. Other well-known sexologists of the second half of the twentieth century include William H. Masters and Virginia Johnson, John Gagnon and William Simon, Helen Singer Kaplan, and Anne Fausto-Sterling.

PROBLEMS IN SEXOLOGY

Among early sexologists Hirschfeld and Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957) (a student of Freud's) regarded sexology as an opportunity for promoting social change, whereas others stressed the status of the field as a pure, rational science. That early discrepancy signifies the conflict between *natural* and *cultural* scientists that has had a great impact on the larger scientific community but also speaks to the persistently fragmented nature of sexology. Sexological study has suffered greatly from the European and North American silence surrounding sex, and sexologists have lamented the fact that their work often is considered laughable or perverted. Kinsey's loss of funding for his research during the McCarthy era of the 1950s indicates how political shifts and the changing tides of cultural attitudes toward sex can have immediate and sometimes drastic effects on sex research.

In its struggle for legitimacy sexology at times has relied too much on its ties to the medical community and overestimated the importance of scientific objectivity. One critique of sexology involves its inability to account for the social and cultural forces at work in the construction of sex, gender, and sexuality. In the search for a

viable market and professional credibility, sexology has generated contradictory messages, producing work that supports sexual liberation and in other venues safeguarding oppressive sexual and gender mores. Feminist and gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer (GLBTQ) groups and scholars have argued against the biological determinism advocated by some sexologists, instead urging an understanding of sexual and gender variation as social formation rather than as individual defects. The incorporation of race- and class-based analysis in sexological study has resulted in some cross-cultural and global work.

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Emma Crandall

SEXUAL ABUSE

Sexual abuse includes many different forms of unwanted sexual attention or actions toward an individual. Psychologist Jon Shaw summarized it as “any sexual behavior which occurs: (1) without consent, (2) without equality, or (3) as a result of coercion” (1999 p. 4). Victims can be female or male, adults or children. Sexually abusive acts include forced entry of the vagina or anus with penis or

object, forced manipulation of the perpetrator's genitals, forced masturbation, frottage, exhibitionism on the part of the perpetrator (exposing genitals), exposure to pornography or explicit sexual language, forced sexual contact with another person while perpetrator watches, and forced prostitution or forced posing for pornography.

Sexual abuse can be accompanied by other forms of physical or psychological violence and may be committed by one or multiple assailants. It can occur once or reoccur over a shorter or longer period of time. These variables affect how severely the victim is traumatized or otherwise mentally and physically affected by the abuse. The identity of the perpetrator also affects the degree to which the victim is traumatized, with a parent creating the most psychological problems and other negative effects. The duration of the abuse is often longer and more frequent when abuse takes place within the family (intrafamilial). In the majority of sexual abuse cases the assailant was known to the victim.

Sexual abuse appears to show less variation when adult victims are involved: rape, assault, and harassment are the forms most often mentioned. In the case of child sexual abuse, various kinds of touching and attention can be considered inappropriately sexual, even if the victim may find them pleasurable, because the actions take place without the child's ability to fully understand and thus consent to what is happening. Such behavior may include the sucking of breasts not associated with breastfeeding or being washed by or washing an adult, or cuddling and fondling. Much of the literature about sexual abuse concentrates on the sexual abuse of children. This may be because the sexual abuse of adults is often discussed under more specific categories such as rape or sexual harassment.

Citing a survey from 1998, the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network (RAINN) states that 17.6 percent of women become victims of rape or attempted rape in their lifetime. Psychologist Diana Russell's numbers from the 1980s are much higher. She found through survey that 46 percent of women will become victims of rape or attempted rape in their lifetime and 38 percent are sexually abused by age eighteen (Russell 1984). The numbers for men are significantly lower. RAINN shows findings of 3 percent of men who become victims of rape or assault during their lifetime. However, another survey found that 16 percent of males are sexually abused by age eighteen (Spiegel 2003). Most sexual abuse—but certainly not all—is committed by men. Psychotherapist Val Young states that 90 percent of perpetrators of child sexual abuse are male (1994).

PREVENTION OF SEXUAL ABUSE

Young argues that one way of preventing sexual abuse (by men or women) is to create attention for it in public

media. Though she addresses child sexual abuse, her points apply to sexual abuse in general as well. She speaks of the need to state explicitly that sexual abuse is wrong, harmful to its victims, and punishable by law. An added benefit of publicity is that children (and other victims) learn that what is being done to them is unacceptable and not their fault, so they are more likely to seek help. Reactions of victims after any kind of sexual abuse often include feelings of shame or isolation, and a sense that they invited it upon themselves, that they are to blame. Public attention to the problem of sexual abuse may help avoid such feelings.

Along with raising awareness through community, church or health-related agencies, counseling must also be made available: as awareness rises, victims are more likely to come forward. Support for them needs to be in place. This will also work to break the possible circle of abuse in which victims turn into perpetrators as a dysfunctional coping mechanism. Lillian Comas-Díaz, executive director of the Transcultural Mental Health Institute, argues that treatment and prevention of sexual abuse need to be culturally sensitive. She emphasizes the need for psychoeducation, which involves "providing information regarding the physical, emotional, legal, and systemic components of sexual abuse. It also involves addressing the differential effects of sexual abuse according to clients' sex, age, sexual status, sexual orientation, language preference, transculturation status, religion/spirituality, and support system" (Fontes 1995, p. 49). She discusses Puerto Rican culture in particular, mentioning the need for family involvement in that culture. It is important to employ different strategies for different groups or cultures in the prevention of sexual abuse. This is because different cultures may have different attitudes toward issues related to abuse (such as family shame due to loss of a daughter's virginity); in some cases cultures have a strong sense that sexual abuse does not occur within their society, which needs to be overcome before discussion and prevention are possible.

The measures above mainly address dealing with abuse after the fact, though more awareness will help people protect themselves. In order to prevent sexual abuse from occurring at all, it is necessary to address the reasons why people would act sexually aggressively in the first place. Generally, individuals who belong to groups that are relatively less powerful are more at risk of sexual abuse. This includes children, minorities, people with mental or physical disabilities, and women. Shaw explains reasons why individuals may turn to sexual aggression: It is the "aim of imposing one's sexual will on a nonconsenting person for the purpose of personal gratification that may or may not be predominantly sexual in nature. This gratification is often an admixture of satisfactions associated with sexual, narcissistic, and

aggressive motivations” (1999, p. 4). Often, sexual abuse is about power over others. Russell points out that in sexual harassment and rape, “power rather than sex is the key issue” (1984, p. 274). She argues that the patriarchal structure of American society, and in particular its definition of masculinity and male sexuality, is the underlying source of violence of men against women. Society teaches men to take an assertive sexual role and socializes them to find sexual partners who are smaller, weaker, and often younger than they are. This, and the dominant position men have in society generally, predisposes them to act in ways that are sexually abusive. According to Russell it will take a reformation of society as a whole, making men and women completely equal in all aspects of life, including gender roles, to erase sexual abuse. Critics such as Young question this position, mainly because it does not adequately explain why women also commit sexual abuse.

SEE ALSO *Sex Crimes*.

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Barbara Postema

SEXUAL EDUCATION

In the United States schools have played an increasingly important role in educating adolescents about and preparing them for the responsibilities that come with sexual maturation, whereas instruction about human sexuality and the inculcation of sexual values formerly were delegated principally to families and churches. Historically, deciding whether and what schools should teach about

human sexuality has been a difficult and contentious debate. Unlike most curricular decisions, choices about sexual education attract the interest of political, social, and religious factions. Control of the content of sexual education is regarded as a political battle over who defines larger American social values. Therefore, curricular choices are not necessarily dictated by sound pedagogy, the health needs of students, or the recommendations of health educators but instead reflect a broader social agenda on the part of policymakers.

The larger role in sex education granted to schools coincided with societal changes in the status of teens that occurred at the turn of the twentieth century. The “social invention” of adolescence as its own developmental stage of life is a recent phenomenon in industrialized societies, including the United States. According to the historian Jeffrey Moran, the recognition of adolescence as a unique stage of life “rested on three important material changes” that occurred as the nineteenth century ended: (1) increased age segregation in the educational system, allowing adolescents to develop a stronger age-group identity; (2) an earlier age for the onset of puberty; and (3) the delay of marriage and the prolonging of education and training into the young adult years (Moran 2000, p. 15). Those factors set the stage for modern youth to experience a period when they identify closely with their own age cohort, are sexually capable, and are not recognized as adult members of society with full sexual rights. A substantial proportion of those years are spent in school, making teenage sexuality an issue that American schools cannot ignore.

TEEN SEXUAL PRACTICES AND THE NEED FOR EDUCATION

The case for providing sexual education in the schools is compelling in light of the sexual practices of minors and the resulting social, health, and economic consequences. Many American teens are sexually active, especially if one recognizes that sexual activity includes a wide range of activities beyond vaginal intercourse. Minors often engage in noncoital sexual behavior such as oral and anal sex instead of or in addition to intercourse, sometimes as a way to postpone intercourse or because those activities are regarded as less risky and more socially acceptable (Mosher and associates 2005). About 64 percent of males and females between ages fifteen and nineteen have engaged in sexual contact, including vaginal intercourse or oral or anal sex (Mosher and associates 2005). For many decades the age of first sexual intercourse had grown younger; however, the age of first sexual intercourse among teens later showed some upward trends. Nevertheless, about half of seventeen-year-olds had had sexual intercourse in the early years of the twenty-first century (Mosher and associates 2005). According the

United States Census, the average age of marriage increased over the last century; females are generally sexually active for eight and males for ten years before marriage (Alan Guttmacher Institute 2002).

Some youth are engaging in particularly risky sexual behaviors. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 7 percent of minors under the age of thirteen have had sexual intercourse and 14 percent of students have had four or more partners (Mosher and associates 2005). Only 63 percent of sexually active high school students used a condom at last intercourse (Klein 2005).

The health and socioeconomic consequences of risky sexual activity during adolescence can be severe. Approximately four in ten women will become pregnant at least once before the age of twenty years, one in four sexually active teens contract sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) each year, and half of new HIV infections occur in individuals under age twenty-five (Klein 2005).

The health and socioeconomic burdens of pregnancy and STDs are borne disproportionately by young women. Early pregnancy carries increased health risks for young women and often negatively affects their education, earning power, and social status. Although the teen pregnancy rate in the United States declined in the early years of the twenty-first century, American teens continue to have the highest rate of pregnancy in the industrialized world. The health burden associated with STDs is generally greater for females as well. Females contract STDs more easily than do males because of anatomical differences between the sexes. STDs in females often go unrecognized longer because STDs may be asymptomatic in internal female organs. Therefore, females often have greater long-term chronic consequences of STDs.

The health and socioeconomic burdens of teen pregnancy and STDs are passed on to children. The infants of mothers with STDs and HIV may be infected, and the problem is compounded because pregnant teens often do not receive sufficient prenatal care. Teen pregnancy also is associated with premature birth, low birth weight, and higher infant and maternal mortality. Children born of adolescent mothers also bear social and economic burdens, including developmental delays, school and learning problems, increased risks of substance abuse and depression, and a higher likelihood of becoming teenage parents (Klein 2005).

APPROACHES TO SEXUAL EDUCATION

Because many teens are sexually active and because unprotected sex can have serious consequences, addressing teenage sexuality is an important societal responsibility. Many factors, including family structure, values and attitudes toward sex, religiosity, socioeconomic status,

ethnicity, peer influences, and school performance, influence adolescent sexual activity. Therefore, many different community initiatives and strategies are needed to make meaningful strides in reducing teen pregnancy and STD rates. Sexual education programs can help minors make better-informed choices about sexuality but are only a small part of a meaningful public health campaign to improve teens' sexual health and reduce their risks of pregnancy and STDs.

Curricular approaches to sexual education generally fall into two categories: comprehensive sex education and abstinence-only sex education. "However, in practice, curricula-based programs don't really divide neatly into these two groups; they actually exist along a continuum" (Kirby 2001, p. 7). Some researchers also identify a middle ground approach in "abstinence-plus" sexual education, which emphasizes the values espoused in abstinence-only sexual education curricula but also presents preventive health information in comprehensive sexual education curricula.

Comprehensive sex education treats human sexuality broadly and inclusively. A comprehensive curriculum attempts to prepare students to manage their sexuality by providing a broad range of accurate health information and promoting core values of mutual respect and self-responsibility. Although comprehensive curricula typically encourage adolescents to remain abstinent, they also provide students with information about methods to avoid pregnancy and disease if they become sexually active. Comprehensive sexual education tries to impart the value of respect and provide skill building to enable students to resist negative peer pressure (SIECUS 2006).

In general abstinence-only curricula are designed to encourage individuals to abstain from sexual activity until marriage and attempt to give students skills and reasons to avoid sexual activity. Even though some teenagers may be sexually active when they take these courses or become so before they marry, the curricula teach that abstinence is the only acceptable and healthy choice for people outside a heterosexual marriage. These curricula concentrate on teaching minors ways to resist the temptation and peer pressure to engage in sexual acts. One of the most controversial aspects of abstinence-only courses is that they do not teach students how to avoid STDs or pregnancy except by remaining abstinent. Therefore, those courses do not provide instruction that could reduce the risks to sexually active youth.

School curricula are determined largely at the local level. Therefore, there is considerable diversity in the policies and curricular approaches to sexual education across the nation. It is estimated that about two-thirds of school districts in the United States have a districtwide or statewide policy about sexual education, whereas about



Teenage Pro-Abstinence Rally. A teen “No Sex” rally at Manhattan’s Federal Hall National Memorial. © JACQUES M. CHENET/CORBIS.

one-third leave the decisions about whether and what to teach to the individual schools or the teachers. Among the districts with a policy mandating sexual education, approximately one-third require that abstinence be taught as the only option outside of marriage and either forbid instruction about condoms and contraception or teach only about the failure rates of those preventive measures (Landry, Kaeser, and Richards 1999).

The prominence of “abstinence-only-until-marriage” sexual education is unique to the United States; most other Western countries endorse comprehensive sexual education. European countries also have lower teen pregnancy and STD rates. “Countries with low levels of adolescent pregnancy, childbearing and STDs . . . generally exhibit ‘societal acceptance of sexual activity among young people’ and provide ‘comprehensive and balanced information about sexuality and clear expectations about commitment and prevention of childbearing and STDs’” (Friedman 2005, p. 769).

CRITICISMS OF FEDERAL POLICY

Federal resources for sex education are directed exclusively at abstinence-only-until-marriage sex education. The federal government provides grants for abstinence-only programs to states and directly to community groups and schools. The direct grants frequently are provided to religious and community groups that regard sex outside heterosexual marriage as immoral or sinful (Beh and Diamond 2006).

One justification offered for teaching abstinence-only but not other preventive strategies is the concern that providing adolescents with specific preventive information may dilute the abstinence message and give them the impression that their instructors are giving them permission to have sex. Another argument is that teens already learn about sex from other sources but do not learn about abstinence (Pardue, Rector, and Martin 2004). However, according to critics, these are unfounded premises. No studies have shown that providing adolescents with accurate health information increases the likelihood that they will become sexually active. Also, there is evidence that teens are an underserved population in regard to health education and preventive services (Klein 2005).

Many health and education professional organizations, including the American Medical Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics, and the National Education Association, do not approve of the federal policy in place in the first years of the twenty-first century (Beh and Diamond 2006). The American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Adolescence has observed that comprehensive education that encourages abstinence but also provides accurate information about other preventive strategies sexually active teens should practice is preferable to abstinence-only education (Klein 2005). There is concern that the federal government has endorsed abstinence programs even though there is no evidence that they produce positive results and some evidence that they produce negative results. Most studies have shown that these curricula have little or no impact on reducing teen sexual activity or sexual risk-taking behavior (Kirby 2001).

There are many other criticisms of abstinence-only sexual education. One problem is that the instruction does not define abstinence precisely, and so minors may engage in risky behaviors other than intercourse, believing that they are remaining abstinent and not taking precautions. In addition, since abstinence-only curricula do not teach or endorse any preventive measures other than abstinence, those programs fail to provide useful instruction to teens who are or soon will become sexually active. Typically, if an abstinence-only course discusses condoms or contraception, it is in the context of the failure rates of those prevention methods.

Researchers who have examined abstinence-only curricula have noted that some do not provide accurate information about the failure rates of condoms and contraception. They sometimes combine user and method failure rates. The fallacy of combining user failure and method failure is obvious: User failure is the result of the user's inconsistent or improper use of the contraceptive or condom, and that rate can be improved through better instruction, not less. When failure rates are combined and emphasized, adolescents who engage in sexually activity are not prepared or do not have appropriate confidence in preventive practices that can reduce their risk of contracting HIV or STD infection or getting pregnant (Beh and Diamond 2006). Studies conducted by the public health researchers Peter Bearman and Hannah Brückner in 2005 found that some teens who took "virginity pledges" to demonstrate their commitment to abstinence until marriage did delay having sexual intercourse for a short period but were less likely to use contraceptives at their sexual debut, had STD rates consistent with those of other teens, and were less aware of their STD status and less likely to be tested.

Two relatively comprehensive reviews of some of these curricula revealed troublesome issues. In 2004 the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform Minority Staff prepared an evaluation of thirteen of the most popular federally funded abstinence-only education programs (Minority Staff Investigations Division 2004). In addition, the state of Ohio, a large recipient of federal funds for abstinence-only education, commissioned an evaluation of Ohio programs in 2005 (Frank 2005). Both evaluations observed that the curricula often tended to be overtly religious, perpetuated negative gender stereotypes, ignored the health needs of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual youth, and instilled unhealthy fear about human sexuality.

Legal commentators have criticized abstinence-only sexual education on several grounds. Some argue that by ignoring sexual minority youth these curricula are discriminatory and may violate state antidiscrimination laws or constitutional equal protection rights (McGrath 2004). Some scholars argue that the federal government violates the First Amendment by funding programs with overtly religious messages (Simson and Sussman 2000). Others assert that teenagers have constitutionally protected privacy rights related to sexuality and procreation that are impinged on by curricula that impair their ability to make informed decisions about their sexual health (Beh and Diamond 2006).

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Hazel Glenn Beh

SEXUAL FANTASY

A sexual fantasy is an imagined sexual scene that intensifies emotional and physical excitement by helping people play out their most intense sexual desires, fears, or memories. Fantasies may remain as hidden impulses in the unconscious or be desires that are fully conscious and recognized. Some fantasies exist solely in the imagination, whereas others are incorporated into a person's actual sex life. Fantasies may determine one's preference for sexual partners or positions. They may play in the mind during sex to enhance an experience that is less stimulating than a fantasy. Fantasies often are assumed to be extraordinary scenes of socially prohibited behavior; however, their content ranges from the relatively tame desire for a romantic evening of wine and seduction to more adventurous scenarios such as gender reversal and group sex. Although fantasies can determine a person's preferred sexual acts, many people never physically enact those scenarios.

FORMATION AND FUNCTIONS OF FANTASY

There is no definitive explanation for how and why certain sexual fantasies are formed, but it is known that two primary factors are childhood experiences and social norms relating to gender and sexuality. Sexual fantasies linked to a person's childhood experiences typically reenact or reverse formative events or relationships. The importance of parents and siblings to a person's sexual fantasies is linked to the way in which that individual identified with family members' emotions and desires. For example, both heterosexual and homosexual men who had physically abusive or alcoholic parents are likely to have sexual fantasies involving acts of domination and/or submission. Fantasies also can be a reconfiguration of traumatic experiences from one's earlier life, allowing a person to turn a troubling memory into an experience of pleasure and triumph over negative forces.

Fantasies often reflect social forces such as gender role expectations and taboo sexual activities. In a largely heterosexual and patriarchal culture, sexual fantasies that imagine relations outside those norms can prepare people psychologically to pursue their potentially conflicting desires without fear of social repercussions. Whether such fantasies are imagined or experienced, they can help a person overcome sexual inhibitions brought on by cultural or religious taboos and corresponding feelings of guilt or shame. As imagined scenarios fantasies can be healthy sublimations of repressed sexual desires. Some fantasies begin as imagined acts, but they may prepare an individual psychologically to act out new sexual experiences.

COMMON FANTASIES

Although most people have diverse fantasies that are not defined by gender or sexuality, there are general differences between women's and men's fantasies. In general, women's fantasies are more likely to include a narrative that tells a story and men's fantasies are more likely to focus on a particular object, appearance, or act. Common trends in fantasies reveal the pleasure of reversing socialized gender norms so that women who often feel guilty if they put their own pleasure first fantasize about doing exactly that. Similarly, men who often feel responsible for taking charge of situations may fantasize about ceding their cultural authority in the bedroom.

Fantasies common to all people include group sex, incest, adultery, domination, submission, sadomasochism, homosexuality, gender reversal, rape, exhibitionism, voyeurism, golden or brown showers (urinating or defecating on one's sexual partner), age play (acting significantly older or younger), and particular body types. Men and women share the fantasy of being passive to a dominant partner. Heterosexual men and women both fantasize about homosexual experiences, and homosexual men and women fantasize about taking part in heterosexual activities. For gay men and lesbians such fantasies can involve acting out a different gender to create the illusion of a heterosexual couple.

Although lesbians have many of the common sexual fantasies, some scenarios specific to those women are rape, in which the woman acts as a rapist with her partner; and gender shifts, or imagining being a man and having the physical characteristics of one, including a penis. Some lesbian fantasies are naturally more prone to experimenting with and transgressing roles and desires specifically linked to women in society, and so issues such as taking or losing one's virginity can be acted out with a set of players different from what typically is expected.

In addition to the common fantasies shared by all people, gay men's fantasies include scenarios in which a man assumes hypermasculine or hyperfeminine qualities and actions. Some gay men fantasize about being women and may enact that desire by dressing in drag. Fantasies of domination and submission may be accompanied by leather outfits and uniforms that accentuate macho identities and behavior.

FANTASY IN LITERATURE AND FILM

As entertainment, literature and film offer opportunities for escape from daily life. Both genres offer potential objects of desire and encourage identification with characters and narrators, and narratives often use generic

characters and plots that are linked to common cultural fantasies, sexual and otherwise. The nature of film projection and viewing offers an opportunity to experience sexual acts from a voyeuristic perspective, thus realizing one common sexual fantasy. Because men historically have directed films, many feminist theorists argue that viewers identify with a male gaze that often presents female bodies as objects of sexual desire. This model of spectatorship naturalizes generic male sexual fantasies while raising obvious difficulties for the realization of female sexual fantasies. However, the fantastic nature of cinema also can create ambiguous scenarios in which the viewer can identify with many different and potentially overlapping perspectives.

Literary depictions of sexuality and sexual behaviors can reveal the diverse desires of a population despite repressive normalizing social institutions, such as religion, that depict those fantasies as perverse. The descriptive nature of novels also allows for an examination of social forces and attitudes toward sexual fantasies, representing them as natural and erotic or condoning them as abnormal. Some fictional literature that has represented socially prohibited sexual behaviors has at one time been banned, including D. H. Lawrence's description of adultery in the novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928). The impulse to censor literary representations of sexual fantasies reveals a common misconception that fails to distinguish not only between art and reality but also between fantasy and reality.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay*.

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SEXUAL IDENTITY

Sexual identity can refer to either sexual orientation or gender identity. Sexual orientation, the first and more common meaning of the term, assumes that a person's sexual practices define that person in a crucial way. The definition of sexual identity as gender identity is used

predominantly by medical practitioners to describe a person's gender, regardless of that person's sexual practices. Under the first definition if a woman who desires other women interprets her sexual activities as lesbian and identifies herself with that label, she has a sexual identity as a lesbian. Under the second definition she may prefer sex with other women, but if she identifies herself as a woman, her sexual identity is female.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION AS IDENTITY

Sexual identity as sexual orientation assumes that something crucial is known about an individual if one knows his or her sexual practices. The historian Michel Foucault argued that this conflation of sexual activity and social character began taking shape in the nineteenth century. In that era sexual identity was an effect of the "persecution of the peripheral sexualities" (Foucault 1990, p. 42) that occurred when both medical and legal institutions began to attempt to understand and control individual sexual behavior. Before that time sodomy was a category of forbidden sexual acts that did not confer an identity on a particular person, though individuals could be punished severely for engaging in them. However, with the rise of sexual science in medicine and psychoanalysis, the homosexual, as with the heterosexual, became a species of person with a history, a body, and a psychology particular to his or her type.

Initially, sexual orientation as identity was a product of certain kinds of labeling practices. It was a result of categorizing people into groups and subgroups for the purpose of creating knowledge, discipline, and control. However, the same labels that the medical, religious, or legal authorities could use to characterize and control individuals by means of their sexual practices also proved useful to the people they attempted to label. The category of homosexual, for example, helped those with same-sex desires understand themselves as a group of people who shared particular sexual tastes. When Havelock Ellis (1859–1939) wrote about sexual inversion and Edward Carpenter (1844–1929) wrote about intermediate sexes—both terms were used to label homosexuality and cross-gender behaviors—many people recognized themselves for the first time and wrote letters thanking those men for providing the public with these sexual categories.

Foucault argued that this phenomenon in which sexual classification is both regulatory and limiting on the one hand and generative and empowering on the other illustrates how modern attempts to exercise control over people by producing knowledge categories about their sexual behavior end up producing and proliferating those categories. A man who reads about homosexuality and recognizes his desires as homosexual comes to view himself as a homosexual and is free to find other homosexuals.

Those homosexuals can embrace the category of the homosexual as one descriptive of their identities and are free to publicize that knowledge and use it as a tool for social and political organizing. Because this category makes people intelligible to themselves and others, more and more people may come to believe that they share many characteristics with other homosexuals in their group. Thus, what begins as an attempt to monitor subversive behaviors can end up reproducing and spreading them, and the regulatory category of homosexuality can proliferate homosexuality rather than contain it.

HOMOSEXUALITY AND HETEROSEXUALITY

Heterosexuality is a case in point. Heterosexuality initially was defined as a category of perversion in which someone desired persons of the opposite sex to an abnormal degree. However, as sexual desire between men and women became more acceptable in the 1920s, heterosexuality began to appear as the opposite sexual category to homosexuality. By the 1930s heterosexuality was synonymous with normal sexuality and heterosexuality was a positive category mentioned in popular songs and plays. In contemporary times free heterosexual expression no longer is seen as subversive, in large part because attitudes about sexual passion and sex outside marriage changed dramatically after the 1920s and 1930s. However, it is important to remember that identifying as a heterosexual once would have been considered daring and risqué, especially for women, but that this identification eventually helped popularize heterosexuality as an intelligible sexual identity.

Sexual identity and gender identity have been confused with each other since the birth of sexology in the nineteenth century. Sexual practices appropriate to masculinity or femininity helped doctors gauge whether a person was conventional and normal according to the standards of the day. Little girls were and still are encouraged to identify with and emulate the normative gender category girl, which emphasizes, among other things, femininity and the adoption of female behavioral norms such as playing with dolls. Girls and women are encouraged to cultivate the sexual identity that is appropriate to that gender category, which is heterosexual attraction to males. Similarly, boys are encouraged to identify with or emulate the normative gender category boy, which emphasizes masculinity and the adoption of male behavioral norms such as playing with toy cars. Boys and men are encouraged to cultivate the sexual identity that is appropriate to this gender category, which is heterosexual attraction to females.

When gender and sexuality do not accord with these norms, subjects traditionally have been viewed as deviant or abnormal. Popular stereotypes have equated gender

deviance with sexual deviance. Male effeminacy is thought to indicate homosexuality, and female masculinity indicates lesbianism, with the assumption that feminine women and masculine men are heterosexual. However, gender does not necessarily indicate sexuality, nor does sexuality indicate gender; quite often gender and sexuality have little to do with each other. A feminine woman may desire other women, and a masculine woman may desire men. Similarly, a masculine man may desire other men, and an effeminate man may desire women.

THE ROLE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

Psychoanalysis has participated in the conflation of sexual and gender identities by insisting that gender and sexual identities are related and that those identities are achieved through a process of identification. Identification can involve emulation or imagining one's self in ideal terms, but the relationship between identity and identification is murky. Does identification produce identity, or does identity produce identification? One must identify with a gender to have it, but what determines that gesture? What about subjects who identify with a quirky or non-normative gender?

Psychologists Sigmund Freud (1856–1939 [1933]) and Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) viewed identification and disidentification with certain gender and sexual norms as being central to subject formation. Freud saw little boys learning to disidentify with their mothers and identify with their fathers through a complex interplay of gender and sexuality norms that he termed the castration complex. According to this theory boys see that girls, including their mothers, are castrated and read this as a form of punishment meted out by fathers. According to Freud boys then will obey their fathers, identify with their fathers in their masculine gender expression, and be sexually attracted to women as their fathers are. Girls also realize that they are castrated, blame their mothers for letting it happen, and decide to desire their fathers instead of their mothers. They may disidentify with the mother as the boy does, but eventually they will have to be something like her to win the father's love or get a man like the father to love them.

Lacan viewed identification in the mirror stage as the mechanism that gives a child the illusion of mastery and control of the body, an illusion that projects the child into the future by giving it an ideal toward which to strive. The child may experience itself as dependent and incoherent, but it sees itself in the mirror and imagines itself as a whole, coherent, masterful being. It identifies with its mirror image and strives to become the powerful being it imagines is reflected in that image. Likewise, it imagines someone watching it and strives to be a kind of ideal for that imagined person to see.

Queer theorists such as Judith Butler (1990) have argued that a type of identification known as melancholic incorporation may be a process in gender and sexual identity formation. Butler's notion of melancholic incorporation is taken from Freud's observation in the essay "Mourning and Melancholia" (1963 [1917]), that jilted lovers may incorporate aspects of the person they have lost into their own personalities, thus retaining them. Butler extends Freud's account of incorporation to explain same-sex identification and desire, arguing that gender is itself a melancholic identification in which the same-sex parent, whom one is not allowed to desire and who thus is lost as a love object, is internalized. In this case the gender of the same-sex parent is internalized but not that parent's supposedly heterosexual sexuality.

Both Freud and Lacan imagined sexuality and gender identification lining up together, with heterosexuality indicating normative gender identification and identity and homosexuality indicating abnormal or cross-gender identification and identity. However, identification and disidentification can produce subjects who are masculine, feminine, heterosexual, or homosexual. It can produce subjects who emulate norms and subjects who reject them in order to emulate something else. Identification plays a crucial role in the politics of sexual identity because subjects may rally around certain identity categories that they then assume constitute them as a group, reject categories they feel are inadequate, or combine those actions.

IDENTITY POLITICS

The assumption that a common sexual or gender identity leads to political similarities in a group is called identity politics. Identity politics is an alliance politics that insists that membership in oppressed groups leads to common political interests and goals. Thus, lesbians might imagine that other lesbians share their political agenda because they all have a marginalized sexual desire for women and can be discriminated against for demonstrating that desire. Gay men might assume that lesbians share their politics because they are all homosexual. Identity politics is not limited to sexuality and gender but also can apply to race, class, ethnicity, religion, and other categories. Black men might assume that black women share their political views because all of them are oppressed by racism; poor people might assume that common politics arise out of shared economic oppression; feminists might assume commonality with all sorts of women because of shared gender discrimination.

In addition, individual identity groups might forge solidarity in cross-identity alliances: Lesbians and gay men who oppose mainstream politics might form alliances with Latinas, who in turn might forge alliances with black men, who might organize with white factory workers opposed to illegal immigration, and so on. The

strength of identity politics is its sense of group cohesion, which offers the possibility of political solidarity between and among other similarly constituted groups.

The downside of identity politics is its erasure of distinctions and differences and its tendency to confer the status of activism on identity. White lesbians may assume that sexual discrimination and homophobia are the main issues lesbians should organize around, but lesbians of color may view racism as the chief obstacle they face and be angered by the way white lesbian politics erases their concerns. Poor women who have had to work and never had the choice to stay home may object to the insistence by middle-class feminists that working outside the home is desirable. Lesbians may feel that gay men ignore sexism; gay men may feel that lesbians do not understand life under the threat of HIV/AIDS.

In the early 1990s coming out was considered a political act to such an extent that many people came to consider being gay or lesbian as being equivalent to political activism. Looking gay, buying from gay-friendly companies, and sponsoring gay events meant that everything was political, and that nothing was. Gay activism declined in the wake of the AIDS crisis, in large part because of the complacency of this type of identity politics.

SEXUAL IDENTITY AND THE LAW

However, some gay activists moved into the legal system, challenging laws that discriminate against people on the basis of sexual identity. The U.S. military considers homosexuality incompatible with military service and routinely discharges servicemen and servicewomen if they are outed or reveal themselves to be gay. One goal of contemporary activists is to overturn this policy and allow gays and lesbians to serve without fear of persecution. In many states sodomy, which is defined as sex other than heterosexual coitus in the missionary position, is illegal, but sodomy laws are enforced mainly against homosexuals. Thus, a sexual act is linked to a sexual identity, and this sexual identity makes gays and lesbians vulnerable to persecution. The specificity of sexual identity persecution under state sodomy laws was revealed in the case of *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003), in which the court determined that it was unjust to specify a certain group of people, in this case homosexuals, as the group specifically prohibited from engaging in sodomy.

Lesbian or gay sexual identity still is used by private agencies and some states to turn down gay men and lesbians as foster parents, deny them adoption rights, deny them domestic partner benefits and pensions, and deny them employment, promotions, and housing. Slowly, these forms of discrimination are being challenged in courts around the country.

One frontier of legal reform concerns the definition of sexual identity as gender identity. Transgender indi-

viduals are winning the right to have their gender legally changed from the one assigned them at birth, though this legal change usually depends on the subject having undergone hormone therapy and a sex-change operation. Other legal issues at the forefront of gender activism include gender presentation in the workplace, such as whether gender conformity in clothes and makeup is enforceable under office dress codes or whether such enforcement constitutes gender discrimination.

Recent work on gender identity has questioned the prevailing view of gender as a binary or dimorphic category. There may be five or more naturally occurring sexes, ranging from genetic females with XX chromosomes with typically female gonads and genitalia, to genetic females who appear to have male genitalia, to female-appearing people with male XY chromosomes, to people with varying chromosomal makeups, (including XX, XY, and XXY) who may have both male and female gonads, to genetic XY males with typically male genitalia. Various kinds of hormone baths in the womb can transform external genitalia in developing fetuses as well, further complicating the assignment of gender as sexual identity at birth. Many of these subjects identify as intersex and have dedicated themselves to changing social, legal, and medical notions of gender as including only male or female. This reflects a larger tendency in queer activism to expand sexual and gender categories in order to encourage sexual and gender diversity of all kinds.

SEE ALSO *Gender Identity; Melancholia and Sex.*

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Jaime Hovey

SEXUAL INSTINCT

A sexual instinct is the innate drive to have sexual relations. In biological terms instincts are behaviors that occur as if natural and without teaching or model. They are species-



Arthur Schopenhauer. Arthur Schopenhauer believed that human behavior was governed by irrational internal instincts, the most important of which was the sexual instinct. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

specific practices for life and survival. How animals know, for example, what to eat or that they should migrate or hibernate for the winter, are instincts. That organisms seek sexual relations with one another is also an instinct believed to be founded on a compulsion to reproduce. German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) thought sexual instincts comprised a part of what he called *human will*. Psychologists such as Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) also tried to understand how the sexual instinct relates to the mental and emotional mechanisms governing human behavior. Some scientists believe that humans do not have a sexual instinct at all, because humans learn primarily from their social environment and because any behavior that might have been instinctive can be altered and overcome by thought.

CHEMICAL VERSUS PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSES

Biologists consider instincts to be preprogrammed responses to external stimuli. Instincts are a part of *preintellectual* behavior that is not based on any prior learning or experience. Many biologists consider instinct to be a series of traceable *fixed-action patterns* triggered by

a *key stimulus*. Pheromones, chemical signals detected by smell, for example, constitute a key stimulus for the release of some sex hormones. These hormones in turn provoke sexual behaviors.

The behavior of animals is often understood as instinctive. Their survival techniques and drive to court and reproduce are considered instincts. But biologists debate whether or not human beings are as governed by instincts as other species seem to be. Some biologists, such as Martha K. McClintock (1999), think that humans also have pheromone signals. For example, a substance excreted by nursing women seems to increase sexual desire in other women. The perfume industry has tried to profit by including various pheromones, believed to increase sexual desire, in perfumes. Others think that humans respond more readily to facial signals, language, and other behavioral cues.

For humans, however, sexual instincts may be more psychological than responses to chemical stimuli. Schopenhauer believed that human will—the driving force of unrest—was constituted by irrational internal instincts that governed human behavior, the most important of which was the sexual instinct. In Schopenhauer's thinking individuals did not have their own separate wills, but all shared in a larger group will that governed the species. "Man is incarnate sexual instinct," Schopenhauer wrote in *The World as Will and Representation* (1819); "he owes his origin to copulation and the wish of his wishes is to copulate." For Schopenhauer the sexual instinct is the "highest affirmation of life," and "the most important concern of Man and animal." And, "In conflict with it, no motivation, however strong, would be sure of victory." He goes on to say that the "sexual act is the unceasing thought of the unchaste and the involuntary, the ever recurring daydream of the chaste, the key of all intimations, an ever ready matter for fun, an inexhaustive source of jokes." Furthermore, as an instinct, Schopenhauer points out, the sexual instinct is "a delusion of the individual, who believes to care for his welfare whereas he is fulfilling the aim of the Species" (Ellenberger 1970, pp. 208–209).

FREUD'S VIEWS

Other philosophers, such as Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), believed in a sexual instinct as a force operating in the human psyche, but it was Schopenhauer's ideas that influenced the thinking of Freud. Freud believed that the human psyche was a dynamic system comprised of conscious wishes, motivations, and actions, which were themselves influenced by unconscious desires and drives. Throughout his long career Freud would develop theories about how the unconscious relates to the conscious as well as how the unconscious is structured. He used these theories as the basis for treating patients suffering from

various psychological disorders and symptoms. Early in his career, for example, Freud hypothesized that repressed sexual desires were the underlying cause of many psychological symptoms. As he studied female patients with hysteria—nervous tics, odd speech patterns, and anxieties—he determined that these symptoms were the effects of repressed sexual wishes.

But sexual wishes were, for Freud, different from a sexual instinct, which operated on an even deeper level. Freud understood the sexual instinct to be the force that compelled people to continue to live and mate and that pushed against such other instincts as the *death* instinct or the *pleasure principle*, which represented a desire for stillness or quiescence. This sexual instinct is much more than sexuality itself but is an intrinsic pressure to continue and seek disquiet. In terms of Freud's dynamic theories, the sexual instinct is the same as what he calls the *libido*, the energy that underwrites desire and drive.

According to Freud, in comparison with biological instincts, which have a specific chemical chain of cause and effect, sexual instinct is the idea of a psychic force without any specific object or aim. It exists between the body and the mind. Although the sexual instinct tends to link to one or another of the body's erogenous zones as a path for satisfaction, it can also gain satisfaction in a large number of ways with a wide variety of objects. The sexual instinct is thus fragmented and scattered and becomes organized only through an individual's fantasies and experiences.

In his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Freud examined the various kinds of objects and aims through which the sexual instinct might work. In this theory the sexual instinct itself is undifferentiated—that is, it has no natural or inherent goal such as reproduction. Instead, the instinct is expressed through a number of different desires or *aims* that might fix on a variety of *objects*. Thus, for example, the sexual instinct works equally for an individual who wants oral sex with a male partner as it does for a male who wishes sexual intercourse with a female partner. It works as well for someone whose aim is masturbation as it does for someone whose aim is voyeurism, or watching others engaged in sexual activity.

In Freud's theory, however, this scattered sexual instinct is an intrinsic part of a developing human psyche. For Freud, small children evince a sexual instinct. Young childhood is the period during which the sexual instinct becomes associated with specific erogenous zones, aims, and types of objects. As individuals develop, the sexual instinct becomes increasingly linked to fantasies, including cultural ideas, that push the instinct in certain directions, such as reproductive sex or homosexuality. In Freud's theories, the sexual instinct also forms the material that is repressed by individuals. This means

that very often individuals are not aware that the sexual instinct is the force behind certain decisions, wishes, or actions. It becomes evident, for example, in the famous *Freudian slips*, in which the mispronounced word generally refers to a sexual act or object.

Throughout an individual's life the sexual instinct, which Freud later calls *Eros*, works in a dynamic relationship with other primal forces, such as the *death instinct*, or the desire to stop. In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) Freud mapped the ways these various forces interact to keep individuals going. He links the sexual instincts to an *Eros* and later to a *life instinct*, which includes both the desire to create life and the desire to survive. The desire to create life, or *Eros*, originally represented some primeval state of joinder. Citing Aristophanes's (c. 448–c. 388 BCE) story of early beings in Plato's (427–347 BCE) writing, Freud saw *Eros* as the desire to return to a primordial state in which all beings were joined to another being in couples—male to male, female to female, and male to female. In Freud's later work the sexual instinct is linked in this way to a desire to merge with another—not necessarily as an impulse toward reproduction, but as a desire to return to an earlier state of existence.

POST-FREUDIAN VIEWS

Although the term *libido* refers to the sexual instinct after it has become bound to an object or an aim, most references to sexual instinct after Freud really mean libido instead of instinct. Swiss psychologist Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), for example, understood libido as psychic energy in general. Contemporary references to sexual instinct in popular culture refer primarily to libido as sexual desire.

New studies of the human genome and especially studies of the connections between genes and behavior have posited the possibility that sexual instincts are genetically programmed. There is as yet no evidence that such a complicated behavior as sexuality is genetic, nor that a single instinct accounts for sexual desire, urges to reproduce, or the libido. Sexual instinct is, however, often used as a rationale for not controlling sexual urges. A desire that is instinctive is viewed as uncontrollable, or controlled only with difficulty. Thus, as with human nature, the sexual instinct tends to excuse lapses in judgment. Sexual instinct is also seen as an inalienable right and as one of the basic motivations of humanity. As a motivation sexual instinct sometimes works better when repressed or sublimated—put aside while its energy is used to create art or conduct research. The sacrifice of sexual instinct is also considered to be virtuous, as when clerics choose to be celibate.

SEE ALSO *Psychoanalysis*.

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Judith Roof

SEXUAL INVERSION

Sexual inversion was a nineteenth-century theory of homosexuality best described by the pioneering sexologist Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895) as *anima muliebris virili corpore incluse*, or, a woman's soul confined within a man's body. In the nineteenth century, *sexual inversion*, *homosexuality*, and *antipathic sexuality* were interchangeable terms. The "inversion" in sexual inversion referred to the inverted, or upside-down, quality of a body that did not reflect the "true" essence of its possessor. The truth of the invert was inside rather than on the surface; thus a male invert was "really" a woman, and should be allowed to express a female gender, and a female invert was "really" a man, and should be allowed to dress and live as one. Inversion also referred to the ways in which such bodies inverted the laws of nature, which supposedly decreed that male bodies should desire female sexual partners instead of male ones, and vice versa. The theory of sexual inversion maintained conventional categories of sexuality and gender and did not allow one to be divided from the other. Inversion meant that a man's homosexual desires, effeminacy, or both did not challenge masculine gender or heterosexual sexual norms; rather, a perfectly normal heterosexual woman with a feminine gender was trapped inside him, yearning to come out.

When sex pioneer Havelock Ellis published his landmark *Sexual Inversion* in 1897, he defined congenital sexual inversion on the very first page of his book as "sexual instinct turned by inborn constitutional abnormality towards persons of the same sex." By 1905, however, Sigmund Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* posited the innate bisexuality of all human beings and began to theorize sexuality more as an unruly drive in need of channeling than an essence or nature. Although Freud put gender almost entirely in the service of sexual

desire, his work began the privileging of sexuality over gender that would eventually uncouple one from the other almost entirely, and lead to the call by midcentury homosexual and lesbian activists to end the stereotyping of gay men as effeminate and lesbians as masculine. The English novelist Radclyffe Hall attempted to revive the concept of sexual inversion in her landmark 1928 novel, *The Well of Loneliness*, in order to argue that lesbians and homosexual men were really normal people trapped in the wrong bodies, but by then sexual inversion was already outdated, and for the next sixty years it remained out of favor as little more than an antiquated theory of lesbian and gay identity.

Sexual inversion found new favor among transgender activists and scholars in the late 1980s and 1990s, in large part because sexual inversion privileged gender as much or more than sexual desire as grounds for a personal identity and identification. The notion that one's true self is trapped inside a body that does not reflect it is the essential definition of sexual inversion, though in the early twenty-first century *gender inversion* might be a more accurate term. Sexual inversion, now called transgender identity, offers an explanation as to why changing the gender of one's body through cross-dressing, hormones, and surgery feels "right" to so many transgender people. It seems to explain to many women why they feel like men, and not women or lesbians, and explains to many men who feel like women, and not gay men, why they are happier acting and dressing like women. In the early twenty-first century, transgender identity refers almost exclusively to gender in a way that sexual inversion, which was still tied to sexual expression, did not. As a result, where once candidates for sexual reassignment surgery had to convince doctors that they wanted to be heterosexual and gender-normative, one can now be a gay genderqueer transman as well as a straight one, or a transgender drag queen or transgender lesbian as well as a heterosexual woman.

SEE ALSO *Gender Identity*; *Sexual Identity*.

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SEXUAL LITERACY

In the mid-1960s, Rob and Laura Petrie, the husband and wife characters featured on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, slept in separate single beds. Such were certainly not the sleeping arrangements of most American couples, but it was all that was allowed to be shown on network TV. Twenty years later, when *Sexually Speaking* began airing on WYNY-FM in New York, words such as *penis*, *vagina*, and *orgasm* were regularly featured, and not too long after making its debut in the Big Apple in 1981, the program began airing nationally on the NBC radio network, in effect signaling that the curtain the media had thrown over the topic of sex had finally begun to lift. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, with commercials for drugs to combat erectile dysfunction flashing across screens at all times of the day and night, to mention but one small example of how ubiquitous the subject of sex has become in the American home, sex has come fully out of the closet.

But just because sex has gone from back room smokers to prime time does not mean that the average person is much more sexually literate than in the days when sex was kept under wraps. If the level of sexual literacy had climbed as high as that of exposure to sexual content, then the rate of unintended pregnancies and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases should have plummeted. As that is not the case in the United States, then people are either not paying attention to all the information that is now beamed into their homes, or they are selectively choosing to ignore some of that information.

Sexual literacy has many components. They include: knowledge of sexual functioning, especially with regard to enjoying sex to the highest degree; having the skill set to prevent an unintended pregnancy among sexually active people; knowing how to protect oneself from catching or transmitting a sexually transmitted disease; having the ability to distinguish sexual facts from sexual myths; being able to successfully maintain a relationship with a sexual partner; and understanding the dangers presented by the wealth of material with a high sexual content now so easily available.

The level of sexual literacy a person reaches can be affected by many factors including level of education, income level, and culture. One important factor is age. In a survey of more than 19,000 Australians done in 2001–2002, males aged sixteen to nineteen were the segment of the population least likely to have had sexual satisfaction from their last sexual encounter. For women it was also this age bracket, as well as those aged fifty to fifty-nine. Since younger people are less experienced, they are thereby less sexually literate, and the resulting lower level of sexual satisfaction gives credence to the concept that a higher level of sexual literacy leads to a better sex life. (Even the second group of women may support this

conclusion, as women in this age group are undergoing the physical changes brought on by menopause, and those changes require a learning curve in order for a woman to make the proper adjustments to the changes in her body.)

Another important factor in the determining the level of sexual literacy could be gender, but this one is more difficult to ascertain. For example, in the Australian study, 68.9 percent of women reported having an orgasm as a result of their last sexual episode as opposed to 94.8 percent of men. But since the men in this same study wanted sex more often, and women are capable of satisfying their partner's sexual desire without necessarily fully participating in the act by having an orgasm, it is not possible to say that the difference in the number of women reporting orgasms had anything to do with their level of sexual literacy or was merely the result of their willingness to participate in a sexual encounter just to please their male partner. Another complication in deciding the level of a woman's sexual literacy is the fact that women are far more dependent on their partner to achieve sexual satisfaction. So a woman with a partner whose level of sexual literacy was lower than hers might still have difficulties achieving sexual satisfaction.

But while it may be difficult to compare the level of sexual knowledge between men and women, there is no doubt that women have gained considerable amount of knowledge regarding their sexual functioning in the last two decades of the twentieth century. Sadly, for far too many women over much too long a period of time, sex was once only a chore. The majority of women never derived any sexual satisfaction from sex and many thought of themselves as frigid, assuming they had any realization of the concept that it was possible for a woman to have enjoyment from sex at all. If neither their mothers had ever enjoyed sex, nor many of the other women around them, there really was no place for these women to get the information that sex could be as enjoyable for women as it was for men. (And this pertains only to Western society. In those parts of the world where female genital mutilation continues to be performed, the concept of women enjoying sex is totally alien.)

Although there are still some women who fall into the category of not receiving the ultimate enjoyment from sex, at the beginning of the twenty-first century the vast majority of women at least know that sex between two people is something that should be causing orgasms for both of them, even if not every one of them has yet figured out how to accomplish this. And where it was once the women who felt themselves pressured into having sex, many men have come to feel the pressure of having to perform with a certain level of skill in order to give their partners the sexual satisfaction they demand. And if the tables have turned, and women have become more sexually literate, it is

entirely because of the information that was broadcast over the media, again and again and again.

And on the other side of the now televised king-size bed, similar changes have occurred in the knowledge men have, not only about the sexual functioning of their partners, but about themselves as well. The most visible of these is no doubt the issue of erectile dysfunction. Who would have dreamed during the administration of John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) that one day a powerful senator who once ran for the presidency would be seen on television admitting his problems with obtaining and maintaining his erections? Yes, the development of Viagra was an accident; Pfizer was trying to develop an alternative to nitroglycerin for people with angina. But had they stumbled on this type of drug twenty years earlier, it would be sure bet that few men would ever have heard of it, and fewer still would have actually had the courage to speak to their doctors about their problems. And the overall result, apart from improving the sex life of many older men, is that both men and women of all ages now are much more familiar with this particular male dysfunction, and the potential cures.

Returning to the other variations in population, it has been ascertained that both men and women in lower socioeconomic groups obtain less enjoyment from sex. Given that this population is also less educated, one can safely assume that the level of sexual literacy among this group is also lower. Although men in this population are more likely to enjoy the pleasure that comes from sex, and not just the reproductive aspects, all populations report that sex in a companionship relationship is better. Therefore if the women in the lower socioeconomic groups were able to improve their enjoyment of sex, there would be a corresponding improvement in the enjoyment of sex among the men as well.

However, much of the educational efforts aimed toward lower economic status groups has been with the goal of teaching them about contraception, so that they would not have as many children to support, as well as about how to avoid sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS in particular. The concept of teaching the other aspects of sexual literacy, especially with regard to increasing the pleasure of sex, is most certainly a foreign one. And the culture of many countries with large concentrations of poor people tends not to accept the sexual gratification of women. One study that polled more than 27,000 people worldwide found that the level of sexual enjoyment throughout Asia is less than in Western countries. And in Muslim countries where the custom of performing clitorectomies on young women is practiced, making it impossible for them ever to have an orgasm, many of the concepts that form the basis of sexual literacy are irrelevant.

Another finding of this study was that lower levels of overall health lead to lower levels of sexual enjoyment. Because various diseases and ailments almost always afflict those living in poverty, this further decreases their need for sexual literacy, as other needs of these people are so much more imperative. Yet it is also known that people in good relationships tend to be healthier than those who are not in a relationship, so that improvements in sexual literacy among poor people, which would aid in their personal relationships, would have a positive effect on their overall health.

The more sexually literate a person is, the fewer sexual myths to which that person should still give credence. While some myths have been dealt severe blows, for example those having to do with masturbation, new myths have arisen that end up lowering sexual literacy. No scientific evidence has been found for the so-called G-spot, and yet many people believe that it exists, just because they have heard so much about it; that belief, in turn, can do damage to their relationship. If the female accuses her partner of being a lousy lover because he is unable to locate her G-spot, which may not exist, then their overall level of sexual satisfaction will lessen.

Of course it is difficult to talk about sexual literacy when the very definition of the word *sex* is somewhat up for grabs. In the 1980s a woman who used her mouth to give her partner an orgasm would universally have been considered to have had sex. Yet in the early 2000s many young people consider *sex* to mean only intercourse and will have oral sex much more casually than intercourse. Are they demonstrating sexual illiteracy or is this just an example of a change in the sexual mores?

Perhaps a better question would be whether teens should be given the power to make such changes. If they were fully sexually literate, they might be considered to have the competency to push society in certain directions. But the truth is that American teens have been shown not to have a good grasp of sexual functioning, based on statistics comparing them with young people in Europe. For example, the U.S. teen pregnancy rate is nearly twice as high as that of Canada and Great Britain, more than three times higher than in Sweden, nearly four times higher than France, nearly five times higher than Germany, and more than nine times higher than in the Netherlands. The teen chlamydia infection rate in the United States is nearly two times higher than in Canada and Sweden, more than five times higher than in Great Britain, nineteen times higher than in France, and eighty-eight times higher than in Belgium. And the underlying fault seems to be the state of their sexual education.

The differences in the level of sexual literacy between American teens and those in Europe are not accidental. Beginning in the 1990s, the U.S. government—prodged

by conservative forces—began to coerce localities, via federal funding, to use abstinence-until-marriage curricula in their sexual education courses. The statistics cited above demonstrate that these programs have failed to raise the level of sexual literacy among the nation's teenagers, and, in fact, have had a negative impact rather than a positive one. Two specific pieces of legislation that caused this effect were the 1996 passage of the Welfare Reform Act and the creation of the Special Projects of Regional and National Significance—Community Based Abstinence Education Program (SPRANS-CBEA).

The main difference between many European sex education programs and that of the United States is that in countries like France and Sweden, the message given to teens is that it is okay to have sex within a committed relationship, and this acceptance helps encourage teens to enter such relationships rather than engage in casual sex. In the United States, teens who have no desire to get married end up having more casual sex, and as a result undergo more unintended pregnancies, abortions, and are more likely to get a sexually transmitted disease.

There is one more issue that needs to be covered when examining the state of sexual literacy, and that is the confusion that exists over the shifting sands of information that threaten to overwhelm us in so many areas of health care. One obvious case is the issue of Hormone Replacement Therapy (HRT) for postmenopausal women. One of the benefits of HRT is that it allows women to continue to lubricate naturally when they become sexually aroused. But when HRT came under suspicion, and women found themselves torn between taking it to relieve the symptoms of menopause versus the risks that had been widely discussed, the resulting confusion left them floundering. When information that had been part of the bedrock of their sexual literacy comes into question, it naturally makes them mistrust other information that they had considered true.

On the male side of the equation, the arrival of Viagra and its competitors also changed the situation, for the men taking these drugs and for their partners. Older people, who had expected a natural decline in their sex lives, suddenly found themselves facing the possibility of an active sex life that could continue for many more years. This change in expectations requires an adjustment to the sexual habits of every couple caught in this situation. So here is a case where a couple's level of sexual literacy may dip due to a change in outside factors that suddenly make their sex lives more complicated than they were before. And that can be even truer for couples for which these drugs may not be appropriate. There are alternatives, such as surgically implanted pumps that have become quite safe and more effective, but with all the attention drawn to the pills, being able to find out about

these alternatives may become more difficult. Of course, with men having to go to their doctor to get a prescription, some are given much needed information along with the prescription, thus raising their level of sexual literacy. Sadly, this is not always the case.

And then there is the area covered by those who do not consider themselves heterosexual. When homosexuals first began to come out of the closet in great numbers, their levels of sexual literacy increased as overall communication about homosexual sex exploded. But with the arrival of HIV/AIDS, along with an acceptance of the possibility that some people might be bisexual, the picture became much more complex. Many men who had shunned activities that might put them at risk began to revert back to those same activities, clearly showing that their level of sexual literacy had, if not actually dropped, at least become clouded.

There is no doubt that all the media attention given to sex has made people more aware of the complexities of a natural human function that for so long was just a part of the reproductive process and did not require much in the way of education. So to rate the sexual literacy of an individual might require two scales: one that would measure the level on an absolute basis, and another on a relative one. For the former, it is clear that people, in general, know a lot more about sexual functioning than they did before. But because of the many added variables that arose in the last few decades of the twentieth century, this increase does not mean that everyone is better able to navigate the actual universe of sexual behavior as it stands today.

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SEXUAL OBJECTS

Psychiatrist Sigmund Freud, in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1963 [1905]), coined the term *sexual object*, along with *sexual aim*, in order to discuss sexuality. According to Freud a sexual object is "the person from whom sexual attraction proceeds," whereas sexual aim refers to "the act toward which the instinct tends" (Freud 1905, p. 1, 2). Thus, the sexual object of a heterosexual man could be a woman and his sexual aim could be the completion of intercourse by orgasm. Such an example is regarded by Freud as a basic norm, but he then expands on the many and varied types of sexual objects that range from the mundane to the bizarre. In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Freud not only highlights aberrant sexual patterns and describes their roots from a psychoanalytic perspective but also stresses that normal sexual behavior and object choice remain on the same continuum as deviant practices.

Drawing a fine line between perversion and normative behavior, Freud states that perversions occur in relation to typical sexual objects and aims. Perversions merely sexualize and eroticize nongenital bodily regions or fixate on close relations to the sexual object itself. The degree of abnormality achieved in perverted object choice and/or sexual aim is considered in a Freudian psychoanalytic view to be linked to a childhood conflict. Inability to seek a more appropriate and fulfilling object may present itself as a consequence of certain memories or fears.

In the realm of psychology deviant object choice is often a factor in the diagnosis of paraphilias. The paraphilias, representative of aberrant sexual patterns and behavior, are usually chronic conditions diagnosable through the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV* (1994). The following four examples of abnormal object choice are paraphilias.

FETISHISM

Fetishism involves fantasy, arousal, and/or sexual behavior concerning a singular body part or inanimate object. As the *DSM-IV* notes, these sexual objects are not limited to things specially created for sexual gratification (i.e., vibrators). Common items utilized for sexual pleasure include leather, bras, panties, stockings, shoes, hair, and feet. To attain the given sexual aim the fetish object is necessary, or at the very least, intensely preferred during the sex act. Without the object the aim may not be achieved.

The attraction to the fetish may form, as presented by the psychoanalytic perspective, through a childhood conflict, or it may serve as a symbolic reminder of another sexual object. Some researchers attribute the fetish's power to a Pavlovian type of classical conditioning in which the fetishized object is continually experienced in conjunction

with other sexually arousing material until at some point the fetish alone triggers the response of typical sexual objects.

VOYEURISM

One of the main paraphilias in the *DSM-IV*, voyeurism is the practice of watching others as they are disrobing, naked, or participating in sexual acts. Those who are being watched tend to be strangers and do not realize that they are in direct view. The unsuspecting individual becomes the sexual object for the voyeur, and he or she may fantasize that they are having sex with the object while looking and masturbating. Unlike the majority of the paraphilias, both men and women engage in voyeurism.

Some researchers hold that the exhibitionism involved in voyeurism is the result of traumatic childhood experiences. Studies also show that voyeurs often experience anxiety, low self-esteem, obsessive compulsiveness, and interpersonal communication difficulties. As is the case with a number of the paraphilias, people can engage in voyeurism more easily since the advent of the Internet; for example, via web cam feeds that allow the public access to private spaces.

PEDOPHILIA

Pedophilia, from the Greek for *love of children*, involves sexual urges, fantasies, and behavior focused upon or enacted with children. In such cases an immature sexual object substitutes for the typical adult, perhaps because the pedophile does not feel comfortable in adult relationships, feels empowered by the difference in age and authority, and/or has fixated upon and wishes to recapture some sexually arousing experience from childhood. Pedophiles tend to be males who appear to be well-adjusted and have steady work histories, although they can often be shy loners. Some child-abuse researchers draw a distinction between pedophiles and child molesters, noting that the latter generally have sporadic work histories along with histories of arrest. According to such definitions the child molester is also considered more likely to use aggressive force. The law, however, does not acknowledge such distinctions and prosecutes adults engaging in sexual contact with children regardless of the perpetrator's tendencies or history.

NECROPHILIA

One of the rarer paraphilias is necrophilia, meaning *love of the dead*. Marked by obsessive interest in or sexual attraction to the dead, necrophilia may serve as an outlet for individuals who intensely need to confront death and dying. Necrophilia is not limited to sex with a corpse. A number of sexual acts such as stroking, rubbing, or

masturbating in the vicinity of the body can be labeled as falling under this paraphilia.

There are three types of necrophilia: violent, fantasy, and romantic. The violent type may desire a corpse so relentlessly that they kill for one. Fantasy necrophiles sate their desires by imagining sexual encounters with a deceased sexual object and/or have sex with a person who is pretending to be dead. Finally, romantic necrophiles are those who cannot accept that their sexual object has died. Unable to sever the living bond of love, they forgo burial or cremation of their sexual object and keep the corpse.

Freud's usage of the term sexual object carries over into sexology and sociology while maintaining its psychoanalytic meaning. Sexual object in this sense must not be confused with the sociological understanding of sexual objectification. Sexual objects are many and varied and may be anyone or anything. Though certain object choices are criminalized or considered freakish or bizarre, their status may change as cultures change and may one day be deemed more acceptable.

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SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Sexual orientation is a set of categories by which a person's sexual and emotional preferences are defined. The possible categories are produced by combining one's gender with the gender or genders of the people to whom

one is attracted romantically, sexually, and emotionally. When people are attracted only to people of the same gender as themselves, their orientation is said to be *homosexual*. When people are attracted only to people of another gender, their orientation is called *heterosexual*. When people are attracted to people of any gender, they are considered *bisexual*. People who are not attracted to anyone at all are called *asexual*. Although people use the categories of sexual orientation all of the time when trying to define themselves or others, what an orientation is, how one's preferred object of desire becomes an aspect of one's identity, how such categories may or may not characterize individuals, and what such preferences reveal about sexuality are not clear either in scientific research or in everyday life.

Attempts to classify sexual desire began in the latter part of the nineteenth century with the German writer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895). Ulrichs was interested in removing the stigma from homosexuality, which he regarded as innate. Ulrichs devised a set of classifications that applied to male desires; for him females were simply fainter versions of the male. The idea of classifying sexual desires in terms of the relative genders of the loving subject and beloved object was taken up by others, particularly the sexologists who were studying the phenomenon of human sexuality, resulting in the three primary categories in use in the early twenty-first century.

From almost the beginning there were disputes about how to understand what the nature of any relation must be in order to define an orientation as homosexual or heterosexual. Most early sexologists understood sexual desire to be an innate urge and thus primarily psychological. They saw sexual orientation as a matter of urges. Sexologists Havelock Ellis and Richard von Krafft-Ebing both understood categories of sexual desire as deriving from feelings rather than necessarily being proven only by sexual acts.

Later sex researchers such as Simon LeVay determined whether or not individuals fell into a category based on either emotional or physical behavior. Individuals might be categorized on the basis of the primary gender toward which they were attracted or on the gender of those with whom they had actual sexual relationships. Others understood the classifications to apply only to those who had had physical experience itself. Milton Diamond (1984) commented that the requirement of actual sexual experience rather than more difficult-to-assess emotional criteria tends to be the one used by researchers attempting to discern the size of the homosexual population.

Even if researchers agree on which criteria is relevant, they very often do not have any consistent notion of what constitutes an *emotional* or *physical* attraction to someone else. In other words there is no agreed-upon understanding

about what constitutes sexual preference or even sexuality. Some, especially those influenced by the women's movement, understand sexual/affectional preferences as a *continuum* ranging from affection and emotional intimacy to sexual desire and behavior. Others understand the psychological aspects of sexual desire as innate and as formed in early childhood (as do the psychoanalysts Sigmund Freud [1856–1939] and Jacques Lacan [1901–1981]). Both Freud and Lacan understand sexual orientation as a part of a complicated set of positionings infants make in relation to the world and the people surrounding them. Alfred Kinsey and later sexologists thought that individuals' sexual orientations existed on a scale, or continuum, from purely heterosexual on one end to purely homosexual on the other. According to Kinsey, most individuals fell somewhere in the middle. Since then others have seen sexual orientation as genetic, that is, preprogrammed in an individual's genes. Many see sexual orientation as an *identity*, as a set of desires and practices that help define an individual's sense of self.

In the same way, deciding which acts might constitute the kinds of sexual behavior that would define an orientation range from having sexual fantasies to arousal to sexual touching to sexual activity to orgasm. The choice and definition of criteria often reflects a researcher's own beliefs and ideologies about sexuality. If, for example, only actual sexual behavior culminating in orgasm counts as a sexual orientation, then there would be fewer homosexuals than if fantasies count as well. Those interested in reducing the reported incidence of homosexuality might deploy a more restrictive definition, whereas those interested in showing how widespread the phenomenon is may use a more inclusive definition.

Even using the broadest definitions it is often difficult to define an individual's sexual orientation, because desires change from context to context and throughout life. Some who might begin puberty with more heterosexual or homosexual leanings may change that orientation later. Some, pressured by parents and society, may express themselves as heterosexuals, even while feeling attracted to others of the same sex. Some believe that one's sexual orientation can be changed through conditioning programs. Some religions believe that certain sexual orientations are sinful. Others, believing sexual orientation to be innate, argue that society should change to accept the naturally occurring and harmless variations that exist. Still others believe that sexual orientation is a choice everyone should be free to exercise.

Attitudes and acceptance about sexual orientations differ around the world. Most cultures are openly heterosexual, which means that the institutions of the culture accommodate only heterosexual desires. Most cultures tolerate asexuality. A minority of cultures tolerates the other orientations, essentially by permitting nonheterosexual

orientations to exist in subcultures. In the United States there is no constitutional protection for nonheterosexual citizens on the basis of their sexual orientation, but some states, such as Wisconsin and Massachusetts, local governments and businesses provide their own nondiscrimination policies. A small minority of countries, such as Canada and almost all of western Europe, recognize the rights of all sexual orientations, offering all citizens the same rights and protections. In the United States all sexual orientations are legal, but many sexual practices associated with homosexuality, such as sodomy, are still illegal.

SEE ALSO *Sexual Identity*.

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SEXUAL PARAPHERNALIA

SEE *Sex Aids*.

SEXUAL PERVERSION

Sexual perversion is an old-fashioned diagnostic term that served as a label for sexual activities considered outside the norm of heterosexual sexual desire and activity. This norm was defined as coitus with a person of the opposite sex with the aim of achieving orgasm through genital penetration. Any other type of sexual activity, regardless of the sex of the participants, was traditionally considered perverse.

Sexual perversion appears most famously in Richard von Krafft-Ebing's nineteenth-century medical textbook *Psychopathia Sexualis*, first published in German in 1886. There sexual *perversion* is defined as a disease of the sexual instinct, as opposed to sexual *perversity*, which is defined as vice rather than pathology. Sexual perversion was understood as a deviation of instinct, which means

that it refers to predetermined behavior that is invariable as regards both its performance and its object. The sexual perversions delineated by Krafft-Ebing included sadism, masochism, fetishism, bestiality, sexual inversion in men and women (understood either as what is now termed homosexuality, on the one hand, or gender dysphoria, on the other, or both), rape, nymphomania, onanism (masturbation), pedophilia, exhibitionism, necrophilia, and incest.

In psychoanalysis perversion is used exclusively in relation to sexuality. Sigmund Freud used the notion of sexual perversity in his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* [1962 (1905)] to question traditional notions of so-called normal sexuality. He noted rudiments of sexual perversions, such as touching, looking, kissing, and various sorts of fetishism and idealization, in most normal sexual processes. For Freud perversion was limited to sexual activities that either extend anatomically beyond the genital regions of the body or linger indefinitely on activities leading up to coitus without ever arriving at sexual intercourse.

To pervert something is to turn it away from its natural course, but the term has become so exclusively associated with sexuality in the 100-plus years since Freud's *Three Essays* that calling someone a *pervert* in the early twenty-first century is tantamount to labeling them a sex criminal. Because sexual perversion carries with it judgments about the naturalness and value of some kinds of behaviors and the artificiality and wrongness of others, it has been replaced in medical dictionaries and diagnostic manuals by the more neutral term *paraphilia*. Paraphilias are no longer understood as dysfunctional deviations from the normal, as the sexual perversions once were, but are now defined as behaviors centered on sexual arousal with objects or situations where affection may not be reciprocal or returned. The fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV-TR* (2000) lists the paraphilias as exhibitionism, fetishism, frotteurism, pedophilia, sexual masochism, sexual sadism, transvestic fetishism, and voyeurism. Masturbation and homosexuality are no longer considered to be sexually perverse, but some gender-transgressive behaviors have been singled out and retained, such as erotic cross-dressing. Voyeurism, which Krafft-Ebing did not consider unusual and which Freud related to the essentially healthy scopophilic drive, is considered an atypical sexual disorder in the early twenty-first century, and is often associated with criminal behaviors such as stalking.

One or some of the eight major paraphilias must be a patient's sole means of sexual gratification for six months and cause them distress and interpersonal difficulty in order to be diagnosed as an illness requiring medical intervention. Of these exhibitionism is defined

as the recurrent urge to expose the genitals to another person; fetishism as the use of objects for sexual pleasure; frotteurism as the urge to rub against nonconsenting persons; pedophilia as the desire to have sex with children; masochism as the desire to be beaten, tied up, humiliated, or made to suffer; sadism as the urge to cause pain and humiliation as a form of sexual excitement; transvestic fetishism as a sexual desire directed at the clothes of the so-called opposite gender; and voyeurism as the desire to secretly observe people undressing or having sex. Many of the older sexual perversions, such as necrophilia (the desire to have sex with dead bodies) or bestiality (the desire to have sex with animals), can be grouped under the major paraphilias, such as sadism and fetishism.

Theories of how paraphilias develop tend to focus on traumatic events associated with early sexual experience, during which subjects are conditioned to respond sexually to unusual situations. Because almost anything can be sexualized, it follows that paraphilias can encompass any behavior, object, or sexual subject.

SEE ALSO *Necrophilia; Pedophilia; Sadomasochism; Voyeurism.*

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Jaime Hovey

SEXUAL PRACTICES

What counts as sexual? One may tend to think of sexual activity as primarily genital activity done alone, with a partner, or in a group, but genital activity alone does not cover the range of bodily pleasures available to most human beings and the wide range of activities that may be defined as sexual. In his 1905 book *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1962), psychoanalytic pioneer Sigmund Freud argues that humans have a sexual instinct akin to hunger that he terms the *libido*. He defines libido as having a *sexual object*, or person or thing one is attracted to, and a *sexual aim*, an act or sexual practice one wants to have with this person or thing. Further, he notes that countless deviations are possible in both object and aim. Sexual practices have come to be recognized as

all of the possibilities available for both the objects and the aims of sexual attraction.

Freud formulates his theories of sexual behavior by looking at what he calls the *deviations* of object and aim. The idea of deviation assumes the existence of *natural* or *normal* objects and aims that would not be deviations. Deviations include deviations of object, which in Freud's time included homosexual attraction, as well as deviations still considered abnormal in the twenty-first century, such as pedophilia and bestiality. The sexual aims of these different objects comprise the realm of so-called nonnormative sexual practices, which for Freud included homosexuality, fellatio, cunnilingus, anal sex, the use of other parts of the body for sexual satisfaction, the fetishizing of objects such as shoes, voyeurism, excessive touching, sadism, and masochism. Most of these practices are considered to be normal sexual behavior by many people in the contemporary United States, Canada, and Europe. Sexual practices not mentioned by Freud but cataloged previously by influential sexologists such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), include necrophilia; violent nonconsensual acts such as rape, maiming, or murder; nymphomania; incest; and onanism, or masturbation. Modern textbooks also list exhibitionism as a perverse sexual practice, whereas masturbation, or autoeroticism, which was once considered a deviant sexual practice, has—except among some religious conservatives—come to be regarded as a normal and even healthy human sexual behavior. Newer practices unimagined by Freud include the use of many types of manufactured objects such as sex toys, cybersex, and phone sex.

Freud codified the notion of *normal* heterosexual and reproductive objects and aims in order to understand those desires falling outside the norm; thus, the natural object of a man is a woman and vice versa. The natural aim of this attraction is sexual coitus, where the woman's vagina encloses the man's penis until ejaculation occurs, potentially leading to pregnancy and childbirth for the woman. This procreative aim is still the only acceptable one for many religious institutions, such as the Catholic Church, which forbids the use of birth control devices and pharmaceuticals. However, many societies accept family planning and nonprocreative sex as part of their ideologies of normal heterosexual marriage, and thus, heterosexual coitus for its own sake within marriage is generally an acceptable sexual practice in most of the world. Heterosexual coitus outside of marriage is officially frowned upon but socially tolerated in most of Europe and North America, whereas more conservative countries in South America, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East operate under a sexual double standard, punishing unmarried women and their children while tolerating male infidelity. In some Muslim countries, such as Pakistan, a woman can be executed—often by members

of her own family—for *dishonoring* the family with adulterous behavior, promiscuity, or being the victim of rape. Officially sanctioned sexual practice in such places is strictly limited to heterosexual behavior between men and women who are married to each other.

Heterosexual sexual practices can vary widely. In North America, Europe, and countries experiencing gradual relaxation of sexual Puritanism, such as Argentina and Australia, oral–genital contact is not considered an unusual sexual practice except among some religious conservatives, and even then, what a husband and wife choose to do consensually in their bedroom is largely considered to be their business alone. In countries such as Brazil that associate worldliness with sexual experimentation, sexual cosmopolitanism is mostly limited to men and prostitutes. Heterosexual fellatio, where the penis is sucked, is a common practice among U.S. teenagers seeking to avoid pregnancy, whereas cunnilingus, where the women’s genitals are licked and sucked, is less common but still practiced. Heterosexual anal penetration, where the penis is inserted into the female’s anus, is also a growing trend among U.S. adolescents, again because it limits the risk of pregnancy. Although some married couples do engage in anal intercourse, it is considered by most people, even liberals, to be more deviant than is oral sex.

Finally, pleasures such as pornography, fetishism, leather, sex toys, erotica, intergenerational sex, wife swapping, group sex, and phone sex are also more tolerated among heterosexuals, especially in Europe and the Americas, with group sex seen as the most deviant, probably because it offers more possibilities for homosexual sexual contact. Again, married couples enjoy a zone of privacy around their consumption of pornography, their fetishistic practices, their use of sex toys and erotica, and the ages of their choices of partners, as long as those partners are above the legal age of consent.

Homosexuality remains the most consistent dividing line the world between sanctioned and unacceptable sexual practices. Homosexual sexual practices comprise any sexual act between two people of the same sex. This includes practices also common between heterosexual partners, such as oral–genital sex; oral–anal sex; anal penetration with the hand, penis, or manufactured object; vaginal penetration with the hand or manufactured object; rubbing the genitals against a partner’s body; scopophilia; sadomasochism; mutual masturbation; and talking someone to arousal and sexual climax on a telephone or using a web camera.

One of the best indices of late-twentieth-century attitudes toward human sexual practices can be found in Gayle Rubin’s influential 1984 essay “Thinking Sex,” which argued that mainstream U. S. culture still draws clear distinctions between *good* sexual practices and *bad* ones—

distinctions that reflect the enduring influence of Freud’s notion of normal sexual objects and aims versus deviant or abnormal sexual objects and aims. Contemporary good, or sanctioned, sexual practices include sex between monogamous, same-generational heterosexual married partners, done at home, potentially procreative, without monetary payment, using only bodies, and without the use of pornography for arousal. Bad sexual practices include homosexual sex, promiscuous sex, nonprocreative sex, sex for money, masturbation or group sex, casual sex, cross-generational sex, sex in public, sex that uses pornography for arousal, sex using manufactured objects, and sadomasochistic sex. Whereas many of these bad sexual practices, such as the use of pornography and manufactured objects, have become more acceptable among heterosexuals in the intervening years since Rubin’s essay was published, homosexuality is still unacceptable among religious conservatives in many parts of the world. Therefore, any sexual practices that take place between same-sex partners are still considered bad, or unacceptable, on the basis of that alone. In some parts of the world where it is acceptable to have more than one wife, such as non-Christian South Africa, sanctioned sexual practices might encompass intimacy between a man and several women who are wives in his household.

COMMONLY-KNOWN SEXUAL PRACTICES

Most of the following list of sexual practices can be part of heterosexual, homosexual, single, or group sexual activity. Although most of these practices are considered fairly normal today, vaginal intercourse is the only practice on this list that would have been considered normal in terms of sexual object and sexual aim by Freud and his contemporaries.

Abstinence Sexual abstinence is the voluntary decision not to engage in sexual relations of any kind. For some people abstinence is more narrowly defined as the decision not to engage in penetrative sex. Reasons for abstinence include periodic abstinence for contraception, disease or pregnancy prevention, and abstinence for religious reasons.

Anal Intercourse Anal intercourse, which at one time was one of the definitions of the term *sodomy*, involves the insertion of the penis into the rectum. This practice is widespread among both homosexual men and heterosexual couples. Some people define anal sex as including insertion of objects into the anus, such as dildos, fingers, and hands. Insertion of hands is often termed *fisting*. Some define anal–oral contact as anal sex.

Anilingus Also known as *rimming*, anilingus is the stimulation of the anal area with the lips and tongue.

Autoerotic Asphyxiation Autoerotic asphyxiation is the practice of self-strangulation while masturbating. Partial asphyxiation is said to enhance orgasm, though this can also inadvertently result in death. It is usually practiced by males and often by adolescent males.

Autofellatio Autofellatio is fellatio—sucking and licking the penis—performed on oneself. This can be most easily done by men limber enough to bend their torsos so as to hook their legs behind their heads, often facilitated by sturdy bed headboards. Very few men are able to accomplish autofellatio.

Axillary Intercourse Referred to by the slang term *bag-piping*, axillary intercourse is the act of inserting the penis under a partner's armpit. It is part of a broader category of sexual practice termed *outercourse*.

Bestiality Bestiality is a catchall term for any type of sexual contact with animals. This can involve various types of body contact, including oral, anal, and vaginal intercourse by humans on animals or animals on humans. Bestiality is another practice that was once included as part of the definition of sodomy.

Body Rubbing Also known as *dry humping* when partners are clothed, body rubbing is the practice of rubbing bodies together, especially sexual organs, sometimes leading to orgasm. It is also sometimes called *frottage*, and can be done in private with consenting partners, or in public with unwilling strangers, as is the case with people who become aroused by rubbing against strangers in crowds and on public transportation.

Bondage and Discipline Bondage and discipline is sexual role play involving sadism and masochism in which one partner, sometimes called a *bottom*, is bound or restrained and then punished physically or mentally by the other partner, or the *top*. Some people make a distinction between sadism and masochism as involving pain and bondage and discipline as not involving pain, but there is a good deal of overlap between them, as the common acronym BDSM suggests. Such acts are generally found to be sexually arousing for both partners and mutually agreed upon or negotiated beforehand. Tops and bottoms can maintain consistent roles or switch at will, and although it may appear as if the top is in control, it is often the bottom who calls all the shots. Whereas some forms of bondage and discipline, such as the use of handcuffs, have migrated into mainstream sexual practices, it remains a subcultural sexual practice.

Bottoming Bottoming is taking the role of the bottom, or submissive partner, in a consensual bondage, sadomasochistic, or disciplinary sexual scenario, becoming sexually aroused because one is being hurt or punished in some way. Bottoms used to be called masochists, but that term has fallen out of favor as too judgmental. Bottoms may enjoy being forcibly confined, bound, gagged, or blindfolded; receiving punishment such as whipping, slapping, paddling, hot wax dripped on one's body, hair pulling, or verbal or physical humiliation; consensual abuse such as rough penetration with hands, penises, or sex toys, by a single partner or a group of people; or servitude, where one may be treated as a pet animal, a beast of burden, or a human slave. Bottoms and tops may switch roles or maintain consistency over the course of many sexual encounters.

Coitus Also known as sexual intercourse, copulation, or vaginal intercourse, coitus is the insertion of the penis into the vagina, followed by rhythmic rubbing back and forth that commonly leads to male orgasm. Women may orgasm during coitus, but because coitus was socially defined until recently as a reproductive practice, it was not traditionally considered to have been completed unless the male ejaculated sperm into the woman's body.

Coprophilia Also called *scat*, coprophilia is sexual response related to the smell or taste of feces or to seeing someone defecate, either by themselves or on another person. Sexual practices enjoying contemporary notoriety that incorporate aspects of coprophilia include the *dirty Sanchez*, in which a man wipes feces from his penis or finger on another person's face after anal sex.

Cunnilingus Cunnilingus, or oral sex on a woman, is the stimulation of the genitals of the woman with lips, mouth, or tongue. The clitoris can be licked or sucked, as can the vaginal lips, and the vagina can also be penetrated with the tongue. This practice may or may not be continued to orgasm. It does not carry the cultural freight of fellatio, as often it is considered masculine for a man to lick a woman's genitals. Cunnilingus between women is thought to be a common lesbian sexual practice, though this is not necessarily true. Cunnilingus between women is prominently featured in heterosexual pornography, and the sight of two women licking each other's genitals is considered arousing for heterosexual men.

Cybersex Cybersex refers to sex-related activities, products, and services having to do with the Internet. Cybersex includes sexual arousal fostered between individuals or groups through games, film and video clips, computer animation, chat rooms, bulletin boards, instant messaging services, web cameras, Internet porn, and other sources.

Erotic Fantasy Erotic fantasy is defined as reading, watching, imagining, telling, or acting out sexual fantasies with or without a partner. Erotic fantasies can involve stories, scenarios, dreams, novels, film and television, or music. Imagination is the biggest factor in erotic fantasies, which are usually more arousing as fantasies than they would be if acted out in *real* life.

Erotic Massage Erotic massage is a sensual and sexually arousing body massage that sometimes includes stimulation of the sexual organs with hands, body, or mouth. An erotic message may or may not culminate in orgasm, which is sometimes referred to as a *happy ending*. Erotic message can be a form of sex work, a part of sex therapy, or simply a sexual practice between partners.

Exhibitionism Exhibitionism is sexual arousal achieved by taking off one's clothes or exposing the genitals, performing sex acts, or masturbating in front of others, usually strangers. Having sex in public places where one might be caught is considered a kind of exhibitionism, as is a preference for public nudity.

Fellatio Oral sex on a man, called fellatio, involves licking or sucking the penis with the mouth, lips, and tongue. It can also involve licking or sucking the scrotal sacs. This action may or may not be continued to orgasm, and the partner may or may not swallow the ejaculate. Although fellatio has gained popularity among heterosexuals in the latter part of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries, it has historically been considered degrading, and many men still consider fellatio improper for a wife but proper for a prostitute to perform. Male–male fellation is considered a common homosexual sexual practice. Because of this, the sexual practice of male–male fellatio is synonymous with homosexuality among homophobic men in mainstream U. S. culture, and use of the epithet *cocksucker* is a common form of homophobic insult that relies on the assumption that any man low enough to suck another man's penis is worthy of contempt.

Conversely, among the male population of some Melanesian, Australian, and Papua New Guinea tribes, a tradition of adolescent males ingesting the semen of adult males is considered a vital ritual of manhood. Boys are fed mother's milk until just before puberty, when they are taken away from women and brought into a society of men. It is thought that in order to become men, they must be fed semen, or man's milk, and that without this they will have no semen of their own and be unable to father children. Unlike cultures that believe males lose masculinity when they suck another man's penis, these peoples believe males gain masculinity, fertility, and power through ritualized fellatio.

Felching Felching is licking semen out of the anus after anal intercourse. It can also refer to licking semen out of the vagina after vaginal intercourse.

Fetishism Fetishism is sexual arousal in response to an object, such as a boot or baseball bat; to a practice, such as wearing animal costumes or military uniforms; or to nongenital parts of the body, such as feet, breasts, legs, elbows, armpits, hair, or ears. Fetishes vary widely and might include items of clothing, such as shoes, underwear, opposite-gender dress; materials, such as leather, latex, rubber, feathers, or silk; or body parts. Some might consider the use of sex toys to be a fetishistic practice, though others might see toys as an extension of the sexual act or acts and not the thing in itself.

Fisting Fisting involves inserting a hand into the rectum or vagina of a sexual partner, sometimes forming a fist during or after insertion. Usually the fist is moved in a rhythmic motion once inside the partner's body.

Foot Fetishism Also called *podophilia*, foot fetishism is sexual arousal from viewing, handling, rubbing against, or kissing the feet and toes, as well as the shoes, socks, or boots, of another person.

Foreplay Foreplay describes sexual practices other than heterosexual sexual intercourse, and includes sexual activity such as touching, kissing, licking, massaging, hugging, and other types of bodily contact that promote sexual excitement (erection or vaginal lubrication). This type of sexual activity may or may not lead to orgasm and does not necessarily lead to sexual intercourse, although it is most often understood as a prelude (*fore*) to heterosexual vaginal intercourse. Homosexual sex between men or between women does not involve penis–vagina sexual intercourse and so does not have the interest in distinguishing one kind of sexual practice from another, or earlier stages of sexual relations from later stages that follow it, as conveyed by a term such as *foreplay*.

Frottage Frottage is sexual arousal achieved by rubbing against another person, including nonconsensual rubbing against strangers in public places. Frottage can be practiced between men or between men and women and in its consensual form is a time-honored homosexual sexual alternative to oral sex and anal intercourse. It may include *intercruel intercourse*, which involves inserting the penis between the thighs of a partner; *frotting*, in which penises are rubbed together as a couple embraces; and *mammary intercourse*, where the penis is rubbed between the woman's breasts. Frottage is considered a safe sexual practice that reduces the likelihood of HIV transmission and has enjoyed a resurgence in popularity in recent years.

Furries Also sometimes known as plushies, furries are people who enjoy wearing anthropomorphic animal costumes. The media has portrayed them as people looking for nontraditional sexual experiences, but many furries insist that they are merely a kind of fandom, like Star Trek *Trekkers* or *Trekkies*. Nevertheless, there are furry or plushie groups interested in dating and sex within their interest group, as is true of other fan subcultural groups.

Group Sex Group sex is sexual activity between more than two partners at the same time in one place. It is sometimes called an orgy, though group sex can involve couples next to each other, threesomes, daisy chains, or gang bangs. Threesomes may be composed of three men; three women; or some combination of men and women, where two men have sex with one woman or two women have sex with one man. Larger groups can form and are called daisy chains if the person one is having sex with is also having sex with the person next to him or her and so on. Gang bangs are consensual scenarios where a group of men line up to have intercourse with one person, either male or female. A nonconsensual gang bang, where a person is violated by others against their will, is called a gang rape.

Incest Incest is sexual contact between closely related individuals, such as siblings; or children and their parents, grandparents, aunts, or uncles. Incest violates sociocultural or religious norms or laws concerning kinship and sexual activity. Definitions of the type of kinship within which sex is forbidden vary widely between cultures; in some cultures first cousins may marry; in others, cousins may have sexual relations but not marry; and still others consider such relationships to be incestuous and therefore completely forbidden.

Intercourse Intercourse is understood to involve insertion of the erect penis into some orifice, such as the vagina, anus, or mouth. It may also be used to describe some forms of frottage, such as interfemoral (intercrural) intercourse or mammary intercourse. Intercrural or interfemoral intercourse is inserting and moving the penis between the thighs of a partner, whereas mammary intercourse involves inserting and moving the penis between a woman's breasts.

The Kama Sutra is a Hindu treatise by a writer known as Vatsyayana written during the Classical Age of India (320–540 CE) and delineating various sitting, standing, and recumbent heterosexual sexual positions. It was translated by Sir Richard Burton (1821–1890) in 1883 and exists in various photographic, illustrated, film, and animated forms. Contemporary lesbian and gay male versions of the text exist as well, and kama sutra is understood today as another name for a sex manual.

Masturbation Masturbation is manual stimulation of oneself or a partner for sexual pleasure and can be penetrative or nonpenetrative. Mutual masturbation is sexual activity in which partners stimulate each other's genitals with hands or sex toys. Masturbating a man is often described as giving someone a *hand job*.

Necrophilia Necrophilia is sexual activity or obsession with a corpse. It is seen as a disorder or as signaling an underlying disorder. It is thought to be rare.

Nymphomania Nymphomania is an archaic and disparaging term used to refer to a very sexually active woman, implying excessive or uncontrollable desire. It was once considered unusual and even pathological for a woman to be sexually active, especially without pay. The term has been replaced by the ubiquitous *whore*, another sexist epithet that functions in a similar way.

Oral Intercourse Also called oral sex, oral intercourse includes cunnilingus, fellatio, anilingus, felching, and rimming.

Paraphilia Paraphilia is sexual arousal or orgasm dependent upon a sexual practice that is outside of social norms. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV-TR* lists the paraphilias as exhibitionism, fetishism, frotteurism, pedophilia, sexual masochism, sexual sadism, transvestic fetishism, and voyeurism.

Pederasty Pederasty is a term signifying love, friendship, sexual attraction, and sometimes sexual relations between an adult man and a pubescent boy between twelve and seventeen years of age. Pederasty was understood as an institutionalized relationship in ancient Greek society, officially sanctioned as long as it was consensual and mutually beneficial. Some relationships were sexual, although chaste pederasty was also championed as a form of self-control for both partners. The man was expected to mentor the boy in various ways and help him attain manhood; the boy was expected to delight and inspire the man to virtuous living and great deeds. Classical Greek pederasty is quite different from pedophilia, as pedophilia is a sexual attraction to children and includes girls as well as boys, and Greek pederasty excluded children and girls.

Pederastic relationships are known outside of the Greek tradition, and there are many societies in which the principal homosexual love object for males is the adolescent boy. Such relationships have been known in Korea, Japan, China, and many Islamic countries where contact between males and females is limited. Pederasty is institutionalized in Papua New Guinea, where men and boys have sexual relations until the boys marry. Pederasty

was defended in poetry and philosophy in late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Germany, England, and the United States, but by the late twentieth century, it was mostly out of favor largely because of strict sex-offender laws seeking to limit sexual contact between legal adults and minors below the age of consent.

Pedophilia Pedophilia is the sexual arousal for an adult obtained by sexual contact with or fantasies about children and is considered a pathological sexual disorder, or paraphilia.

Phone Sex Telephone or phone sex is a kind of virtual sex consisting of sexually explicit conversation between two or more persons using the telephone. Usually one or more of the participants masturbates during the conversation, and details of this masturbation are candidly related to other listeners as part of the conversation. Phone sex conversations may include sexual commands and suggestions, sexual stories and confessions, and frank discussion of sensitive sexual topics. The best-known cliché of phone sex is the opening line, “What are you wearing?” Phone sex can be part of an intimate monogamous relationship when lovers are separated by distance, casual sexual contact between people interested in a network of virtual sex partners, or a commercial transaction where one person pays another person to verbally arouse them.

Role Playing Role playing is the acting out of sexual fantasies, sometimes using costumes, masks, or props. It may incorporate aspects of sadomasochism.

Sadomasochism Sadomasochism (SM) is the consensual use of domination or pain for sexual arousal and stimulation. It is a dynamic that usually involves playing out dominant and submissive roles, where the so-called sadist inflicts pain or humiliation and appears to enjoy it while the so-called masochist becomes aroused and satisfied receiving it. Derogatory terms such as *sadist* and *masochist* have been largely replaced by words such as *top* and *bottom*, because these terms are less judgmental and emphasize the role-playing dimension of the SM sexual dynamic. Certain films, such as prison movies and military dramas, rely on stereotypical versions of sadism and masochism for plot and character development. However, SM sex is a highly ritualized form of role-playing that involves many rules and safety words to protect its participants. It may or may not involve genital stimulation, and thus may or may not lead to orgasm. It may be done in couples in private, in groups, or in public scenes divided between participants and spectators. It can be heterosexual, lesbian, or gay. Feminine women who *top* other women or men are sometimes referred to as dominatrixes. Although many

elements of sadomasochism, such as bondage and discipline, leather and latex fetishism, and role-playing, have entered mainstream sexual culture, most people still consider SM sexual practices *kinky* and subcultural.

Safe Sex Safe sex refers to sexual practices that reduce the risk of HIV transmission. These practices include various forms of rubbing, such as interfemoral intercourse, frotting, masturbation, mutual masturbation, manual stimulation wearing latex gloves, role playing and sadomasochistic scenarios where body fluids are not exchanged, phone sex, cybersex, and anal, oral, or vaginal sex using condoms or dental dams. A broader definition of safe sex might ideally include precautions to ensure against pregnancy, violence, and coercion.

Sex Toys Sex toys are objects designed and used for sexual pleasure, such as dildos, vibrators, nipple clamps, butt plugs, cock rings, sex dolls, and penis sleeves. Sex toys also include fetish wear, such as leather, latex or rubber clothing, boots, and high-heeled shoes. Implements used for bondage and discipline, such as handcuffs and wrist restraints, paddles, whips, harnesses, hoods, and gags, are sex toys, as are mainstream items used to enhance sexual pleasure, such as lingerie, erotica, and pornography.

Sixty-nining Sixty-nining refers to mutual, simultaneous oral sex. Two men, two women, or a man and a woman can sixty-nine.

Sodomy At one time sodomy could be defined as any sexual act that was not penile–vaginal penetration. The term usually refers to oral or anal intercourse, but various legal definitions may include other activities, such as bestiality.

Swinging Also called mate swapping or wife swapping, swinging is exchanging partners between couples for sexual recreation or having sex together with at least one other additional person. It is thought to have originated among United States Air Force pilots and their spouses on bases during World War II and the Korean War, and it subsequently spread to the suburbs.

Tantric Sexual Practices From *tantra*, a Sanskrit word meaning *woven together*, tantric sexual practices are part of a system of Hindu yoga that worships the union of men and women. Historically, the movement has its roots in the heterosexual physical and spiritual union of man and woman, which leads to a form of sexual ritual in which slow, nonorgasmic sex is believed to be a path to experience the divine. In the Buddhist tradition, tantra refers to ritual texts that urge the cultivation of sensual

pleasure. Recently, gay and lesbian interpretations of tantric sex have been developed as well.

Topping Topping is taking the dominant role in a consensual disciplinary, bondage, or sadomasochistic sexual scenario. The top distributes punishment or exacts servitude from the bottom, whose pleasure it is to serve or be dominated, humiliated, or hurt. Tops often dress in clothing meant to convey authority, such as military uniforms and leather. Professional female tops who exaggerate their femininity are sometimes called dominatrixes.

Transvestism Transvestism, or cross-dressing, is dressing in clothes traditionally considered those of the opposite sex. Some people feel compelled to cross-dress in order to experience sexual arousal; others do it in order to experiment with gender identity. Many transvestites are heterosexual men who are not interested in physical gender change or homosexual object choice. Other transvestites are homosexual men, or *drag queens*, who develop elaborate feminine personas for entertainment purposes or as part of their sexual and gender expression but who are not interested in changing their physical or social gender to female.

Still other male cross-dressers are interested in becoming women and cross-dress as part of a gradual transition from male to female. Some butch women cross-dress to indicate that they are lesbians, though they may be uninterested in becoming men. Others cross-dress as part of a transition from female to male. Women who dress as men for entertainment purposes are called *drag kings*. In opera there is a long tradition of women playing young men; these are called *trouser roles*, or *travesti* roles. There is also a long tradition of women who passed as men for economic, social, or sexual reasons, living undetected for long periods of time, marrying other women, and serving in the military.

Tribadism Tribadism is the practice in which a woman arouses herself by rubbing her genitals upon another woman's body, genitals, or an object such as a pillow, stimulating the clitoris to orgasm. Because this was once believed to be a common lesbian practice, *tribad* was a term for lesbian.

Vaginal Intercourse Also called coitus, vaginal intercourse is heterosexual penis–vagina sex.

Vanilla *Vanilla* is a term originally used by SM practitioners to signify sex that was not sadomasochistic or subcultural in any way. Vanilla is considered by many people to be the safest, blandest, most boring flavor of ice cream, and SM people used this notion of vanilla to describe as boring mainstream sexual practices that

avored sentimentality and convention. Vanilla sex at its most conventional is heterosexual, married, missionary position vaginal intercourse. More broadly vanilla sex suggests a dynamic of equality, an ethos of tenderness and love, and the sense that sexual expression is emotionally and spiritually meaningful rather than casual. The opposite of vanilla is SM, suggesting that the more one incorporates the dynamics of dominance and submission, role-playing, fantasy, and fetishism into one's sexual relationships, the less vanilla they will be.

Violent Practices (Extreme) This describes practices in which someone becomes sexually aroused by hurting another human being, such as maiming, murder, or rape. Violent practices are behaviors linked to psychological disorders and are considered deeply antisocial and criminal. Maiming or murder is an extreme form of sadism in which a subject becomes sexually aroused by injuring or killing another person. This compulsive criminal behavior is often what drives serial killers. Rape is nonconsensual sexual intercourse (vaginal, anal, oral) or other sexual contact using physical force, threat, or coercion.

Rape fantasy, a form of sexual arousal achieved by fantasizing about being forced to engage in sexual activity or forcing a person to engage in sexual activity, does not imply an actual desire to be raped or to rape. More often rape fantasies merely express the desire to incorporate dominance and submission or forms of sadomasochism into consensual sexual relationships.

Voyeurism Voyeurism is sexual arousal achieved by watching other people undress or engage in sexual activity. It is related to *scopophilia*, the visual pleasure of an unobserved spectator coded as heterosexual and male, which film critics use to describe the eye of the camera in classical Hollywood cinema. The scopophilic gaze is most often a heterosexual male gaze interested in fetishizing women and observing their intimate lives. Voyeurism is also called *peeping*, and is catered to in *peep shows* in which women display themselves through windows to anonymous observers. *Peeping Tom* is a slang term for a voyeur and derives from the name of the one man said not to have averted his gaze when Lady Godiva rode naked through Coventry in the eleventh century to get her husband to repeal his taxes on the peasantry. Historians think Peeping Tom, who was supposedly struck blind for his voyeurism, was added to the legend in the seventeenth century as a cautionary lesson.

Watersports Also known as urolagnia or urophilia, *watersports* refers to sexual arousal at the scent, taste, or sight of urine. Watersports may include watching someone urinate, smelling urine, urinating on or being urinated on by a partner (also known as *golden showers*) or

drinking urine. Watersports may be practiced alone, in a couple, or in a group and can include same-sex or opposite-sex participants.

SEE ALSO *Oral Sex; Penetration.*

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Jaime Hovey

SEXUAL REVOLUTION

Within American popular thought, the sexual revolution occurred during the tumultuous and progressive time of the 1970s. The roots of this change in perceptions and practices of sexual behavior and understanding are found in the work of Alfred Kinsey, Bill Masters, and Gini Johnson (Heidenry 1997). Their work operates from a foundation created primarily by psychoanalysis and the work of Sigmund Freud, and Masters and Johnson drew on work by Margaret Sanger, Margaret Mead, and Clelia Mosher as well (Heidenry 1997). Kinsey and his colleagues in the field of sex, gender, and reproduction challenged Freudian ideas of male and female sexuality, which, at the time, were the dominant authority in issues of sexuality and upheld the white male heterosexual hegemony (Heidenry 1997). Kinsey's controversial studies, specifically his two books on human sexual behavior—*Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*—"proclaimed that nonmarital sex was not uncommon, that women experienced sexual pleasure, and that homosexuality was unusual but normal" (Bullough 2002).

This "second" sexual revolution was often perceived as "a revolution of mores and an erosion of morals" that turned the United States into a "sex-affirming culture" ("The Second Sexual Revolution" 1964). (The first sexual revolution is said to have emerged following World War I and alongside American modernism, when Americans rejected Victorian rules for sexual behavior.) During this historical moment, Americans broke many sexual taboos, including "interracial dating, open homo-

sexuality, communal living, casual nudity, and dirty language" and engaged in "eroticism, experimentation, and promiscuity" (Bondi and Holloran 2002). In some ways, this shift was facilitated by the increased availability of the birth control pill and other forms of contraception. Popular culture also responded to these growing trends, evidenced most visibly in the fashion and film industries. Women's clothing was made to "accentuate female sexuality" with products like miniskirts and halter tops, and pornography became a multi-billion-dollar industry (Bondi and Holloran 2002).

The pornography industry drew on 1960s artists who widely used nudity in their work to "challenge social convention" (Bondi and Holloran 2002). Pornography in the 1970s entered the mainstream with such films as *Deep Throat* (1972) and *Debbie Does Dallas* (1978). *Deep Throat* put pornography on the map and earned approximately \$600 million at the box office (director Gerard Damiano shot the film for only \$25,000) (Corliss 1997). Bernardo Bertolucci's 1972 film *Last Tango in Paris*, starring acclaimed actor Marlon Brando, also brought explicit sex to the mainstream movie-going audience. Despite its graphic sexual content (it was originally rated "X"), *Last Tango in Paris* earned Academy Award nominations for Best Actor and Best Director, in effect legitimating this type of film. Because these sexually explicit films were widely viewed, they also drew a flurry of responses, most notably from feminists and critics of the growing sexual revolution. Though the primary audience for such films was men, women also became consumers of pornography. *Playgirl* debuted in 1973, and "eroticized romance novels with titles such as *Royal Bondage* and *Sweet Savage Love* sold twenty million copies a year, primarily to women" (Bondi and Holloran 2002).

Another significant characteristic of the sexual revolution was the prevalence of open homosexuality. The presence of lesbians within the women's movement, as well as the incident at the Stonewall Inn and its aftermath, played a significant role in bringing homosexuality out of the closet and into the mainstream. As David Allyn recounts the incident in his 2000 study, on June 27, 1969, the mostly male patrons of the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar, in New York's Greenwich Village, were enjoying a typical evening of socializing when police raided the establishment. During the 1960s gay bars were (technically) illegal in New York City, as they were in most cities; police often raided these establishments, arresting the patrons. Following a night in jail, those arrested would find their names printed in the paper, which could lead to the loss of a job or a family if the man led a double life. The Stonewall incident began like many

other raids, but then a police officer clubbed a patron on the head and others tossed rocks at the windows of the bar. The ensuing violent conflict led to a weekend-long demonstration in the streets of Greenwich Village, in effect giving birth to the gay liberation movement.

In the wake of Stonewall, the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and the Gay Activist Alliance (GAA) were formed. “GLF stood for coalitions with other progressive groups, while the GAA, which took a single-issue stance, became more influential in the movement” (Cruikshank 2002). Emerging from the activist work of these groups and individuals within the gay liberation movement was the phrase “the personal is the political.” In line with the sexual revolution, this idea “called on everyone, not just the sexual minority, to rethink their most basic assumptions about love, sex, marriage, [and] family” (Cruikshank 2002). It made the most private feelings and actions a political act. By making the personal political, gays and lesbians in the 1970s pushed for the legitimacy of homosexuality and equality for homosexuals.

In the women’s movement, lesbian feminists became vocal and influential participants, and they integrated concerns from both the women’s movement and the gay liberation movement. As lesbian feminist Martha Shelley noted in a 1969 essay, “the lesbian, through her ability to obtain love and sexual satisfaction from other women, is freed of dependence on men for love, sex, and money,” but she “still must compete with men in the job market, facing the same job and salary discrimination as her straight sister.” Lesbian feminists embraced the idea that “the personal is political,” and their challenge of white male heterosexual assumptions about sexuality (specifically the belief that the penis was the focus of sexual pleasure), proffered primarily by Freud, became a political act. In other words, sex between two women and the achievement of orgasm sans penis in and of itself became a political act. They also challenged myths surrounding the female orgasm, bringing into the mainstream—using their own experiences as anecdotal evidence—much of the scientific work conducted by Kinsey and his colleagues. In addition to challenging heteronormativity, activists like Shelley saw lesbian feminism as a struggle for human rights, alongside other minorities fighting for their own civil rights (Shelley 1969).

The sexual revolution did not proceed without criticism. Conservatives, including President Richard Nixon, argued that sexual promiscuity was “immoral and dangerous, ultimately compromising social discipline” (Bondi and Holloran 2002). Others drew connections between the various activities occurring during the sexual revolution and rising divorce rates, an increase in the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, and even “the failure of the United States to win the war in Vietnam” (Bondi and Holloran 2002). Religious institutions shared many of the same views and expressed concern about

single motherhood and premarital sex. The use of birth control did not seem to deter critics, who pointed toward the increase in teenage pregnancies as a symptom of the sexual revolution (Bondi and Holloran 2002). Many also blamed the women’s movement for the rise in teenage pregnancies because many feminists advocated for female sexual awareness and liberation. Yet criticism also came from within the women’s movement itself, specifically regarding “the new sexual adventurism and the growth of pornography” (Bondi and Holloran 2002). Some feminists believed pornography degraded and objectified women, and many women saw promiscuous sexual behavior as detaching intimacy and meaning from the sex act.

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Michelle Parke

SEXUAL SUBCULTURES

The term *subculture* signifies a class or group that is smaller than the larger mainstream culture and that possesses beliefs, values, or practices that may be at variance with the larger culture. Subculture comes into English in the 1930s as a term used primarily by sociologists and psychologists to distinguish an aberrant and sometimes inferior population; by the late 1970s, however, cultural studies in the United Kingdom recognized subcultural social formations, especially youth subcultures, as a pervasive feature of many twentieth-century societies. Modern youth subcultures take shape around consumerism and popular cultural trends; the cultural critic Dick

Hebdige argues that youth subcultures in the United Kingdom, such as punks, mods, beats, teddy boys, and Rastafarians, identified themselves and each other primarily through the manipulation of style and fashion and the use of symbolic objects to confer group identity.

Hebdige's primary interest is in defining and describing youth subcultures organized around musical tastes and fashion, but his paradigmatic subcultural object is homosexual writer Jean Genet's (1910–1986) tube of Vaseline, a lubricant Genet claimed to carry with him as a defiant badge of his sexual identity in an era when homosexuality was against the law. The sexual revolution of the 1960s, a countercultural rejection of established sexual and gender norms, led to new permissiveness in European, South American, North American, Australian, and white South African sexual and gender behavior, though rural areas remained more traditional than urban areas. Sexual subcultures proliferated as part of this permissive social climate, and as with other subcultures, they adopted certain styles of gesture and fashion to distinguish themselves from the mainstream.

HOMOSEXUALS, GAY MEN, AND LESBIANS

Homosexuals constituted the largest sexual subculture of the twentieth century, though a growing tolerance for homosexuals in Europe and North America, the relaxation of sodomy laws, and the influence of gay style have all made homosexuals part of the contemporary mainstream in many urban areas. Homosexuality and its gender expressions were illegal, except in theatrical contexts, in most of the United States and much of the world until the last third of the twentieth century, driving gay men and lesbians underground and contributing to the formation of a thriving subcultural world of bars, nightclubs and theaters, social organizations, and, eventually, political groups. By the 1950s there were bars for men and bars for women in many cities. Sometimes homosexual men and women shared bars and nightclubs as a survival tactic, socializing in same-sex groups when possible and then quickly integrating in the event of a police raid. Social and political groups, such as the Mattachine Society for men or the Daughters of Bilitis for women, first socialized in private homes and spaces where separatism was possible then became increasingly public throughout the 1960s. Because gay establishments were illegal, bars that catered to gay men and lesbians were often run by organized crime and charged exorbitant drink prices to customers with nowhere else to go.

Gay men are a subset of the larger sexual subcultural category of homosexuals, and the word *homosexual* is used as a synonym for gay men rather than for lesbians. Gay men before 1969 recognized each other primarily by the fashion and behavioral codes that conveyed subcul-

tural membership to others in the know. In various decades a green carnation, red tie, pinky ring, dyed hair, plucked eyebrows, a brightly colored shirt, or tight, fashionable clothes might signal effeminacy, and thus, by extension, male homosexuality. Gay men have always had a niche in mainstream culture as hairdressers, choreographers, dancers, fashion designers, and stage actors. They were often tolerated in entertainment society though never encouraged to cultivate openness or pride in their sexual identities. After the 1969 Stonewall rebellion in New York's Greenwich Village launched the modern gay rights movement, gay fashion entered the mainstream. In the 1970s the *clone* look of short hair, big mustache, and aviator sunglasses started in the San Francisco gay community and moved outward. Gay men adopted a handkerchief code to signal sexual practices, such as sadomasochism, watersports, or scat, to each other.

In the early twenty-first century gay style in hair, music, fashion, design, and even sex has so entered the mainstream that homosexuality can no longer be considered a sexual subculture. Its expressions are various and diverse and can hardly be said to characterize a common set of values or practices. Shaving the head, a fashion trend that started as a gesture of solidarity with gay men losing their hair because of HIV/AIDS in the 1990s, quickly became the vogue among straight men as well, as did the goatee that usually accompanied it. There are promiscuous gay men, monogamous gay men, fashionable gay men, butch gay men, sloppy gay men, conservative gay men, and radical gay men in many parts of North America, South America, Africa, Europe, and Australia. Some categories of gay life have become all-encompassing enough to constitute subcultures in relation to a larger gay culture; these include leathermen, bears, and feeders. Leathermen run the spectrum from gay men fond of leather clothing to sadomasochists who enjoy sexual role playing to men who live every day in dominant/submissive, master/slave relationships. Bears are big, hairy men and their admirers. Feeders are a variant of dominant–submissive relationships where one partner assists the other in growing as fat as possible.

Lesbians are also a subset of the homosexual subculture, though often existing on its fringes. European and North American lesbians in the 1920s often distinguished themselves and recognized each other by adopting a masculine style that included tailored suits, ties, dress shirts, vests, short hair, and competence. By the 1940s many lesbians indulged their fondness for uniforms and their patriotism by joining the armed services. Among midcentury lesbians, membership in a sexual subculture might have been signaled by becoming part of a butch–femme couple in which one woman dressed and comported herself as more masculine than did her

stereotypically feminine partner. Feminism steered many lesbians away from femininity in the 1970s, and flannel shirts and Birkenstock sandals became a middle-class lesbian uniform. The 1980s and 1990s brought back butch-femme style, femininity in the form of the hyper-girlish lipstick lesbian, and the androgynous look of the shaved head and slender figure known variously as the andro, grrrl, or boi. Testosterone became part of lesbian fashion, beginning in San Francisco in the 1990s, where many butch lesbians explored their masculinity and sometimes decided to transition into female-to-male subjects, or F2Ms. Male impersonation, especially as entertainment, gained popularity among lesbians in the late 1990s, and by 2000 drag kings and drag king shows were a fixture of lesbian culture in many cities. Lesbian style entered the mainstream in the 1980s with the androgynous, soft-butched suits, ties, and short hair of musicians such as Annie Lennox, and survived into the 1990s with the crew cuts and shaved heads of many Riot Grrrls and Queer Nation activists, but has been largely absent since the mid-1990s. Lesbians of the early twenty-first century tend to be either stereotypically feminine or sporting gay male hairstyles such as the butch flip or faux-hawk.

QUEER-IDENTIFIED

Queers constitute a subcultural gender and sexual category that rejects normativity and celebrates visibility and activism. The queer movement started in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a coalition between lesbians, gays, transgender people, sadomasochist and leathersex radicals, bisexuals, and queer-identified, nonnormative heterosexuals. Queer was an inclusive category; if one identified as queer it did not matter what gender or sexuality one expressed. Queer style included leather, tattoos, brightly colored punk hair or shaved heads, and body modification such as piercing, hormone therapy, and transsexual surgical procedures. The queer movement helped spawn activist groups such as Queer Nation, ACT UP, the Lesbian Avengers, Riot Grrrls, and Transsexual Menace, among others. It also coincided with an explosion of academic queer theory in the humanities and social sciences. A conservative political and academic climate, economic constraints, and the trend of gender normativity and nonqueer identification among teenagers and young adults have all led to the speculation that *queer* is over; this debate, however, should help maintain the presence of queer in the social lexicon for some time to come.

NONGAY- OR NONQUEER-IDENTIFIED

Down low, or *on the down low*, is a term used for African-American men who have sex with other men but do not

identify with gay culture or even consider themselves to be homosexual. Men on the down low are often married or have girlfriends, and most are in the closet. They do not identify themselves as a sexual subculture in the way that out gay men identify themselves, but they do combine attributes of masculine comportment and hip-hop/thug street fashion with gestures of gay cruising, such as prolonged looking and repeated sidelong glances, to signify to each other that they are looking for sex. Because members of this group are sexually promiscuous but do not identify as gay, they may be in denial about the necessity of safe sexual practices and have been identified by safe-sex advocates and health professionals as at high risk for HIV transmission.

Swingers are a sexual subgroup of mostly middle-class heterosexual married couples who exchange husbands and wives with each other for sex or have threesomes with people outside of the couple. Swingers find each other through personal ads, friends, and neighbors. Also called *wife swapping*, swinging is seen as a practice confined to the 1960 and 1970s suburbs or as something that occasionally took place after wild parties. Yet swinging started among Air Force pilots and their wives during World War II and the Korean War, moved into the suburbs, and gained popularity during the sexual revolution of the 1960s. Swinging continues in the early twenty-first century as an avenue of heterosexual sexual adventure and bisexual exploration in North America and Europe, and there are swingers clubs all over the world. Urban swinging hit an upsurge in the 1990s, beginning with parties in London. Swinging is also called *the lifestyle* by its proponents, who recognize each other by behavioral cues such as flirtatiousness with others when one's partner is present.

Nonidentified and bicurious people claim not to identify with either gay or straight sexual communities but usually tacitly pass for straight. Some nonidentified youth are out as pansexual but do not feel they have anything in common with gay men and lesbians; others pass through this phase on their way to becoming gay or lesbian. The same is true for bisexual or bicurious people, who may experiment with same-sex partners or relationships as part of a heterosexual swinging lifestyle or may be bisexual on their way to embracing lesbianism or gay male sexuality. Bisexuals are often queer-identified and may signal sexual availability by adopting gay or lesbian gender, hair, and fashion styles, or by displaying body modifications, such as tongue or nipple piercing, that indicate an interest in sexual experimentation.

LEATHER

Leather communities can be primarily heterosexual, gay, or lesbian. They are usually sadomasochistic, involved in dominant-submissive dynamics, or both, and are

distinguished by a preference for leather clothing and accessories, uniforms, and latex and rubber wear. Leather communities enjoy sexual role-playing scenarios, games, spectacles, and private encounters. Roles are primarily those of tops—masters, mistresses, doms, dominators, or dominatrices; and bottoms—submissives, slaves, or boys/bois. Some people enjoy switching roles, though many do not. Bondage and domination, or BD, and sadomasochism, or SM, are now commonly grouped under one set of initials, BDSM or BD/SM. The BDSM leather sensibility entered the sexual and fashion mainstream in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and these days a little bondage play is no longer considered kinky or subcultural. Few people outside the leather community, however, live their roles as often or as intensely as do those who consider themselves part of the BDSM subculture, some of whom are masters or slaves every hour of every day of their lives.

SMALLER OR MORE MARGINAL SUBCULTURES

Ex-gays consist of gay men and lesbians who have gone through some sort of program, usually affiliated with a religious denomination, to make them into heterosexuals. Theirs is a lifestyle choice that may involve heterosexual marriage, often to a fellow ex-gay person of the opposite sex. Some members claim to have been *cured* of their homosexuality, though many former ex-gays, as well as many health care professionals, are unconvinced that it is possible to change one's sexual orientation. Ex-gays are usually religiously affiliated and often signal this affiliation as part of their group identity.

Man-boy lovers are men who feel that consensual sexual relationships between grown men and boys under the legal age of consent should be legal. Their umbrella group, the North America Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), has been the subject of police and FBI persecution since its founding in the late 1970s. Although NAMBLA still meets occasionally, it has been driven underground by ostracism from both mainstream culture and the gay community, which has long sought to distance itself from stereotypes of gay men as pedophiles. In the early twenty-first century little of the organization remains outside of a web site maintained by a few of its members, and it is considered nearly defunct.

Infantilists, or adult babies (AB), are adults who are sexually aroused by dressing and acting as infants. Many enjoy wearing and playing with diapers as well, which makes them adult babies who are diaper lovers (AB/DL). Most are heterosexual males and enjoy being helpless or having no responsibilities. Infantilism involves the fantasy of being a child but has nothing to do with desiring children. Infantilists usually find each other through personal ads and Internet groups and sites.

Plushies and furies are variations on people who enjoy dressing up as either stuffed animals or real animals. Plushies are people who enjoy looking like a stuffed animal or toy; furies are people who enjoy wearing suits that resemble real animals. Furry fandom also includes enjoyment of the humanization of animals. Some plushies and furies are merely hobbyists who enjoy socializing in their characters; others are sexually aroused as plushies or furies and may seek sex with other plushies or furies as an extension of their socializing. They also find each other through Internet groups and sites as well as conventions.

Polygamists are people who have more than one husband or more than one wife; a subset of polygamy is polygyny, the practice of one man marrying several women. Polygamy is officially against the law in most parts of the world but is still practiced as polygyny in many rural places as a matter of custom. In the United States polygamy is still practiced by a breakaway sect of the Mormon Church known as the Fundamentalist Latter-day Saints, or FLDS. Mainstream Mormons, or Latter-day Saints (LDS), stopped new polygamous marriages in 1890 as a condition of Utah statehood, but some marriages continued into the 1920s. Although in the early twenty-first century the LDS church officially frowns on polygamy, many prominent LDS families in no way affiliated with the FLDS are said to retain the practice of polygamy. The FLDS is mainly concentrated in the West in such places as Colorado City, Arizona. Its members wear traditional clothing, and women often wear homemade, pioneer-style, long dresses.

Trans or transgender people are technically a gender community or set of gender communities rather than sexual subcultures. However, the long conflation of sex and gender in the gay and lesbian communities, which many trans people originally embraced as their own communities before deciding to transition, combined with the particular sexual issues of transgender people, especially those not wishing to have genital surgery, can lead to a solidarity among transgender people that can include sexual partnering. Transmen may identify as queer, gay, or straight, and male-to-female transgender women may also identify as lesbian or heterosexual. They may be members of other sexual subcultures, such as leather and BDSM. They may choose to identify as trans or decide to pass as men or women in the general population. Still, many need the support of a trans community, and sometimes this support leads to sexual relationships. The fluidity between the gay and lesbian community and the trans community also facilitates queer partnerships of various kinds, as transmen may continue to also identify with lesbians and transgender women with gay men, in various ways relating to mutual marginalization as members of subcultural sexual and

gender communities. Trans people may signal their membership in the trans community by wearing clothing identifying them as trans, through personal ads and Internet sites and web pages, in queer and trans-friendly organizations, and through body modification practices, such as piercing and tattooing, that ally them with other socially and sexually experimental people.

Celibates, virgins, and born-again virgins are those who have decided to abstain from sexual activity for a certain amount of time or the rest of their lives, claim to be waiting until marriage to have sex, or have had premarital sex but have since decided to abstain from further sexual activity until they are married. While the so-called virginity movement has been gaining popularity among U.S. teenagers in the early twenty-first century, it is also true that many teenagers who claim to be virgins or born-again virgins engage in sexual activities other than heterosexual intercourse, such as anal sex, oral sex, and mutual masturbation. They signal their belonging in this sexual subculture by wearing jewelry and T-shirts with slogans espousing virginity. Although they claim not to have sex, their lifestyle and fashion choices advocate certain sexual practices, such as celibacy and no sex outside of marriage, that are outside the practices of mainstream European and North American cultures, and virgins and celibates should be considered a sexual subculture.

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Jaime Hovey

SEXUAL TENSION

Sexual tension refers to often hidden or suppressed feelings of anticipation, excitement, attraction, and desire that may occur in relation to another person. Sexual tension characterizes and is a necessary part of sexual flirtations, courtships, and sexual foreplay. In the context

of the sexual, the term *tension* refers to sets of unresolved, sometimes unidentified, feelings of excitement, which are disguised by an appearance of outward calm or even disdain. Sexual tension is an intrinsic part of traditions of European and North American narrative, appearing as a feature in the plots of many novels, films, and television shows and often drawn out to pique and retain viewer interest.

Part of the tension of sexual tension comes from the difference between what the parties feel and what they reveal. This produces a series of practices, such as verbal sparring, disagreement, flirtation, and touching, that the parties and witnesses to the tension translate as sexual interest. The parties themselves often deny this tension for a period of time, as the sexual tension produced by not identifying the interest as sexual is often pleasurable. Another part of the tension of sexual tension is whether or when sexual interest will become overt. In this context tension refers to the sense that a state of affairs is stretched to the limit; that an apparent balance will soon explode. Sexual tension exists as parties wait to see how long it will take for what appears to be calm disinterest to become violent passion.

Sexual tension may comprise the first stages of a sexual relation, provide pleasure in an indefinite extension, or remain permanently unresolved. Outward manifestations of sexual tension may assume various forms, from one person ignoring the other, to longing glances from afar, to friendly flirtation, to arguments and hostility. As noted previously many of these expressions of sexual tension are familiar clues to the incipient romance of characters in novels, plays, and films. The way that characters look at one another is one cue for sexual tension in film; disagreement and annoyance often foreshadows intimate involvement.

Sexual tension is often palpable both to the parties involved and to those around them. The feeling of tension perceived by others may be the result of the parties' communicating excitement through agitation, excessive talking or movement, paying persistent or obsessive attention to the other person while denying an interest, and engaging in unnecessary or illogical behaviors designed to enable contact. In addition, both parties and witnesses may pick up even more subtle physiological and chemical clues, such as pheromones, adrenalin, and general agitation and nervousness.

Generally in Europe and North America the accepted course of sexual relations involves an initial period of sexual tension, during which flirtation and delayed physical contact increase desire and intensify sexual feelings when they are eventually released. This first stage, however, need not be acted upon, particularly if one of the parties is in a position of disadvantage, as happens in relations between students and teachers, or in

the case of good friends who prefer not to alter their friendship by becoming sexually intimate.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay*.

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Judith Roof

SEXUALITY

Sexuality can refer to sexed beings, reproductive function, genital expression, a libidinal drive, the nature of sexual desire, or sexual identity. At one time it was assumed that all beings were sexually oriented toward heterosexual sexual behavior, thus the biological *sex* of a person was thought to indicate his or her *sexuality*. However, as homosexuality demonstrates, one's biological sex does not necessarily predict one's sexual behavior, nor does sexual behavior reflect biological sex. Thus, sexuality is understood in the early twenty-first century to refer only to sexual behavior and not to gender or biological sex (though these factors may influence it).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENCE OF SEXUALITY

The term *sexual* comes into English in the seventeenth century as a scientific term used to describe the male or female characteristics of plants and animals. It was assumed that these sexed characteristics facilitated reproduction, thus leading to the notion of sexuality at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a quality of sexed species having to do with the expression of reproductive function. During the nineteenth century, sexuality gradually became a term that described the behaviors and identities of individuals. As European political and medical institutions grew more interested in managing populations, sexuality became an important branch of scientific knowledge in the European and North American world. Historian Michel Foucault points out that this modern science of sexuality, or *scientia sexualis*, is markedly different from the *ars erotica*, or erotic arts, of ancient times. Whereas ancient erotic arts amplified pleasure as its own truth and reward, the science of sexuality produces knowledge about sexual behavior in order to control people.

According to Foucault, then, there is a history of sexuality insofar as there is a history of the science of sexuality as an instrument of control. But this instrument of control can be subverted because the same sexual

categories that science uses to label and control people can also give them a sexual identity. This sexual identity can help them organize as a group, and this group sexual identity can help them resist some of the control exerted upon them. Thus, men with same-sex desires labeled as homosexuals might recognize themselves as a group, organize, and fight for homosexual political rights. Foucault suggests that the more categories of abnormal sexual expression sexual science invents, the more types of perversity will flourish as a result of those categories.

FREUD'S WORK

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Sigmund Freud theorized that sexuality was one of the most important human impulses, or drives. In his 1905 *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1962), he named the sexual drive the *libido* and attempted to account for the wide variety of its expression in human beings by charting its development in infants and young children. Freud argued that infants experience pleasure in most of the zones of the body and that this pleasure is not organized for any function except itself. He called this unorganized pleasure *polymorphous perversity* and showed how the gendered practices of the *fin de siècle* (end of the century) European nuclear family and its larger culture helped organize polymorphous perversity into acceptable adult genital sexuality and heterosexual gender roles. According to Freud human beings are innately bisexual, able to desire men or women equally, and it is only with the organization of polymorphous perversity into genital sexual behavior that one recognizes sexuality as heterosexual or homosexual.

Freud believed that the organization of polymorphous perversity into genital sexuality was tied up with the assumption or rejection of traditional gender roles. Part of the difficult work of the castration complex is that all children desire their mother sexually, and this desire must be modified or redirected in order for adult heterosexuality to be possible. Freud maintained that sexuality becomes properly organized in children through the trauma of castration, which literally scares them straight. According to Freud little boys, upon seeing a woman's genitals for the first time, develop a fear of castration, which propels them toward following the rules of sexuality and gender. Little girls, on the other hand, upon seeing a penis, perceive themselves as castrated and disadvantaged and thus adopt femininity in order to get a man with a penis to give them a baby with a penis. Castration trauma is supposed to encourage little boys to identify with their fathers, become masculine, and desire women, and to encourage little girls to identify with their mothers, become feminine, and desire men, thus lining up gender roles and sexual behavior along so-called normal lines. Freud was most interested in

reproductive sexual function; the adult with abnormal gender behaviors, such as a man with extreme effeminacy, but with normal heterosexual desires was in his view much better off than the normally gendered person with homosexual desires, as the former would be able to find happiness in marriage whereas the latter would not.

Freud's theory of childhood sexuality and sexual perversity was a radical idea for his time, overturning Victorian ideals of children as asexual and innocent. So, too, was his theory of the innate bisexuality of all human beings and his account of how culture rather than nature organizes sexuality and gender roles. Freud viewed all sexual behavior as normal insofar as it made reproduction possible. He argued that even a behavior as seemingly bizarre as fetishism, which entails becoming sexually aroused by objects such as women's shoes, is normal and acceptable if it helps heterosexual sexual intercourse take place.

Freud's ideas about childhood sexuality and the innate bisexuality of all human beings remain radical ideas in many places into the twenty-first century. Even permissive societies still largely expect children under the age of sixteen to forgo sexual behavior, and a significant number of cultures around the world still view sex outside of marriage as taboo. Nevertheless, children and teenagers in most European and North American countries experiment with sexuality, sometimes constructing elaborate rationalizations defending certain sexual practices—such as anal and oral sex—as being outside of vaginal intercourse and, therefore, outside of the category of *real sex*. Notable exceptions include the tradition of adolescent males ingesting the semen of adult males—considered a vital ritual of manhood—among some Melanesian, Australian, and Papua New Guinea tribes—and traditions of permissiveness among Trobriand Islanders surrounding teenage sexual experimentation. In more conservative regions of India, Pakistan, and Nigeria, among others, prepubescent female children are still married off to older men, though officially this is either frowned upon or done with the stipulation that consummation only take place after puberty.

CONTEMPORARY UNDERSTANDING OF SEXUALITY

The legacy of Freud's time includes the notion that normal sexuality is defined as heterosexual vaginal intercourse, with all other sexual practices viewed as either subordinate to intercourse or as perverse deviations from it. At the turn of the twenty-first century, sexuality within marriage in more permissive countries and regions might include monogamous heterosexual intercourse, oral sex, anal sex, fetishism, bondage and domination or sadism and masochism (BDSM), swinging, polygamy, and homosexuality. Ideals of companionate marriage and the practice of birth control in the twentieth century in

European and North American culture constituted a significant shift in normal sexuality from reproduction to sexual pleasure. A zone of privacy surrounds heterosexual married couples in those regions, such that anything they do consensually in the privacy of their bedrooms is considered normal. A significant portion of heterosexual couples in European and North American countries engage in sex with one or more people outside the marriage or relationship, and may also participate in subcultures considered deviant, such as the SM leather scene.

Polygamy is officially practiced in some rural parts of the world and is practiced illegally in the western part of the United States by the breakaway fundamentalist sect of Mormons known as the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (FLDS). In 2006 homosexual marriage was legal in the U.S. state of Massachusetts and in the Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, and Spain; gay and lesbian couples who marry may or may not practice any of the behaviors listed above, with the exception of monogamous heterosexual vaginal intercourse. Other countries and U.S. states that allow homosexual civil unions or registered partnerships with many or all of the rights and privileges of marriage but reserve the term *marriage* for heterosexual partners include Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, France, Germany, Finland, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Britain, Connecticut, and Vermont.

Sexuality outside of marriage can include adultery or infidelity, promiscuity, cohabitation, dating, and homosexuality. *Adultery*, more commonly called *infidelity*, is defined as a married person or persons participating in a secret sexual relationship with someone other than their spouse, constituting a breach of faith or trust between the spouses. Swinging with one's spouse, or with the knowledge of one's spouse, may be technically adulterous but would not constitute infidelity. *Promiscuity* is a morally condemnatory term for when someone has a series of sexual partners; one can be heterosexually or homosexually promiscuous. *Cohabitation* is the term usually reserved for heterosexual couples who live together in a sexual relationship without being married to each other. This is still true even where gay marriage is legal, though perhaps this will change if gay marriage becomes something that is routinely expected of gay and lesbian couples in those places. Dating is the term for people who spend time with each other in pursuit of a romantic relationship; however, dating does not imply monogamy, and people who date may or may not have sex with each other. Unmarried homosexuals may behave in any of the ways married heterosexuals and homosexuals behave, or they may behave in any of the ways unmarried heterosexuals behave. Homosexual activity by one partner in a heterosexual marriage is considered a form of adultery or infidelity. The term for homosexual infidelity among

African-American men married or otherwise involved with women is *on the down-low*.

HISTORY OF SEXUALITY RESEARCH

Sexual science, or as Foucault termed it, *scientia sexualis*, has constituted a field of study since the nineteenth century, first as sexology, then as one of the major pursuits of psychoanalysis, psychology, and sociology. Famous sexologists include Richard Krafft-Ebing, whose *Psychopathis Sexualis* comprised one of the first and most exhaustive taxonomies of sexual behaviors in modern medicine; Havelock Ellis, best known for his study of homosexuality in *Sexual Inversion* (1901), and Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), the German pioneer whose Institute for Sexual Science was destroyed along with its library by the Nazis. The term *sexology* went out of fashion by the mid-twentieth century and was replaced by the figure of the sex researcher on the one hand and the sex therapist on the other. Alfred Kinsey is perhaps the most famous sex researcher of the twentieth century; his 1948 study *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* and follow-up study *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953), which showed a much wider variety of sexual practices in mainstream America than anyone had believed possible, is thought to have helped usher in a new era of sexual permissiveness in the 1960s and 1970s. The research was compiled from 18,000 testimonials and found that premarital sex was common, half of married men and a quarter of married women had cheated on their spouses, 37 percent of U.S. men and 13 percent of women had had at least one homosexual experience, and 62 percent of women and 92 percent of men masturbated. Kinsey founded the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University and created a seven-point scale of human sexual behavior that ranged from heterosexuality at the zero end of the scale to homosexuality at point six.

After Kinsey, William Masters and Virginia Johnson, sex therapists as well as sex researchers, published *Human Sexual Response* in 1966 and *Human Sexual Inadequacy* in 1970, founding what would become the Masters & Johnson Institute in 1978. Another sex researcher, Fred Klein, published *The Bisexual Option: A Concept of One-Hundred Percent Intimacy* in 1978 and in 1998 founded the American Institute of Bisexuality (AIB) to support research and education about bisexuality. He also developed a scale measuring sexual orientation and identity separately, allowing for change over time.

Sexuality is still studied, usually along with gender, in traditional disciplines such as sociology and psychology, as well as in interdisciplinary programs such as gender studies and women's studies. Sociology departments often offer courses in sex roles and stereotypes, marriage and family relations, and sex ethics and sexual

conduct. In psychology programs evolutionary psychology is a theoretical approach to psychology that views many mental traits as adaptations in the sense of evolutionary biology as a result of natural and sexual selection. Sex education is a field of study commonly found in psychology departments and in education programs. Sex therapists are certified mental health care professionals who have specialized in treating sexual disorders during their graduate work in psychology programs.

SEXUAL IDENTITY

Sexuality can become such an important aspect of a person's identity that it seems to define them, as is the case with the popular notion of sexual identity. Sexual identity assumes that something crucial is known about an individual if you know his or her sexual practices. Foucault argues that the conflation of sexual activity with social character began in the nineteenth century, when—he argues—medical and legal institutions sought to understand and control individual sexual behavior. Prior to this sexual practices such as anal sex, or sodomy, comprised a category of forbidden sexual acts that did not confer any sort of identity on a particular person (though individuals could be severely punished for them). With the rise of sexual science the homosexual, as with the heterosexual, became a species of person with a history, a body, and a particular psychology. Homosexuality became a sexual identity.

The assumption that a common sexual or gender identity leads to other kinds of political similarities in a group is called identity politics. Sexual identity and identity politics played an important role in feminist, gay, lesbian, and queer organizations in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Identity politics insists that common membership in oppressed groups, such as homosexuals, women, or people of color, leads to common political interests and goals. The strength of identity politics is its sense of group cohesion, which offers the possibility of political solidarity between and among other similarly constituted groups; the down side of identity politics, however, is its erasure of distinctions and differences and its tendency to confer the status of activism on mere identity. Identity politics came under attack in the 1990s for these reasons, with the result that new groups, such as gay Republicans, have become more visible but political organizations have had to struggle with new ways to organize and affiliate marginalized communities.

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SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES

Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) are those diseases transmitted primarily through sexual means, which may include oral, anal, or genital contact; osculation (kissing); or manual stimulation. STDs are also referred to as sexually transmitted infection (STI), venereal diseases (VD), and reproductive tract infections (RTI). Though other diseases may also be transmitted through sexual contact, the term *STD* is reserved for an infection spread primarily through sexual means. The source of infection may be bacterial, fungal, viral, or parasitical. Depending upon the infecting agent, the resulting disease may remain localized at the site of infection (such as the genitalia or sex organs) or may spread to other parts of the body. Though symptoms may vary, both men and women are susceptible to STDs. Humans who engage in bestiality (zoophilia) may also contract diseases from animals. Though animal viruses tend to be species specific and thus not a threat to humans, bacterial infections such as brucellosis may result from sexual encounters with infected animals.

The most reliable method for the prevention of all STDs is abstinence or limiting sexual activity to monogamous, long-term relationships with partners who have been tested and are free of infection. Consistent and correct use of latex condoms may help to prevent the transmission of many STDs but may be ineffective in preventing others.

CHLAMYDIA

Chlamydia is a bacterial infection caused by *Chlamydia trachomatis*. It is the most commonly reported STD in

the United States. Chlamydia may be transmitted through vaginal, anal, or oral sex. Infected mothers may also pass the disease to their babies during vaginal childbirth. Risk factors include multiple sex partners. Young women are particularly susceptible to infection because the cervix is not yet fully mature. Symptoms are often mild or absent. If present they may appear between one to three weeks after exposure. In women symptoms may include abnormal discharge from the vagina or burning during urination, and in men the disease may manifest as a discharge (with possible itching and burning) from the penis.

The disease usually infects the cervix and the urethra in women. Untreated chlamydia can spread to the rectum or the fallopian tubes causing lower abdominal pain, back pain, fever, nausea, pain during intercourse, and spotting between menstrual periods. Damage to the reproductive organs may result in pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) or infertility. Women infected with chlamydia are at higher risk for contracting human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) if exposed to it.

The treatment for chlamydial infections is antibiotic therapy, with all sexual partners being tested and treated to prevent reinfection. Annual screening for women at risk helps to detect infection and prevent the disease from spreading further. Latex condoms when used consistently and correctly can reduce the risk of transmitting chlamydia.

GENITAL HERPES

Genital herpes is an infection caused most often by the herpes simplex virus type 2 (HSV-2) but occasionally by the herpes simplex virus type 1 (HSV-1), which more commonly causes cold sores and fever blisters around the mouth and lips. Genital herpes is widespread in the United States, with one out of five people ages twelve and older being infected. From the late 1970s to the early 1990s the incidence of the disease in the United States increased by 30 percent. HSV infections are more common in women than in men, suggesting that male-to-female exposure is more likely to result in herpes than female-to-male exposure.

Generally, genital herpes occurs when a person engages in sex (oral, anal, genital, or manual stimulation) with someone who has an active infection of HSV-2, even in the absence of visible sores (asymptomatic shedding). Genital herpes may also result from oral-genital or genital-genital contact with a person who has an active HSV-1 infection.

Most people who are infected with HSV-2 or HSV-1 have mild symptoms or none at all and often mistake the outward manifestations of herpes for a rash or insect bite. However, when symptoms do occur, they usually appear within two weeks of infection and may be pronounced

(although the virus may lie dormant for extended periods of time before manifesting clinical symptoms).

The first occurrence (primary episode) may involve the appearance of one or more blisters on or near the genital or rectal areas. Tender or painful sores (ulcers) result when the blisters break. These open sores may take from two to four weeks to heal. More sores, flu-like symptoms, and/or swollen glands may also accompany the primary outbreak. Recurrence is common and most people who show symptoms of a primary infection typically have four to five outbreaks within the year. Though HSV may remain in the body indefinitely, subsequent outbreaks generally occur with less frequency and less severity over time.

The clinical manifestation of genital herpes in immunocompromised individuals can be serious. Pregnant women who have active genital herpes at the time of delivery may transmit the infection to their babies during vaginal delivery, which may result in life-threatening infections in the infants. Women who have clinical symptoms at the time of delivery can undergo a cesarean section to prevent transmission to the baby or may undergo antiviral suppression therapy during the third trimester of pregnancy to preserve the option of vaginal delivery.

Though the mechanism is not fully understood, people who have genital herpes are more susceptible to contracting HIV infections if exposed to it. People who have genital herpes are also more likely to transmit HIV to uninfected partners.

Though there is no cure for herpes, antiviral medications may shorten and lessen the severity of subsequent outbreaks. Daily suppressive therapy may reduce the transmission of symptomatic genital herpes to uninfected partners.

Because HSV shedding may occur outside the areas normally covered by a condom, even consistent and correct usage of latex condoms offers only limited protection from the transmission of herpes. People with active infections should abstain from sexual activity with others.

GONORRHEA

Gonorrhea is caused by the bacterium *Neisseria gonorrhoeae* that infects the warm, moist areas of the reproductive tract, including the uterus, the cervix, and the fallopian tubes. The bacterium may also infect the urethra, anus, mouth, and eyes of either sex. Transmission of the disease is through sexual contact with the penis (with or without ejaculation), vagina, mouth, or anus. Gonorrhea can be spread from infected mothers to their infants during vaginal delivery. Previous infections of gonorrhea provide no immunity against reinfection.

Symptoms of gonorrhea are often mild or absent. In women they may include pain or burning during urination, increased vaginal discharge, and/or vaginal spotting between menstrual periods, but very often clinical manifestations are nonspecific and can easily be mistaken for a vaginal or bladder infection. In men the first signs of infection may occur two to five days after infection but may take as long as 30 days to develop. Symptoms may include burning during urination, discharge from the penis, and swollen testicles accompanied by pain. Gonorrhea infections of the rectum may be asymptomatic or may manifest with a discharge, rectal bleeding, itching, soreness, and/or painful bowel movements and may affect both women and men. Oral infections usually do not manifest symptoms but if present may include a sore throat.

Untreated, gonorrhea can cause serious and permanent health concerns in both men and women. In men the disease can cause epididymitis, a painful inflammation of the epididymis that may result in infertility. In women it may lead to pelvic inflammatory disease (PID), a serious condition that can cause damage to the fallopian tubes and lead to infertility and an increased risk for ectopic pregnancy (a condition in which the fertilized egg implants outside the uterus). Gonorrhea may also cause serious blood-borne disease that results in joint pain, fever, and other systemic (bodily) symptoms. People who have gonorrhea are more susceptible to contracting HIV and are also more likely to transmit HIV to uninfected partners.

Children infected during vaginal delivery may develop blindness, joint infection, or severe blood infection. Immediate treatment of the disease in pregnant mothers helps to reduce the possibility of transmission of gonorrhea to the baby. For this reason pregnant women are routinely screened for gonorrhea, and the eyes of all newborns are treated with a topical antibiotic (formally with silver nitrate) to prevent infection.

Antibiotics usually cure gonorrhea, but the emergence of drug-resistant strains makes treatment more difficult. Many people with gonorrhea are frequently infected with chlamydia or other STDs, thus requiring multiple antibiotic therapies. All sexual partners must be treated to prevent disease spread. Treatment will resolve the infection but will not repair the damage already done by the disease. Consistent and correct use of latex condoms can reduce the risk of transmitting gonorrhea.

GENITAL HUMAN PAPILLOMAVIRUS (HPV)

Genital human papillomavirus (HPV) (genital warts, condylomata) infection is caused by a group of more than 100 strains of viruses, of which more than thirty may be sexually transmitted. At least 50 percent of

sexually active persons will contract HPV infection, and by the age of fifty, at least 80 percent of all women will have been infected with HPV making this one of the most widespread STDs. Strains of the virus that result in STDs are mainly transmitted through sexual contact of the genitals. Most people who become infected with HPV do not present symptoms yet can continue unknowingly to transmit the virus to uninfected sexual partners. Pregnant women can, though rarely, infect their babies with the virus during vaginal childbirth.

Genital HPV may infect the penis, vulva, anus, lining of the vagina, cervix, or rectum. Though most people with genital HPV remain asymptomatic of disease, some develop genital warts or precancerous changes in the cervix, vagina, vulva, penis, or anus. Depending on the strain of virus, infections may be *high risk* and cause abnormal Pap tests and lead to cancers of the reproductive tract, including cancers of the genital or anal regions. Persistent infection of high-risk types of HPV is the main risk factor for developing cervical cancer. *Low-risk* strains may cause genital warts (venereal wart) or mild changes in Pap tests. Genital warts appear as moist, soft, pink or skin-colored growths that may be raised or flat and may manifest singly or multiply in cauliflower-shaped eruptions called condylomata. Genital warts may be found in or around the vagina, anus, cervix, penis, scrotum, groin region, or upper thigh.

Though there is no cure for HPV, most infections will clear up without treatment (90% of infected people will clear the virus within two years if not reinfected). A small group of people carries the virus chronically. Visible genital warts and changes to the skin or mucous membranes may be treated by a variety of methods, including application of topical medications or by treatments such as cauterization, cryotherapy, or laser therapy. Routine Pap tests are helpful in detecting precancerous and cancerous cells on the cervix and in preventing the disease from becoming life threatening.

The most reliable way to eliminate risk for genital HPV infection is to refrain from any genital contact with another individual or remain in a mutually monogamous, long-term relationship with an uninfected partner (though it is difficult to determine whether or not that partner has been infected in the past). Because HPV infection may affect areas outside those normally covered by a condom, even consistent and correct use of latex condoms provides only a limited degree of protection. Nevertheless, regular condom use is associated with a decrease in the incidence of cervical cancer, suggesting that some measure of protection is conveyed. A vaccine for the most virulent strains of HPV is available and is recommended for women age nine to twenty-six. The length of immunity imparted by the vaccine is still unknown, and boosters may be necessary.

HUMAN IMMUNODEFICIENCY VIRUS (HIV)/ACQUIRED IMMUNODEFICIENCY SYNDROME (AIDS)

AIDS is a serious infection first reported in the United States in 1981 that has subsequently become a worldwide epidemic. The syndrome is caused by human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection. The virus progressively kills and damages cells of the body's immune system and severely diminishes a person's ability to combat infections and some cancers. Further, it increases the chances of contracting other life-threatening opportunistic infections (such as viral or bacterial) that normally do not cause disease in healthy people.

Though HIV can be spread through infected blood products (rarely in the early twenty-first century) and contaminated needles, the most common mode of transmission is through unprotected sex with an infected partner. People can contract HIV through sexual contact with the vagina, penis, vulva, rectum, or mouth. Infected women can pass HIV to their unborn children during pregnancy, delivery (especially vaginal births), or through nursing.

Most people who are infected with HIV exhibit no early symptoms. When they do occur, they appear within a month or two from exposure and manifest as a flu-like illness with symptoms such as fever, headache, fatigue, and enlarged lymph nodes. When symptoms do occur, they generally resolve within a week to a month. Nevertheless, infected individuals are highly contagious during this time.

Initial infections are generally followed by an asymptomatic period that may last anywhere from several months up to ten years. During this time the virus multiplies and begins destroying the cells of the immune system. Eventually, the immune system is compromised and cannot mount defenses for opportunistic infections and disease. AIDS is the term used to describe advanced stages of HIV infection. Symptoms include coughing and shortness of breath, seizures, difficulty in swallowing, mental impairment, persistent diarrhea, fever, nausea, abdominal cramps, weight loss, severe fatigue, loss of vision, and death.

The treatment for HIV consists of a cocktail of a variety of drugs that slow the progression of the disease and make it less infective. Treatment is complicated by the growing number of drug-resistant strains of HIV.

Aside from abstinence or having sexual relations only within a mutually monogamous, long-term relationship with an uninfected partner, the only method for preventing the spread and transmission of HIV is to abstain from high-risk behaviors such as sharing needles and engaging in unprotected sex. Male latex condoms or female polyurethane condoms only offer partial protection during oral, anal, or vaginal sex. The risk of an HIV-positive

mother transmitting HIV to her unborn child is dramatically reduced if the mother undergoes treatment during pregnancy.

PELVIC INFLAMMATORY DISEASE (PID)

PID is a general term that refers to infection of the uterus, fallopian tubes, and other reproductive organs. It is a common and serious complication of STDs, especially chlamydia and gonorrhea. Young women under twenty-five are particularly at risk for developing PID because the cervix is not yet fully mature. Douching and the use of an intrauterine device (IUD) increase the risk of infections if exposed to them.

Symptoms of PID vary depending on the infecting agent. Infections caused by chlamydia may be mild to nonexistent. When symptoms occur they may include lower abdominal pain, fever, odorous vaginal discharge, painful intercourse or urination, and spotting between menstrual periods. Even in the absence of symptoms, untreated PID can result in abscesses, chronic pelvic pain, infertility, and ectopic pregnancy.

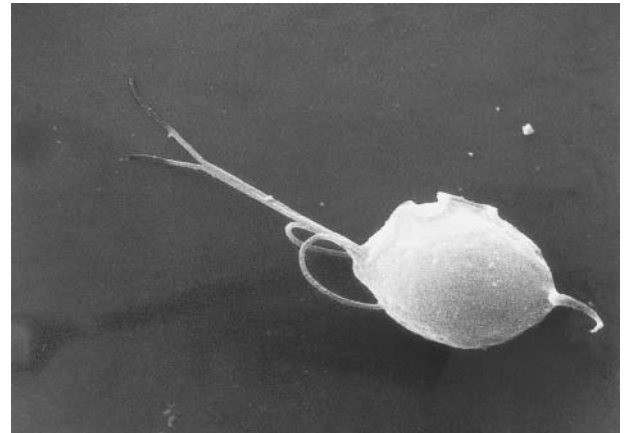
PID can be treated with antibiotics but treatment cannot reverse any damage already done by the disease. Occasionally, surgery is necessary to alleviate abscess formation or other symptoms. The best means of preventing PID is to avoid contracting STDs such as chlamydia or gonorrhea.

SYPHILIS

Syphilis is a serious sexually transmitted disease caused by the bacterium *Treponema pallidum*. Since 2001 the incidence of syphilis has increased, especially among homosexual males. The disease is transmitted by direct contact with a syphilis sore, most commonly found on the genitalia, vagina, anus, rectum, or mouth. Pregnant women who are infected can pass the disease onto their babies.

Though many infected individuals remain asymptomatic for years, initial symptoms of primary-stage syphilis may include the appearance of one or more chancres (sores) that present between ten and ninety days after exposure. Chancres are usually round, firm, small, and painless and can last anywhere from three to six weeks before healing. If treatment is not administered the disease progresses to a secondary stage characterized by skin rash, mucous-membrane lesions, fever, sore throat, head and muscle aches, fatigue, and weight loss. Symptoms will resolve without treatment, but the infection remains active. Late-stage syphilis may present with severe damage to the brain, nerves, eyes, heart, liver, bones, and joints and even death.

Early stage syphilis is treated with a single intramuscular injection of penicillin (sometimes multiple injections



***Trichomonas vaginalis*.** *Trichomonas vaginalis*, the human protozoan parasite that causes trichomoniasis. BSIP/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

are necessary depending on the duration of the disease), but the damage resulting from untreated syphilis is permanent. Correct and consistent use of latex condoms can reduce the risk of contacting syphilis, but it does not provide full protection against infection as chancres may occur in areas not normally covered by condoms.

TRICHOMONIASIS

Trichomoniasis is a common sexually transmitted disease caused by the protozoan parasite *Trichomonas vaginalis*. In women infections are usually situated in the vagina and in men in the urethra. The parasite spreads through penis–vagina or vulva–vulva contact. Though women can contract the disease from either infected men or women, men generally only contract trichomoniasis from infected women.

Symptoms in women may include a frothy, yellow-green, odorous discharge from the vagina that may cause irritation and itching, discomfort during intercourse or urination, and occasionally lower abdominal pain. Infected men generally do not show symptoms, but there may be a discharge or slight burning or irritation after ejaculation or urination.

Infected pregnant women risk giving birth prematurely and having low-birth-weight babies. Trichomoniasis infections increase a woman's susceptibility to HIV if exposed to it and increases the risk of transmitting HIV if infected.

Treatment consists of the use of a single, oral dose of metronidazole. Even in the absence of symptoms, all sexual partners should be treated to prevent reinfection. Consistent and correct use of latex condoms can reduce the risk of transmitting the disease. Persons who are

being treated for trichomoniasis should avoid sex until they have been treated and are infection free.

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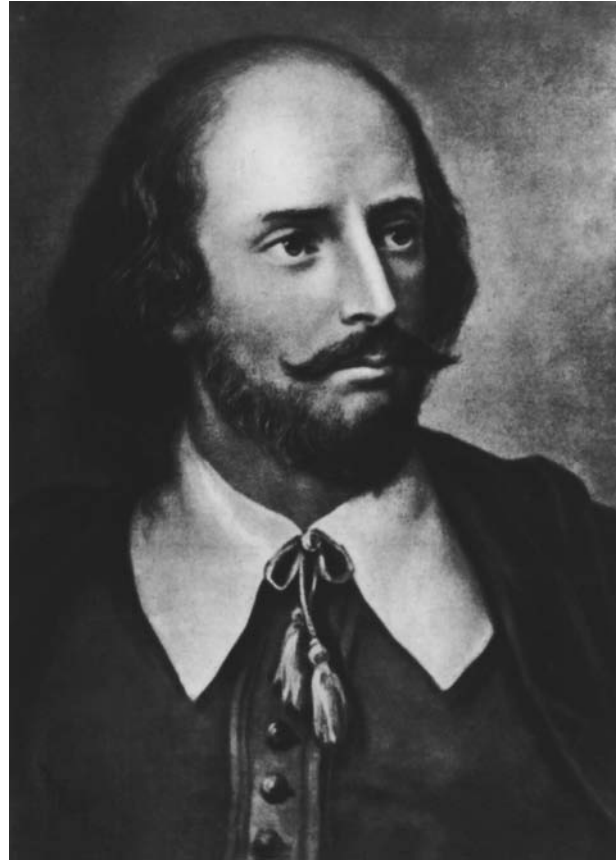
Diane S. Saylor

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM 1564–1616

William Shakespeare, who was born in April 1564 in Stratford-upon-Avon, England, and died in the same town on April 23, 1616, is among the most celebrated of English poets and playwrights. At eighteen Shakespeare married twenty-six-year-old Anne Hathaway, who was already pregnant; they had three children together. Nevertheless, Shakespeare's impassioned expressions of desire for a *fair youth* in the *Sonnets* (published 1609) have led to much speculation about his possibly homoerotic inclinations.

Although nothing is known for certain about Shakespeare's own sexual desires or practices, his work complexly engages contemporary issues of gender and sexuality. Renaissance England was a patriarchal society, and the subordination of women to men was justified through theology and biology: the apostle Paul's description of woman as *the weaker vessel* in his Letter to the Ephesians was corroborated by theories of women's biological inferiority derived from classical philosophy and medicine. According to the ancient anatomical theories still in place during Shakespeare's era, the natural *coldness* of women's bodies made them mentally as well as physically weaker than men. In Shakespeare's cross-dressing comedies, intelligent young women do successfully pass as men, thus suggesting that gender is not simply biological but cultural, a matter of learned behavior rather than innate traits. Nonetheless, these cross-dressed women betray typically *feminine* characteristics under stress: In *As You Like It* (1599), Rosalind faints at the sight of blood, and in *Twelfth Night* (1601), the prospect of dueling terrifies Viola.

The purportedly natural differences between men and women justified the radical exclusion of most women from public life. Although women worked in nursing, midwifery, or various manual trades and a handful even earned recognition as writers or patrons, they were barred from universities, thereby excluding them from careers as theologians, lawyers, scholars, doctors, or politicians—



William Shakespeare. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

with the notable exception of Queen Elizabeth I, who ruled England from 1558 to 1603. The queens in Shakespeare's early historical plays such as *Henry VI* (1589–1592) and *Richard III* (1592) acquire power by manipulating and controlling the kings who desire them. Shakespeare's later historical plays *Henry IV* (1597) and *Henry V* (1599) associate the political success of Henry V with his lack of interest in women as a young prince and with his strategic marriage to the French princess, Catherine, which authorizes his conquest of France.

Shakespeare's culture placed enormous emphasis on the sexual purity of women as vehicles of family lineage and the orderly transfer of property through inheritance. The ideal woman was defined as *chaste, silent, and obedient*: A woman who was free with her tongue, it was thought, was likely to be free with her body. The importance of preserving female modesty in public explains why the female roles in English Renaissance plays were played by boys who were sometimes regarded as *effeminate* in appearance and behavior. In *The Taming of the Shrew* (1593), Katherine is considered unmarriageable not only because she is disobedient and outspoken but

also because her rejection of feminine norms implies a lack of chastity. Many of Shakespeare's works register anxiety about the threat posed to men by the supposedly voracious and uncontrollable sexual appetite of women. In the narrative poem *Venus and Adonis* (1593), the lusty goddess Venus aggressively pursues the innocent Adonis, who prefers to go hunting with his friends. Shakespeare's *Sonnets* contrast the speaker's temperate love for a young man with his destructive lust for a promiscuous mistress whom he associates with disease, death, and hell.

As in the *Sonnets* same-sex relationships in Shakespeare's plays are often characterized by physical intimacy and emotional devotion. The process of courtship can disrupt affectionate same-sex friendships between men (Mercutio and Romeo in *Romeo and Juliet* [1594], Antonio and Bassanio in *The Merchant of Venice* [1596]) or between women (Helena and Hermia in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* [1595], Rosalind and Celia in *As You Like It*). Nonetheless, certain plays suggest that same-sex bonds are more deeply rooted than are marital bonds: In *Twelfth Night*, Sebastian marries Olivia for status and property but demonstrates an enduring affection for the masculine Antonio.

A married man's reputation was dependent on his wife's behavior. The pervasive jokes about cuckoldry (female infidelity) in Shakespeare's comedies express anxiety about a wife's power to undermine her husband's masculinity. The comedies benevolently explore temporary transgressions of gender roles, allowing virtuous, chaste, and intelligent women either to instruct or to aid men by adopting masculine roles, as when Portia plays a lawyer in *The Merchant of Venice*. Generally, wives did not enjoy independent legal or property rights, but they had considerable authority in running the household. The judicious wives of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1600) vigorously defend their chastity and domestic property from the courtly predator Falstaff. In the tragedies, however, gender difference becomes a source of mistrust, betrayal, and terrible suffering. Othello murders his wife in the mistaken belief that she has cuckolded him, Antony blames his military and political losses on Cleopatra's sexual looseness, and Lady Macbeth goads her husband into regicide by questioning his manhood.

Certain of Shakespeare's plays seem more overtly to challenge cultural norms of female gender and sexuality. Isabella in *Measure for Measure* (1604) and Joan of Arc in *Henry VI, Part 1* (1592) reject the cultural expectation of marriage and motherhood by determining to live as virgins—Isabella as a nun and Joan as a warrior. As a metaphorical Amazon Joan is particularly compelling, although the play finally demonizes her by revealing her to be a witch and a whore. Hippolyta in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is literally an Amazon, but a conquered

one who marries her captor, Duke Theseus. The witches in *Macbeth* (1605) influence national politics by prophesying Macbeth's future as king. In *The Winter's Tale* (1610) the fiercely independent noblewoman Paulina bravely defends Queen Hermione's chastity against King Leontes's jealous suspicions. Accused by Leontes of being a witch, a bawd, and a scold, Paulina redeems these stereotypes of transgressive femininity through her loyalty and judgment, which finally serve to reunite the royal family at the end of the play. In Paulina's case the *refusal* to be silent and obedient constitutes female virtue.

SEE ALSO *Literature: I. Overview; Romeo and Juliet.*

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Mario DiGangi

SHAMANISM

Shamanism was characterized by Mircea Eliade (1964 [1950]), the famed scholar of comparative religion, as someone who entered an ecstatic state to interact with the spirits on behalf of the community. These universals of shamanistic healers have been characterized in terms of an innate psychology by Michael Winkelman (2000), who points to other universal characteristics of shamans: Charismatic group leadership in communal ritual activities, generally carried out overnight, involves the use of chanting, music, drumming, and dancing. *Ecstasy*, an altered state of consciousness, is a key aspect of training and practice, with the characteristic altered states of consciousness experience known as the soul journey, or soul flight. Interaction with the spirit world, in training and professional practice, includes training involving a vision quest and an initiatory death-and-rebirth experience. Control of animal spirits as a primary source of power includes the ability to transform into animals and to provide assistance in hunting. Professional abilities include healing, diagnosis, and divination. Maintaining

an ambivalent moral status reflects the ability to do harm through sorcery.

Gender-specific roles and sexual restrictions of shamanistic healers reflect adaptations to altered states of consciousness and the effects of social processes on characteristics of altered states of consciousness. Relationships of sex and gender to shamanistic healers vary in terms of their social contexts. Cross-cultural research shows how shamanistic healers vary in gender roles as socioeconomic adaptations to universal human potentials involving healing and altered states of consciousness. This research illustrates the validity of the term *shaman* as a cross-cultural concept. Shamanism is revealed in the universal features of the spiritual healing practices of hunter-gatherer and simple agricultural and pastoral societies worldwide in which transformed men and women engage spirit powers. Shamans and other shamanistic healers manifest cultural universals involving adaptations to potentials of human nature, an integrative mode of consciousness similar to dreams. These altered states of consciousness experiences are induced in community rituals for interactions with the spirit world to obtain information and provide healing.

Shamans differ from other types of shamanistic healers in their altered states of consciousness (soul flight, death-and-rebirth experience), use of sorcery, power relationships with animals, and their preeminent role in society as charismatic leaders. Other types of shamanistic healers are found in societies with priests, male secular and sacred leaders who dominate religious and political life and alter the more egalitarian gender dynamics of shamanism. In these more complex societies shamanistic practices persist in female-dominated cults of mediumship and possession.

GENDER PATTERNS OF SHAMANISTIC HEALERS

Shamans are predominately males, but in most cultures, females also are chosen, generally inheriting spirits from parents or grandparents. The shaman's involvement in hunting, warfare, and raids may contribute to a male predominance among shamans. There are also restrictions on females practicing shamanism during childbearing years. Women typically function as shamans before marriage and following menopause. These restrictions on female shamans' practice may reflect consequences for cardiovascular function, oxygen availability, and other vital parameters produced by altered states of consciousness, reflected in their conceptualizations as *half-death*. Risks that altered states of consciousness could pose to the fetus apparently underlie this prohibition on women engaging in shamanic practices when they could be pregnant.

Females are also occasionally found among shamanistic healers of agricultural societies but are virtually absent from the healers found in more complex, politically integrated societies. These hierarchical societies also have shamanistic healers called mediums, who are typically female; relatively infrequent male mediums are often weak or effeminate. These female mediums are generally from lower social strata in strongly patriarchal societies. Mediums are respected people, nonetheless, particularly among women and their possession cult. Mediums experience altered states of consciousness, engage spirits, and provide healing and divination, activities characteristic of shamans; but they differ from shamans in that they lack soul flight, death-and-rebirth experiences, animal relations, sorcery powers, and the high social prestige of shamans. Medium cults involve possession—control by spirit entities that take over the body, speech, and mind of the individual. Female recruits to the cults are those who are ill from spirit possession; they gain control of the spirits through cult participation. Mediums do not typically have long-term sexual restrictions, but their *spirit spouses* may dictate restrictions on sexual relations with their physical spouses. The predominance of females among mediums may reflect how their disadvantaged status contributes to the malnutrition, abuse, and trauma that may predispose women to altered states of consciousness. Through statements made while possessed by male spirits, mediums mediate male and female domains and exercise indirect influence in a male-dominated society where their subordinated status limits their direct confrontation with male power.

SEXUAL RESTRICTIONS

Shamanistic healers generally refrain from sex in preparation for professional activities. Religious officiants of many major religious traditions are frequently enjoined to permanent celibacy. Sexual restrictions for shamanistic healers normally begin during training, with sexual prohibitions for weeks, months, or even years. Traditions dictate celibacy for several days before and after ceremonies, explaining sexual restrictions in terms of purity and the idea that spirits are attracted to the celibate. Many shamanistic traditions view spirit relations in sexual terms, engaging in sex with spirit entities and having spouses and children in the spirit world. Spirit spouses may be jealous of physical spouses and require that shamans abstain from sex.

Sexual restrictions on shamanistic healers may reflect adaptations to the physiological dynamics of sexual orgasm and induction of altered states of consciousness. Orgasm requires simultaneous increase in both the sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous system. Julian Davidson (1980) points out that when a

peak of excitation is reached, the sympathetic system collapses, exhausted, and the parasympathetic state as with those of altered states of consciousness, becomes dominant. The *rebound* aspect of the parasympathetic aspect means that the greater the excitation in the sympathetic system before collapse, the stronger the parasympathetic relaxation response. Sexual activity could interfere with the dynamics of excitation and physiological collapse, reducing the degree of sympathetic excitation by prior release in orgasm. Sexual prohibitions may assure more powerful altered states of consciousness. Postceremony sexual restrictions in some shamanistic traditions might relate to the anorgasmic states potentially produced by altered states of consciousness. This is illustrated in the Tantric traditions that use sex with prevention of ejaculation to induce more profound altered states of consciousness.

TRANSGENDERED ACTIVITIES IN SHAMANISM

The belief that shamanism is normally associated with homosexuality or other cross-gendered behaviors is not validated by Michael Winkelman's and Doug White's cross-cultural studies (Winkelman 1990, 1992; Winkelman and White 1986); shamans, shaman/healers and healers are not typically considered to have cross-gendered tendencies. Mediums, however, may incorporate weak, effeminate, or homosexual males. The widespread transvestism associated with Chukchi shamans studied by Waldemar Bogoras (1904–1909) does not appear typical. Homosexual and gender-switching individuals may be attracted to shamanistic roles because changing identities is fundamental to shamanic professional roles involving communication with spirits. Gender crossing does occur in some shamanic enactments as a way of gaining ritual power through incorporating symbols of femininity, but without involving homosexuality.

Barbara Tedlock (2004) points out how aspects of self and identity are defined in the interactions between male and female personalities displayed in shamanic performances. Shamanic performances engage gender expressions in enacting powers in nature, feminine as well as masculine, making shamans mediators between gender concepts. The sacred is often expressed in transformations involving a blending of gender characteristics and gender reversals. Gender dynamics may be expressed in shamanic healing specializations where female powers and energies are engaged for nurturance and integration, whereas male symbols engage warlike activities of exorcism and attacks to defeat spirit entities thought to cause illness. Universal concepts are expressed in gender differences that shamanistic healers can balance and integrate in patients through ritual.

Shamanic practices allow access for both genders, with males predominating in these roles. Sexual restrictions are important consideration in these practices. As societies become more complex, shamanistic practices become more predominantly female. Their incorporation of male spirits give voice to oppressed females and some degree of power in male-dominated societies, including restricting their spouse's sexual access.

SEE ALSO *Witchcraft*.

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Michael Winkelman

SHA'RAWI, HUDA 1879–1947

Huda Sha'rawi is regarded as one of Egypt's foremothers of feminism. At its inception Egyptian feminism was inextricably linked with nationalism, and this synthesis was especially clear in the case of Huda's life and contributions. She was born Nur al-Huda Sultan, her father a wealthy provincial administrator. Growing up in the harem system on a lavish estate near Cairo, she was given in marriage to her cousin at the age of thirteen. Angry at

discovering that he did not renounce his slave concubine with their marriage, she left him for seven years; later she reconciled with him and had two children.

Within a few years and at the initial behest of Princess Ain al-Hayat, she became actively engaged in social reform, establishing a clinic for the poor. The center offered classes in infant care, family hygiene, and household management. Throughout her life Huda argued that upper-class women had an obligation to contribute to the betterment of society through charitable activities. In light of contemporary feminist thought, Huda's activism could be characterized as elitist in nature; however, it also reflects an early twentieth-century romantic view of the poor as passive recipients of philanthropic efforts of the rich.

Following World War I, the Wafd political party emerged in Egypt. Demanding independence from English occupation, the supporters of Wafd initiated the nationalist Revolution of 1919. In the same year Huda led the first demonstration of women against British occupation and formed the Wafdist Women's Central Committee.

Widowed at the age of forty-five, and with all the men in her life gone, Huda committed her organizational skills and immense wealth to support the equality of women in Egypt. She became an activist in the struggle for women's full political rights, educational and employment opportunities, reform of the Muslim personal-status law, and campaigned for women's rights in the areas of divorce and polygamy. Her rise as a central figure is best represented by the story of her return from the International Women's Conference in Rome in 1923. A crowd had gathered at the station to welcome her home, and as she stepped from the train, she removed her veil. The action had profound impact, and within a decade, few women in Egypt remained fully veiled. It should be noted that while Huda's autobiography and every narration of the episode refers to her taking off the veil, what she removed was only the face cover (*niqab*) and not the *hijab*, or head covering.

After founding *Al-Ittihad al Nisa'I Misri*, the Egyptian Feminist Union, she served as its president from 1923 until her death in 1947 and was invested with Egypt's highest honor, *Nishan al-Kamal* (Order of the Virtues). Fluent in French, Turkish, and Arabic, Huda was a popular speaker for women's rights throughout the Arab world and Europe. Huda recorded her memoirs in Arabic with the publication of *Mudhakkirati*, referred to as the *Memoirs of the First Lady of Arab Modernity*. The *Memoirs* narrate her transition from childhood in the harem to her militant feminist activities. She was the first Egyptian woman to cowrite an autobiography, which has become part of the history of Arabic literature.

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Rosemary Drage Hale

SHAME

SEE *Honor and Shame*.

SHEKHINAH, GOD'S BRIDE

One of the most perplexing concepts in Judaism is that of the Shekhinah, a figure identified as the Divine Presence and Bride of God. Shekhinah is a Hebrew noun that means literally *the act of dwelling*. In the Bible Shekhinah is used as one of the names of God. In the Talmud the term comes to be identified as the Divine Presence or indwelling or presence of God in this world. However, by the twelfth century the term had undergone a radical transformation and has since been used to refer to God's feminine aspect and/or consort. The kabbalistic system known as the *Sefirot* describes ten emanations of God—what Abraham Joshua Heschel (1996) calls *the inner life of God*—and the tenth of these is *Malkhut* and is identified as the Shekhinah. In this view the Shekhinah is understood to be the feminine aspect of God—not an independent mythic being.

However, in some sections of the *Zohar*, the central text of Kabbalah, dating from about the thirteenth century, the Shekhinah is clearly identified as God's Bride. In some of these kabbalistic myths, the coupling between God and the Shekhinah is described in specifically erotic terms: "The Temple served as the sacred bedchamber of God the King and his Bride, the Shekhinah. . . . The King would come to the Queen and lie in her arms. . . . He took his delight between her breasts. . . . They lay in a tight embrace, her image impressed on His body like a seal imprinted on a page" (*Zohar* 1:120b, 3:74b, 3:296a).

Other kabbalistic myths portray a confrontation between God and the Shekhinah provoked by the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem—the Shekhinah’s home in this world—and the impending Babylonian exile, that concludes with God’s Bride declaring her intention to abandon her spouse—God—and go into exile with her children, the Children of Israel (*Zohar* 1:202b–203a). Nor will she return to God until her home—the Temple in Jerusalem—is rebuilt. It is in this central myth of the exile of the Shekhinah that the figure of the Shekhinah attains mythic independence.

Thus, the term Shekhinah undergoes a radical transformation, from one of the names of God, to the presence of God in this world, to one of the emanations of God, and, finally, to God’s Bride. It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the monotheism of Judaism with the notion of a divine consort, which more closely resembles the divine pairings of Zeus and Hera in Greek mythology or El and Asherah in the Canaanite. This is one of the reasons that the study of Kabbalah was regarded as esoteric and was limited to married men over the age of forty.

The exile of the Shekhinah from God inspired Rabbi Isaac Luria of Safed (1534–1572) in the sixteenth century to teach that heaven was in need of human assistance in bringing the divine couple back together. These teachings, known as Lurianic Kabbalah, present the concept of *tikkun olam*, repair of the world, in which God is said to have created the Jewish people in order to repair the breaches that took place in heaven at the time of the creation, at the time of the Fall, and when the Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed. Further, messianic Jewish theology holds that one of the key tasks of the Messiah will be to restore the Temple in Jerusalem, at which time the God’s Bride will be reunited with God and the world will be restored above and below.

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Howard Schwartz

SHEPARD, MATTHEW WAYNE 1976–1998

Matthew Shepard, born on December 1 in Casper, Wyoming, was a University of Wyoming undergraduate whose murder sparked nationwide debate about antibias and hate crime laws and drew attention to the persistence and brutality of homophobic violence in a decade that purported to celebrate tolerance and diversity. Many details surrounding the crime—that Shepard was a good-looking, middle-class white man; the false media reports that he had been found tied in a position suggesting crucifixion; and that the crime occurred in a part of the United States identified with the masculine cowboy mythology—thrust the case into the national spotlight and made Shepard a household name.

On the night of October 6, 1998, Shepard attended a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Association (LGBTQA) meeting at the University of Wyoming and later went to a bar alone. He was approached by two young locals, Aaron McKinney and Russell Henderson. The pair lured Shepard out of the bar with the offer of a ride. McKinney pistol-whipped Shepard in the car, as Henderson drove to an elevated site on the outskirts of the town. Henderson used Shepard’s shoelaces to tie him to a wooden fence with his hands behind his back. McKinney and Henderson then stole Shepard’s shoes and wallet and left him badly beaten and unconscious with severe head injuries. Later that evening, the two men provoked another violent incident, this time involving two Laramie men of Hispanic descent—Jeremy Herrera and Emiliano Morales. Shepard was found eighteen hours after the attack, barely breathing, by a teenager bike riding nearby.

Henderson and McKinney were arrested days later. The media descended on Laramie and followed the story closely through the trials. Vigils and protests took place across the country and Shepard became a symbol of antigay violence and a martyr for the gay rights movement. Right-wing Christian and antigay protestor, Fred Phelps, headed a group of demonstrators who condemned homosexuality and suggested that Shepard deserved to die. Shepard’s friend Romaine Patterson and another group of protestors countered by blocking Phelps and his followers from public view with the long, draping wings of their angel costumes.

Many were offended by the fact that McKinney and Henderson pursued a *gay panic* defense, suggesting that Shepard had made sexual advances toward the two men thus justifying the attack. Before verdicts were reached, both pleaded guilty. Neither man showed much remorse for the crime. At McKinney’s sentencing, Shepard’s



Candlelight Vigil for Matthew Shepard. EVAN AGOSTINI/GETTY IMAGES.

father read a moving statement and asked for two consecutive life sentences rather than the death penalty. Henderson received a life sentence, while McKinney received the two consecutive terms.

In the aftermath of the events, media, artistic, and critical commentary about the case focused on the intricacies and contradictions of rural gay life, the state of Wyoming's ultimate failure to institute bias crime legislation and legal protection based on sexual orientation in the year after the murder, and the impact of the events on the town of Laramie. Scholarly work has considered how race and class impacted the crime and the media coverage and raised questions about the politicization of Shepard's murder. A theater troupe from New York City, Moisés Kaufman's Tectonic Theater Project, visited Laramie a number of times over the course of one year to interview residents. These discussions resulted in *The Laramie Project* (2001), a play later turned into a film (2002) that told the stories of many of Laramie's residents and others

involved in the case, such as Reggie Fluty, the deputy who was the first to arrive at the gruesome scene. Shepard's murder has also been associated with less-publicized hate crimes, such as the 1998 racially-motivated killing of black Texan James Byrd Jr., who was dragged to his death behind a pickup truck by three white men.

Shepard's parents, Judy and Dennis Shepard, became gay rights activists and advocates for hate crimes legislation. In 1998 they founded the nonprofit Matthew Shepard Foundation, which serves as a vehicle for the advocacy of gay rights issues and provides support for educational programs and gay youth organizations.

SEE ALSO *Hate Crimes; Homophobia.*

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Emma Crandall

SHINTOISM

The roots of Shintoism, or Shinto (the way of the gods), Japan's indigenous religion, lie shrouded in the mists of prehistory. Indeed, in a very real sense, to be Japanese is to be a Shintoist despite the fact that the religion in question has coexisted with Buddhism for fifteen hundred years. Even the seemingly mundane act of removing one's shoes before entering a Japanese home is implicitly a reflection of Shintoism's strong emphasis on ritual purification and maintaining a boundary between secular and sacred space.

The single most important concept in Shintoism is that of *kami*. Although the word is usually translated as *deity* or *god*, it covers a much wider semantic range than its English—or, indeed, European and North American—equivalents. *Kami* are believed to animate all phenomena, inanimate as well as animate, from the sun, moon, mountains, and rivers, to every single living creature. It is for this reason that Shinto, as with other religions that venerate an infinity of spirit beings, is generally held to be a manifestation of what anthropologists call *animism*. Some *kami*, however, do come close to approximating the European and North American concept of god (or goddess)—that is, divine entities with highly developed personalities and functions. According to the *Kojiki*



The Sun Goddess Amaterasu Emerging from Cave. THE ART ARCHIVE/VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM LONDON/EILEEN TWEEDY.

(Records of ancient matters), which was compiled in 712 CE and is the oldest and most sacred Shinto text, the head of this pantheon is Amaterasu, the sun goddess. What is more, Amaterasu established her divine sovereignty after a successful confrontation with her rebellious brother, Susanō, the storm god. Her other brother, Tsukiyomi, the moon god, is a passive male figure who supports his sister in all things. Amaterasu's principal shrine, the Inner Shrine at Ise in Mie prefecture, is the most sacred spot in the Shinto universe and the only major shrine where no Buddhist temple ever intruded. For fifteen hundred years it has been rebuilt at twenty-year intervals, thereby symbolically renewing the life-giving power of the sovereign sun goddess. The Outer Shrine at Ise is devoted to Toyouke, the deity who oversees the rice harvest.

Among a great many other major Shinto *kami* are Hachiman, the war god; Ōkuninushi, the deity who protects the imperial family (traditionally believed to descend from Amaterasu); Tenjin, who incarnates scholarship and learning; and Inari, the rice god, who is also a patron of merchants and is thus widely venerated.

The focal point of Shinto ritual is the *jinja*, or shrine. There are tens of thousands of *jinja* in Japan, ranging from tiny altars devoted to local *kami* barely known outside of a single village to massive complexes such as the Inner and Outer Shines at Ise, which are collectively known as the *Ise-jingu*. Unlike European and North American religious institutions, Shinto shrines are, for the most part, not places for communal worship. Rather, they are typically visited by single individuals,

who pray to the enshrined *kami* for good health for themselves, their spouses, and children; success in school or business; or a host of other personal favors. At the communal level almost all Shinto shrines sponsor an annual (or, in some cases, semiannual) festival called a *matsuri*, in which an image of its principal *kami*, concealed within a *mikoshi*, or portable shrine, is carried around a village or urban neighborhood on the shoulders of chanting young people. This sacred procession, or *gyōretsu*, serves to sanctify both those who bear the *kami* and the region through which it is carried.

Before the introduction of Buddhism from China and Korea in the latter part of the sixth century, many Japanese women played extremely prominent roles in both Shinto and the society at large. There were priestesses and reigning empresses, one of whom, the quasi-legendary Himiko (fl. c. 200), was famed both as a warrior and as a shaman. But thanks to the profound impact of Chinese civilization and its patriarchal, Confucian ideology, the importance of women in Japan declined steadily, and this new state of affairs was, of course, reflected in Shintoism. To be sure, most large shrines continued to employ *miko*, young female virgins who can best be described as *altar girls*. They assist the *kannushi*, or priests, in conducting rituals, sell talismans and fortunes, and occasionally perform sacred dances that reflect their ancient shamanic heritage. But except for a handful of minor shrines traditionally presided over by women, the Shinto priesthood remained almost exclusively male into the late-twentieth century.

As feminist ideas began to have an impact on Japan in the late 1960s and 1970s, however, things began to change. Young women began to take their place in the heretofore all-male *mikoshi*-carrying teams, wearing the same traditional costume—that is, a *happi* (a short, workman's jacket tied around the waist) and a *hachimaki*, or ritual headband—as their brothers. At a small Tokyo neighborhood shrine where this change in the annual *matsuri* occurred, the local *gūji*, or chief priest, had argued in favor of allowing women to carry his shrine's *mikoshi*, in part because in ancient times there were many Shinto priestesses, the most important being the high priestess of Ise.

Moreover, since the 1970s the number of full-fledged, female *kannushi* has steadily increased—in part because of the difficulty of persuading young men to forego lucrative careers in business and enter the priesthood. Thus, female *kannushi* are still very much in the minority, but their ranks are growing.

In short, although a great many *jinja*, urban as well as rural, remain steadfastly conservative, contemporary Shintoism that, since it ceased to be the state religion in 1945, has consisted of a loose confederation of shrines, is beginning to catch up with Japan's emergent feminist movement. Indeed, it is not impossible to believe that someday a high priestess might once again serve Amaterasu at the Inner Shrine at Ise.

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C. Scott Littleton

SIKHISM

The northern Indian religion of Sikhism begins with the first guru, Nānak, born in 1469. It developed with his nine successor gurus between the *eastern* tradition of Hinduism and the *western* tradition of Islam (the tenth guru, Gobind Singh, died in 1708). Although they were male, the Sikh gurus were very sensitive to the hierarchies

of their *doubly patriarchal* society in which the age-old Indian caste system had succumbed to foreign oppressive codes brought in by the Turkish, Afghani, and Mughal rulers. The sacred verse of the gurus and the institutions they created aspired for an egalitarian world without hierarchies of caste, class, sect, race, or sex. They emphasized gender equality and rejected prevalent customs of *sati* and *purdah*, and notions of pollution associated with women's bodies. Nevertheless, because history and exegesis have primarily been the domain of male elites, Sikh scriptural ideals and institutions have neither been fully understood nor practiced by the Sikh community. As a result gender, sex, and sexuality remain extremely complex and convoluted issues for Sikhism.

VISION OF THE SIKH GURUS

Sikh gurus promote gender equality in numerous ways. Their poetic utterances (Sikh scripture, called Guru Granth) form the center of Sikh philosophy, ethics, and rituals. By designating the Divine as numeral *One* at the very outset, Sikh scripture discards centuries-old images of male dominance and power. It opens the way to experiencing the Transcendent One in a female modality: The ontological ground of all existence is *mata*, the Mother; the divine spark within all creatures is *joti*, the feminine light; the soul longing to unite with the Transcendent One is *subagan*, the beautiful young bride; the benevolent glance coming from the Divine is the feminine *nadar*, grace.

From the very origins there is no sex-based apartheid in Sikhism. Men and women can participate equally in the fundamental Sikh institutions of *seva* (voluntary labor), *langar* (community meal in which everybody cooks together and eats), and *sangat* (congregation). Single women, married women, and widows are equally welcome to participate in all spheres of life. There is no priesthood in Sikhism.

Both Sikh men and women wear five symbols of their Sikh identity: *kesha* (untrimmed hair), *kangha* (comb to keep the hair tidy), *kara* (bracelet), *kirpan* (small sword), and *kacha* (long underwear). Whereas Sikh men wear turbans to cover their uncut hair, Sikh women have their hair either neatly braided or put up in a bun and wear their distinctive long sheer scarves (*dupattas*). Both men and women have their hair covered in the presence of their holy book. Sikh men have the last name *Singh*, meaning lion; Sikh women have the last name *Kaur*, meaning princess, which remains the same whether they are married or unmarried, thus freeing them from the lineage of fathers and husbands. The first name can be the same for men and women; Singh and Kaur mark their gender. The gurus denounced conventional taboos against menstrual blood and blood of parturition. Images

of conception, gestation, giving birth, and lactation are powerfully present in Sikh sacred verse.

Though heterosexuality and homosexuality are not explicitly addressed, sexuality is regarded as an important aspect of humanity and spirituality. Celibacy and asceticism that disparage the body and sex are rejected. Male Sikh gurus do not repress or stunt themselves in male–female dualisms, and they express their love for the Divine from a female perspective. They openly identify with *her*, and trace the Transcendent as both father and mother, male and female.

SIKH PRAXIS

The liberating momentum of the Sikh gurus lies buried under ancient discriminations against girls. The flamboyant regime of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) and the British admiration for the *martial* character of the Sikh men have even contributed to a hypermasculine society. From the moment of birth, sons and daughters are chartered out different roles and given a different set of obligations. Sons are privileged in all spheres of Sikh life. They are given a better education and even choicer food than their sisters. It is taken for granted that the daughter will leave her natal home at marriage and join her husband and his family and that her biological parents will be financially responsible for all major events in her life, even after marriage. The son’s family enjoys a status that the daughter’s family simply does not.

The cultural and economic codes have made the obsession with sons so great that modern technology is abused profusely to perform sex-selective abortions and maintain India’s traditional antifemale bias. Although the Indian government has banned the use of sex determination techniques, the law is not enforced. Sikh leaders are beginning to take action against the dwindling ratio of girls.

Under the influence of globalization, women who earlier followed their husbands and fathers are now migrating on their own to study; teach; and enter business, medicine, fashion design, or law. Since the 1980s the traditional Sikh folk dance, *Bhangra*, has become very popular with young music lovers in Britain, USA, and Canada. The popular male voices and patriarchal idioms of *Bhangra* music find a counterbalance in the works of Sikh feminists such as Gurinder Chadha (the director of the 2002 film, *Bend It Like Beckham*) and Shauna Singh Baldwin (author of *What the Body Remembers* [1999]).

Globalization has also triggered a trend in the Punjab to marry off daughters to men settled in distant lands as a means of sponsoring their entire families for immigration. Because women are literally the reproducers of the community, the preservation of *Sikhness* falls primarily on them. Many are becoming victims of the patriarchal code of *Izzat*, or honor.

In its attempt to formalize the message of the gurus, an ethical code (the *Sikh Rahit Maryada*) was developed by Sikh reformers in the middle of the twentieth century. It prohibits infanticide and dowry. Yet, the ancient gender codes and sexist attitudes continue to govern Sikh life. The economic and social demands of Sikh masculinity are so strong that the teachings of the gurus go unheeded. The challenge for the Sikh community is to match up their daily practices with the egalitarian and pluralistic vision of their gurus.

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Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh

SIN CONTRA NATURAM

In theological, philosophical, scientific, legal, and literary texts from the medieval and early modern periods, the term *contra naturam* (against nature) was applied to a range of nonprocreative sexual acts (masturbation, oral sex, same-sex relations, bestiality). From the eleventh century on, the sin against nature was frequently conflated with sodomy, but the meaning of the two terms was never precise or fixed—indeed, it was often deliberately vague; their valence was dependent to a great extent on the immediate context in which they were deployed. Whereas sodomy was an invention of medieval theology, the idea of an act or sin against nature was part of Christianity’s inheritance from the ancient world as elaborated in a broad range of writings. A further factor contributing to the slipperiness of the two terms is that only rarely were they applied in the same manner to both men and women.

The idea of an act against nature was inseparable from conceptualizations of the natural, and ancient Greek authors typically recognized the existence of same-sex sexuality as an observable phenomenon in both nature and

society. In both Aristotelian and Platonic thought, the natural world was gendered—that is, possessing a male, or dominant, principle that *naturally* dominated its female, or passive, counterpart. Any deviation from such arrangements was, by definition, against nature. In ancient Greek and Roman society, free males could thus enjoy sexual relations with women, slaves, or boys as long as they played the active role, whereas homoeroticism between women, though well attested, tended to be viewed by male authors as unnatural because neither partner could assume the dominant role without transgressively assuming the role that properly belonged to the male. In his *History of Animals*, Aristotle (384 BCE–322 BCE) noted same-sex behavior among animals (Brooten 1996) and apparently also considered it natural among humans (Boswell 1980). In Plato (428 BCE–348 BCE), however, one sees the tension between differing formulations of acts defined as *against nature*. In his *Symposium*, Aristophanes’s (448 BCE–380 BCE) myth of the androgynes represents sexual attraction between people of the same sex as a naturally occurring phenomenon in nature. However, in the *Laws* Plato labels same-sex relations as *para physin* (against nature), ascribing them to a lack of self-control (Brooten 1996).

The ancients’ conception of a naturally gendered universe was shared by St. Paul (died c. 66 CE), whose condemnation of unnatural intercourse was to be the authoritative foundation of all subsequent Christian writing on the subject. In Romans 1:26–27, one of several passages traditionally viewed as condemning same-sex relations, immediately after the condemnation of the idolatrous worshipping of false gods, Paul writes: “For this reason, God gave them up to degrading passions. Their women exchanged natural intercourse for unnatural, were consumed with passion for one another. Men committed shameless acts with men and received in their own persons the due penalty for their error.” What Paul meant by unnatural intercourse (rendered in the Vulgate as *usum contra naturam*) is a matter of considerable scholarly debate. Arguing that *contra naturam* should be taken to mean *beyond nature*, that is, extraordinary or peculiar, John Boswell reads the passage as a condemnation of acts (not sexual identities in the modern sense) that show a willful rejection of knowledge of the natural order of God’s creation (Boswell 1980). However, Bernadette Brooten emphasizes that Paul, in condemning same-sex love, condemns above all “sin against the social order established by God at creation” (1996, p. 264). She also argues that his denunciation of same-sex love was not specifically formulated as an argument in favor of procreation. Affirming that what Paul meant by *against nature* in Romans can only be elucidated through an intertextual approach including other Roman-period writings, Brooten concludes that despite the apparent



Clement of Alexandria. *Clement of Alexandria was the most influential Hellenistic writer on this subject of same-sex sexuality.* COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

gender symmetry of Paul’s condemnation, his culture did not view dominant or submissive women within a same-sex relationship as it viewed such relations between men, and that the woman playing the *role of the man* was particularly shocking to Paul’s world view.

As with his contemporary St. Paul, Philo of Alexandria (20 BCE–40 CE), a Hellenized Jewish philosopher whose work influenced Christian authors, condemns male–male sexual relations (specifically but not exclusively those between a man and a boy) as *para physin* and sees such relations as contributing to the *disease* of effeminacy (Boswell 1980). Philo’s definition of acts against nature has procreation as a central concern, for he also considers sexual relations between different species (including bestiality) and between a man and a woman during her menstrual period to be against nature. He does not concern himself with sexual relations between women but displays a specific concern with pederasty, which he says had become widespread in his day (Greenberg 1988). He views the pederast as pursuing an unnatural pleasure resulting in the corruption of the boy and judges both parties worthy of death (Brooten 1996).

Moralists of this period also refer to the animal world when they address same-sex sexuality. The second-century

Christian Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215) was the most influential Hellenistic writer on this subject. Drawing on both Plato and Paul, among many others, Clement holds that same-sex relations, both between males and between females, are unnatural. As does his close contemporary and fellow Christian Tertullian of Carthage (c. 160–225), he specifically condemns female–female marriage as *para physin* (Brooten 1996) and is among the first theologians to articulate the *Alexandrian rule*, to the effect that all sexual intercourse must be directed toward procreation (Boswell 1996). In his enormously influential *Physiologus*, a collection of anecdotes about the animal world, he condemns the supposed ambiguous sexuality of the hare (said to grow a new anus each year) and the hyena (held to be male or female in alternate years). The Mosaic injunction against consuming the flesh of the hare is interpreted by Clement as a rejection of pederasty.

By the early third century of the Christian era, a considerable body of writings, both Christian and non-Christian, with an array of interpretations, supported the condemnation of same-sex sexuality as being against nature. Theologians such as St. John Chrysostom (347–407) in the Asia and St. Augustine (354–430) in Europe drew on this tradition. In his homily on Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, Chrysostom decries all passions as dishonorable but singles out the sins against nature as the most abominable, denying that any pleasure can be derived from them, as real pleasure can in his view only be in accordance with nature. He holds that the sin against nature is even more shameful between women, who are supposed to be naturally more modest than men, and that ultimate depravity prevails when men, supposed to be the teachers of women, practice this vice. Nature knows her own boundaries, he opines, and homoeroticism is unnatural and lawless for breaking down the boundaries between the sexes and sex roles. For Augustine, human sexuality in general is foremost an impediment to salvation. He only allows sex for the purpose of procreation, and he therefore condemned, for example, anal intercourse between man and wife as *unnatural and grossly wicked* (Brooten 1996). Augustine’s treatment of the sin of the Sodomites would prove to be particularly influential on later theologians, for, unlike St. Jerome (c. 345–420), the translator of the Vulgate who interpreted the sin of Sodom as pride, for Augustine, it is specifically, if not exclusively, the sin *contra naturam* of male same-sex copulation.

Whereas the sin against nature thus has its roots in ancient writings, sodomy is a more recent invention of medieval theology, specifically of Peter Damian in his tract the *Liber Gomorrhianus* (c. 1049). Damian’s concern was to reform what he viewed as the rampant moral corruption of the church. He casts sodomy as an espe-

cially pernicious variant of incest, for he alleges that bishops and abbots engage in unnatural acts with their spiritual sons, whom they have brought into the church or monastery. From its inception the sin of sodomy thus appears ambiguous, assimilated to incest but also to hierarchical and generational transgression. Subsequent taxonomies of sin, either theological or pastoral, were no more able to provide a coherent account of sodomy or the sin against nature.

In Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa theologiae* (c. 1265–1274), sodomy is the last of the six species of the capital sin of *luxuria*, subdivided in turn into four types: masturbation, bestiality, same-sex coupling (with reference to Romans 1:27), and otherwise improper coupling (e.g., using an instrument or an improper orifice) (2–2.154). Of these, bestiality is the most serious, solitary masturbation the least. But, as Mark Jordan (1997) argues, one would be mistaken to conclude that sodomy is merely a *middling vice*, for the sodomitic vice is a pleasure with no end in the order of nature and thus a sin against God in his creation. In an earlier text, the *Scripta super libros Sententiarum* (c. 1256), Thomas says that the sin of *luxuria* against nature is, quite simply, unnamable. This incoherence is perhaps most clearly marked in pastoral literature, such as confessors’ manuals. On the one hand they atomize sins, their aggravating or mitigating circumstances, and the relative weighting of penance. On the other confessors were warned against naming the sin against nature for fear that the innocent be tempted to commit it and thus be corrupted. Thus, the sin against nature, falling outside of the order of creation, ultimately falls outside the discursive order as well as unmentionable and unrepresentable, the *sin that dare not speak its name*.

Any attempt to cloak the sodomitic vice in silence was, however, doomed to failure, as theologians, moralists, and natural philosophers continued to delve into the causes, effects, and etiology of the sin against nature. Scientific texts, such as Peter of Abano’s commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems* (1310), sought to give a naturalistic explanation of why some men were given to indulge in anal intercourse. Peter does not blame such men but distinguishes them from “sodomites,” who indulge in this habit through depravity (Cadden 1993). Moralists writing after Damian are anything but silent about the sin against nature, denouncing the supposed corruption of their particular social environment. Etienne de Fougères in his *Livre des Manières* (c. 1174–1178) rails against the court culture of Henry II (r. 1154–1189), ascribing the sin against nature specifically to the ladies at court and, as with St. Paul, advocating death for transgressors. However, it is impossible to know if any of the vices he attributes to the court were practiced there. At a later date the sermons in which Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) attacks sodomy from the pulpit in

Florence and Siena in the 1420s are but one source documenting a rich culture of same-sex erotic and affective ties among men that flourished in the urban centers of fifteenth-century Italy. Civil authorities in Florence were alarmed enough to establish the Office of the Night (*Ufficiali di notte*), the earliest judicial institution whose purpose was to counter same-sex sexual practices (Rocke 1996).

As these final examples indicate, the sin against nature was a highly unstable construct that readily lent itself to a broad array of strategies of containment in both prescriptive and descriptive texts. As such the imputation of sodomy against perceived enemies of the church or the state was a formidable tool. The unorthodox, such as the Albigensians or Cathars, were regularly accused of being sodomites, and the confusion of categories in this instance operated on a lexical level as well. Thus, the Old French *bougre* (bugger) (q.v. bugger, buggery) was applied to heretics and *erite* (heretic) to supposed sodomites. In the late medieval and early modern period, accusations of sodomy were also deployed in court politics, as in the case of Piers Gaveston (c. 1284–1312), the favorite of Edward II (r. 1307–1327). The intersection of politics and sodomy operates as an important theme in Christopher Marlowe's (1564–1593) *Edward II* (c. 1592) and other contemporary literary works. However, with the exception of Renaissance Italy, there is a dearth of documents for the medieval and early modern periods that would make it possible to gage the prevalence of same-sex sexuality at any given time and place. Remaining documents are of interest primarily for their myriad representations of sodomy and the sin against nature.

SEE ALSO *Alan of Lille; Boswell, John; Bugger, Buggery; Catholicism; Damian, Peter; Effeminacy; Nefandum; Sodomy; Sodomy Laws; Sodomy, Repression of.*

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Robert L. A. Clark

SIXTY-NINE

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

SLANG, SEXUAL

Sexual slang is informal language that refers to aspects of sexuality in a way that is secretive, humorous, or metaphorical. It results from cultural taboos, social constraints, contextual influences, ideological struggle, and personal stylistic preferences. Sexual language varies from the technical (*to copulate*) to the more informal, which includes polite euphemisms (*to sleep with*), slang (*to knock boots*), and obscenities (*to fuck*). Most informal sexual language can be considered broadly as sexual slang.

Sex requires slang and euphemisms both because it is fundamental to human existence and because it is frequently taboo to talk about it in public. Because sexual topics are considered private, slang has developed not just for the act of sex itself, but also for most things connected to sex, including genitals, menstruation, masturbation, pregnancy, and certain types of people such as prostitutes. Interestingly, the more taboo a concept is, the more it is talked about. Thus, the notion of copulating has thousands of slang, technical, euphemistic, and obscene terms and phrases that avoid directly naming this ever-present yet ever-hidden activity. Pointing out the difference between talking about sex and having it, psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, in his 1977 book, *Écrits: A Selection*, argues that sexual discourse acts as an outlet to express desire that often has not been satisfied through sexual activity.

Theorists such as Georges Bataille (*Eroticism*, 1987 [1957]) argue that taboos such as those on sexual discourse are necessary components of culture and that ritual activities that allow for the transgression of such taboos both are cathartic and reinforce the taboo. Proving this theory from a historical perspective, Michel

Foucault notes in *The History of Sexuality* (1990 [1978]) that sexual discourse began to be altered in the seventeenth century as repressive governmental and religious policies made it improper to talk about sex outside official venues. As a result circumlocutions developed with metaphors, allusions, euphemisms, and slang, allowing people to talk about sex in code. This use of non-standard English continued and flourished in the Victorian era, a period marked by repression.

GROUP-SPECIFIC SLANG

Slang functions as an alternative to the official or standard language, and it is usually created by groups of people that are similar in terms of class, age, gender, race, sexual orientation, and ethnicity. Individuals create sexual slang in social groups in order to bond with others and establish common attitudes toward sex. Some sexual partners have their own sexual slang that acts as a secret code unknown to outsiders, expressing intimacy and a shared history. Because courtship often involves talking about sex, using slang, verbal sex play, double entendre, or innuendo can help establish a sexual mood, familiarity, or mutual desire. Sexual slang can also be fun, making light of a potentially intimidating topic or highlighting the playful quality of sex.

Evidence suggests that men have a larger sexual slang vocabulary than women, and men use sexual slang and dirty words almost exclusively in same-sex company. Motivations for doing so include affirming masculinity, group bonding, and verbal expression of aggression in general or specifically against women. This kind of talk often includes sexual boasting and challenging, mock-aggressive curses and threats, and denigrating terms that render women as sex objects. Aggressive slang distinctly from the man's perspective includes *bang*, *poke*, and *nail* for sex and *flog the bishop* and *spank the monkey* for male masturbation.

Gay men and lesbians have sexual slang that is particular to their communities. Examples include *cruising*, which means looking for sex partners in popular rendezvous sites; *breeders*, a term for heterosexuals; *friend of Dorothy*, meaning a gay person and referring to Judy Garland's role in *The Wizard of Oz* (1939); and *hasbian*, a woman who used to be lesbian but who now acts as a heterosexual. The slang *dyke* refers to a lesbian, but it was originally one of many other slang words for the vagina that relied on the metaphor of a passage.

African-American slang includes *booty call*, a phone call or visit with the singular goal of having sex; and *jungle fever*, interracial sexual attraction especially by a white person for a person of color. Typical of all slang, popular phrases such as these can easily enter mainstream culture and lose their distinctiveness and exclusivity.

SLANG AND CULTURE

Sexual slang reflects the influence of both nature and culture on human behavior. Some slang emphasizes the fundamental and animalistic side of sexuality, such as eating and hunting, whereas other slang reflects cultural practices, such as sports and dancing. Slang related to the animal world includes *cock* and *donkey* for the penis, and *pussy* and *kitty* for the vagina. Referring to sex itself is *to ride*, which is found in Middle English with sexual meaning; *to mount*; *to make the beast with two backs*, found in William Shakespeare's *Othello*; and *to horse*, popular from the seventeenth century until the twentieth century. Another Shakespearean phrase, *to pick the lock*, refers to sex through the lens of the culture-specific chastity belt. Sports-related phrases for sex include *to score*, *hole in one*, and *the national indoor game*, whereas *to play with oneself* means to masturbate. Related to dancing are *the horizontal dance* and *jazz*, whereas the mixture of electronic and jazz music known as *funk* both resembles and is substituted for the more vulgar fuck.

Sexual slang is found frequently in mass media, including television, movies, and songs, and often functions to bypass censorship. Marvin Gaye's 1973 rhythm and blues song "Let's Get It On" is a classic of seduction that has been played frequently on the radio. Rhyming slang in Britain, from Cockney dialect, successfully communicates harsh and derogatory sexual terms in a very roundabout way. For example, instead of using *cunt*, which is considered highly offensive, rhyming slang substitutes *berk*, which is short for *Berkeley Hunt* or *Berkshire Hunt*. Likewise, many rhyming slang expressions exist for fuck, including *bit of luck*. The word *cunt* itself, which can be used to name the vagina or as an insult for a woman or man, has existed since 1230. It was used by Geoffrey Chaucer in the fourteenth century and was not considered vulgar until the sixteenth century.

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Michelle Veenstra

SLAVERY

Scholarship on the lives of enslaved Black women in the United States and the Caribbean emphasizes the multidimensionality of their roles in two polarized spheres, the dynamic slave community and the plantation economy. Studies of slavery are cogent to discussions of gender because they help to problematize the historiography of *women* and highlight the effects of enterprise on gender identities. A historical examination of Black women under the regime of slavery points to the disunity and incoherence of feminine identity. Slavery set a social precedent by the ways in which Black women occupied at once genderless and engendered spaces as workers and reproducers of labor. Foremost, enslaved women were defined as labor units and, indeed, slavery transformed gender relations, ironically testifying to the equality of men and women.

BONDWOMEN AND WORK

The accumulationist drive of slavery created a binary gender order, one that lauded the virtues of white femininity and the other that defeminized Black women, measuring their worth in terms of their functionality as laborers and as conduits for reproduction. Black women were unequivocally central to slave economies and any understanding of this history requires a triangular analysis of race, gender, and labor extraction as interlinking points of oppression. Moreover, histories that *center* Black women show that Black women's expressions of dissidence during slavery were ubiquitous and vital to the survival of enslaved communities.

The labor requirements of plantation slavery shifted gender representations and constructed Black women primarily as property with productive value. Enslaved women worked as domestics, artisans, farmers, and petty traders. They dominated the ranks of the household labor economy as well as the labor pool of field gangs. Thrust into the brutality of chattel slavery, Black women were recognized as a "versatile and flexible form of capital" (Beckles 1989, p. 3). Slave owners differentiated between skilled and unskilled labor and established hierarchical categories of household occupations, such as housekeepers and domestics. This occupational ladder awarded greater autonomy to some Black women and increased the vulnerability of others to sexual and physical abuse. Slave women served as seamstresses, cooks, and washerwomen, while also being held responsible for the suckling or nursing and weaning white children.

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese argues the importance of the plantation household as an "indispensable unit of analysis because it operated as a site of production and reproduction" (1988, p. 85). Within the slaveholder's household, relations between white women and Black women were framed by the objective position of white

women as "economic actors" (Fox-Genovese 1988, p. 43; Beckles 2001, p. 220). Field women comprised the majority of the plantation workforce because "gender mattered little in the production of raw commodities in New World Slavery" (Morrisey 1989, p. 31). Black bondwomen in the Caribbean weeded, hoed soil, and planted and cut sugarcane, whereas in the Carolinas and Georgia, they were the principal cultivators of rice. Yet, as historian Marietta Morrisey explains, in spite of the perceived "interchangeability of male and female slaves to slaveholders," some measure of gender stratification characterized the labor organization of plantation slavery in the Caribbean (Morrisey 1989, p. 79).

Despite dehumanizing working conditions, Black women struggled to carve out spaces for "quasi-autonomous economic activities" (Wood 1995). In the Caribbean they cultivated "gardens" and in the American South they grew "patches" for household consumption and for petty commerce. These "hucksters," "market women," and vendors were central to the informal economies found among slave populations (Beckles 1989). Southern bondwomen farmed corn, peanuts, tobacco, melons, pumpkins, beans, cabbage and benne (sesame seed) and kept poultry. Furthermore, they produced household goods such as utensils and other commodities for sale. Highly visible in the markets of South Carolina, slave women contributed to the robust informal economy of the slave community. These patterns of autonomous economic initiatives were some of the survival strategies enslaved Black women employed for the reproduction of their households during slavery.

A comradeship formed between Black women and men because of the "all hands" labor policy that joined both sexes in fieldwork (Wood 1995). Betty Wood (1995) argues that in the Southeast, a sexual division of labor was most commonly a feature of semiurban or urban centers where the majority of slave women were domestics, but that the comradeship between bondmen and bondwomen was also identifiable within the slave-based informal economies. In the Caribbean slave women cultivated food for their families and were essential to the internal slave economy as producers and sellers. Despite the visible egalitarianism surrounding productive activities between Black men and women, it did not diminish the impact of gender ideologies imposed by white patriarchy.

Rationalizations in support of hegemonic masculinity strengthened under slavery, and Black women were forced to navigate multilayered systems of gender oppression. On the sugar plantations of Barbados, Black women were the "primary source of labor reproduction" (Beckles 1989, p. 2). As "breeding women" or "breeding wenches," enslaved women were the focus of slave management, and their fertility was a calculated variable to capitalization (Beckles 1989, p. 92). Therefore, slavery was a gendered

experience that included an expressed “woman’s policy” that illustrated just how fundamentally Black women were at “the base of the system” (Beckles 1989, p. 29). Black female bodies were under constant surveillance, sequestered within a “geography of containment” (Camp 2004, p. 28). Black maternity was pivotal to slavery, and mixed-raced children were evidence of the systematic interference of Black women’s sexuality by white men.

Enslaved Black women suffered an enormity of gynecological ailments, and miscarriages were common. Intent on exerting some biological autonomy, enslaved women used infusions of herbs to induce abortion and regulate their fertility. Even as some Black women practiced “gynecological resistance,” Black motherhood could not be disentangled from slavery’s profit margin (Beckles 1989, p. 158). Slave women did not acquiesce to their subordination as *sexual units of production* but used family life as a space for multifarious resistance. The endemic sexual abuse of female slaves was often camouflaged by the projection of hypersexuality onto Black women and a deviant sexuality onto Black men.

DYNAMIC KINSHIP AND RESISTANCE

Black female slaves struggled within a “context of duality,” where multiple households depended on their labor (Bush 1990, p. 8). Early studies emphasized the matrilocality of slave families, but later scholars found that there was diversity in family arrangements within slave communities. In the United States Black family life during postemancipation was often identified as dysfunctional, damaged by a “culture of poverty” and headed by matriarchal women with peripheral Black men. Instead, traditional “conjugal domestic units” were more the norm than the exception under slavery (Morissey 1991, p. 274). Various forms of coresidential kinship, extended families, fictive kin, and mother–child units characterized Black families. Slaves practiced monogamy, polygamy, and serial monogamy within single and multigenerational households. Conjugal relationships were “unable to conform to dominant ideological patterns,” as Black women were excluded from gender norms (Davis 1981, p. 12). In her assessment Angela Y. Davis contended that the oppressive practices of slavery constituted a “negative equality,” which in turn helped to develop egalitarianism between Black men and women (Davis 1981, p. 18). Clearly, Black women were advocates for their families and committed to “subversive community work” (Jones 1985, p. 8). Any discussion of slave family forms has to be contextualized with reference to the forces of class, race, and gender dynamics as well as Black women’s tactics for family survival.

Black women waged, to varying degrees, an everyday subaltern resistance. Strong women were targeted as potential



Harriet Tubman. Harriet Tubman is an iconic figure of female resistance to slavery. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

insurgents and provocateurs. Black women led work stoppages, appropriated goods and food, engaged in infrastructural sabotage, performed self-induced abortions, and participated in marronage, armed resistance, cultural resistance, and knowledge attainment including clandestine literacy. They were not immune from physical punishment such as floggings, whippings, brandings, mutilations, hangings, or punitive rape. The institutionalization of rape was instrumental to systems of control of Black women. Consistently, the exerted agency of Black women was criminalized, and a common terrain of resistance was Black women’s bodies. Bondwomen engaged in antihegemonic practices that precipitated the social and community activism undertaken by Black women following emancipation. Hilary Beckles explained that “anti-slavery mentalities preceded the plantation” and thus a counterperspective to the legitimizing ideologies for slavery emerged among captive African women before they arrived in North America (Beckles 1998, p. 45).

Truancy, escape, and marronage were the most recognizable forms of physical resistance to the institution of

slavery. Historical antislavery activists, such as Nanny from Jamaica and Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth from the United States are iconic figures of female resistance. Whereas women were “key protagonists of social and biological regeneration” within maroon communities, the high valuation of women did not preclude the formation of gender hierarchies (Steady 1981, p. 457). Enslaved women were critical to the “culture of opposition” that existed in juxtaposition to a culture of degradation (Camp 2004).

NARRATIVES AND BLACK WOMEN’S AGENCY

A review of slavery advances the discourse on gender because it disaggregates women as a category and empowers the subjectivity of Black women. Black literature commenced with the slave narrative, and these early texts extolled the power of literacy. Black women’s subjectivity emerged through slave narratives, refracting resistance through orality. Slave narratives were testimonies that exposed the intimacies of injustice. DoVeanna Fulton refers to these expressions as “oral resistance” that valorizes Black female subjectivity. Narratives implicated slavery as “crystallizing Black women’s experiences of oppression” and articulated a rebuttal to oppression (2006, p. 6). Autobiographical narratives authored by Black women and oral life stories point to a “Black feminist epistemology” (Hill Collins 1990). The corpus of slave narratives include *Incidents in the Life of A Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs (writing as Linda Brent, 1861), *Narrative of Sojourner Truth, A Northern Slave, Emancipated from Bodily Servitude by the State of New York* (1850), *Letters of Phyllis Wheatley, the Negro Slave Poet of Boston* (1864), *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman* (1864), and collected interviews from the Works Progress Administration. Slave testimonies contested the depersonalization experienced by women and cracked the unnatural silences forced on them. Toni Morrison, author of the novel *Beloved*, explains that her writing process draws on a “literary archeology” to access the interiority of Black female subjectivity. Her writing accentuates an emotional memory that is interwoven with imagination, whereby she “extends, fills in and complements slave autobiographical narratives” (Morrison 1998, p. 199). Cultural memory and emotional memory reaffirm identity and reclaim agency. These diverse “liberatory narratives” interrogated the parameters of freedom and illuminated the journey from “objectification to subjectivity” (Davis 2004, p. 305).

Black women were “quadruply burdened” by the hazards of slavery, reproduction, gender oppression, and racial oppression (Gaspar and Hine 1996, p. 210). Because slavery was “female focused,” an appraisal of the productive lives of Black women is of paramount importance (Beckles

1998, Davis 1981). Slavery was a seminal process that “invented” new ethnic, cultural, political, and gender identities. American slavery set the tone for future movements where peoples of African descent fought to “define their collective identity and address the structure of hierarchy” (Mullings 1997, p. 132). Theorizing about the impact of slavery on contemporary gender relations requires that conceptual models are employed that “capture the multiple jeopardy of the interacting processes that face Black women” (King 1988, p. 47). The greater objective parity between Black men and women has been decisive in configuring family life and recasting gender ideologies.

The histories of Black women throughout the Caribbean and the United States demonstrate the “meta-language of race” and how it shapes multiple identities discursively and ideologically (Higginbotham 1992). The experience of “simultaneous oppressions” informs a “Black women’s standpoint” and draws on the distinctive histories of Black women (Hill Collins 1990). Slavery was an extreme example of the trajectory of race in relation to other systems of power. In sum, slavery as an institution was embedded with paradoxical ideologies and practices, and its importance lies in its demonstration of how gender identity cannot be extricated from relations of race, community, culture, and class.

SEE ALSO *Family; Gender, Theories of; Hierarchy.*

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Sayida Self

SLAVERY, SEXUAL

SEE *Trafficking of Women*.

SNUFF FILMS

A snuff film is a film that records an actual murder committed solely for the purposes of that film. Often, the alleged death occurs in relation to scenes of sexualized torture, and the victims are likely to be women. The idea that women, especially women willing to star in pornographic films, are expendable, is an integral part of the snuff-film legend, although there are also legends about gay snuff films involving the sacrifice of young, naive males. Snuff films, though primarily the stuff of international urban legend, represent the extreme capacity of humans to watch and enjoy the suffering of others. Also, the idea of capturing death on film or video cuts through all ideas about film as essentially staged. Recognizing an actual onscreen death makes film's realism all too real. There are also many false snuff films in which scenes of people being murdered are faked. Snuff films about snuff films comprise a subgenre of horror film.

The term *snuff*, meaning to kill someone, existed in English before its inclusion in a film genre rubric. The term *snuff film* was used by Ed Sanders in his 1971 book *The Family: The Story of Charles Manson's Dune Buggy Attack Battalion*. The Manson family was rumored to have murdered someone, filmed the act, and then buried the film in the desert. No one has ever found the film. There are those who enjoy watching people die, most often psychopaths, who videotape their own crimes so they can relive their experiences. Serial killers Paul Bernardo (b. 1964) and Karla Homolka (b. 1970), for example, recorded their acts of sexual torture and murder. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, British police admitted to the existence of child snuff films made in Russia.

Snuff films that record deliberate murder are different from films that compile scenes of people dying, often violently. Such compilation films as *Faces of Death* (1978), for example, combine scenes of executions, accidental death, and suicide, but none of these scenes was made specifically for the film, and the victims all died in other circumstances. The same is true of a series of videos depicting torture and genocide in Chechnya, which circulated in Russia in the mid-1990s. It is most likely that real snuff films do not, for the most part, actually exist. Nevertheless, rumors about a number of snuff films have circulated, including the aforementioned film by the Manson family, the Japanese *Guinea Pig* films, and Italian and South American snuff films. Rumors of gay snuff films have circulated in Boston and New York, though they have never been verified. Those in Boston claimed the films were from New York, and those in New York claimed they were from Boston.

There are many videos available that include scenes of people actually dying. In the early 2000s Internet

videos of Iraq hostage executions showed the beheadings of real individuals in horrific circumstances. The purpose of these videos was terror. The Zapruder film of the 1963 assassination of John F. Kennedy has long been familiar; and television programs such as *World's Wildest Police Videos* (1998–2002) show violent death, exciting only the worst parts. Executions are often filmed and sometimes find their way into compilations or even art films such as Michelangelo Antonioni's *Professione: Reporter* (1975), which contains the filmed sequence of a death by firing squad. Occasionally, people die during the process of making porn films. These death scenes, even if included in fiction films, do not make any of these films snuff films, because the deaths were not a scripted element of the film.

Most snuff films that circulate, however, are fake. Capitalizing on the Manson rumors, faked snuff films began to circulate in the 1970s. Low-end film producer Allan Shackleton, using the promotional line "Made in South America—Where Life Is Cheap," released *Snuff*, in which a faked death was added to the end of a tacky slasher film, previously titled *The Slaughter*. South American director Cláudio Cunha made *Snuff, vítimas do prazer* (Snuff, victims of pleasure) in 1977, and the Italian director Ruggero Deodato released *Cannibal Holocaust* in 1980 with a murder scene so realistically filmed that authorities questioned him about whether or not it was faked. It was. Other fake snuff films appeared every so many years, including the series of Guinea Pig films made in Japan in the 1980s and early 1990s. These films simulate the amateur quality imagined to belong to the authentic snuff film and show the slow torture and murder of female victims. The films were so realistic that they inspired the Japanese serial killer Tsutomu Miyazaki and caused the actor Charlie Sheen to call the police convinced he had seen a real snuff film. The incidents then inspired an episode of the television program *Law and Order*.

The snuff films of urban legend are underground films, reputedly circulating secretly, always made in some exotic location such as South America, which is imagined to have less control over the fates of its citizens. The idea of a snuff film in which an often enthusiastic and completely unwitting actor is sacrificed reflects a fear about the valuelessness and inconsequentiality of individual lives. As such, the idea of the snuff film itself becomes the subject of horror films as well as a commentary on the film industry. There is a long tradition of horror films in which a protagonist discovers a secret snuff-film ring. The 1978 film *The Evolution of Snuff*, directed by horror king Wes Craven, pretends to be a documentary film about the making of snuff films. *Final Cut* (1993), *Snuff Killer* (2003), and *8MM* (1999), the latter directed by Joel Schumacher and starring Nicolas Cage, are all

films plotted around the discovery of snuff filmmaking. Most of these horror snuff films are about a protagonist either stumbling upon a snuff film ring or, as in *8MM*, trying to determine if a snuff film is actually a real snuff film. With advanced digital imaging technologies, there will no doubt continue to be fake snuff films, ever more realistically filmed, but the jolt of real life and death imagined in the older snuff film will, with such realistic technology, always come into question.

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Judith Roof

SODOM AND GOMORRAH

Sodom and Gomorrah—as a series of historical events, as an archaeological site, as a set of biblical claims, and as an enduring and protean set of cultural myths—has been burdened with both the complexities of biblical and theological interpretation and of cultural metaphor. The recitation of the biblical account of events in Sodom and Gomorrah and the extensive extratheological uses of these narratives represent the fears and preoccupations of the populations that have given this story ongoing vitality.

Geographically, Sodom and Gomorrah were two cities of the Pentapolis, a group of five towns of the plain of the Jordan River thought to be located approximately 11 kilometers (7 miles) south of the Dead Sea. Archaeological evidence since the mid-1980s and revisions in translations have been instrumental in a contemporary shift in interpretation of the meaning of Sodom and Gomorrah in biblical and contemporary contexts.

THE BIBLICAL OUTLINE

Sodom and Gomorrah are referred to throughout the Bible, including references in the books of Genesis, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Malachi, Luke, Jude, and Revelation. According to the biblical outline, Lot elected to live in Sodom because of the quality of abundant grazing land for his flocks, necessary to him because he, as had his uncle, Abraham, had become wealthy with livestock. God advises Abraham that he plans to destroy Sodom. Abraham beseeches that God not destroy the city—that he not destroy the righteous along with the



Lot and Family Fleeing Sodom and Gomorrah. Illustration depicting Lot and his family fleeing from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, c. 1500. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

wicked. In response to Abraham's plea, God declares that he will spare the city if fifty righteous people can be found in Sodom. Ultimately, God settles for the discovery of ten righteous people in the city as sufficient reason to spare it from destruction. When Lot alone is found to be righteous, God plans to destroy the city. Two men meet Lot at the gates of Sodom. Lot knows them to be angels, and he takes them into his house as guests. Soon after their arrival the men of Sodom demand that Lot send his guests out so they could know them, commonly interpreted as bearing sexual implication. Lot offers the men his two daughters instead, and the men of Sodom became angry, rushing the door of Lot's house. The angels stop the men, blinding them. They warn Lot that they have been sent to destroy the city and that he should remove his family from Sodom. Lot and his family are

directed by God to refrain from looking back as they flee their home and city. Lot's wife, however, cannot resist her urge to turn around, perhaps suggesting her unwillingness to relinquish her material goods. The resulting punishment: Lot's wife is turned into a pillar of salt, but Lot and the rest of his family escape safety to the city of Zoar.

The central question posed by this story remains: What was the sin of Sodom that resulted in its destruction? In traditional Christian interpretations, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah represents the literal recounting of actual events, including the rain of brimstone and fire that destroys the cities. In this view the sin of Sodom concerns the desire for *strange flesh* and the men of Sodom desiring to *know* the angels. These expressions, in English translation, have been understood as

expressions of homosexual desire, and the expression of such desires brings the wrath of God. The traditional interpretation in Judaism understands the central sins of the people as greed, lack of compassion, and failure to extend hospitality to visitors. The Koran and Islamic tradition tell the story somewhat differently without direct reference to the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah but with explicit identification of the behavior of the men of Sodom as homosexual and *beyond bounds*. The contemporary secular view, informed by geological, archaeological, and historical evidence, holds that the story of Sodom and Gomorrah concerns two issues: a revised understanding of the geophysical events reported as God's destruction of the cities through a rain of fire and brimstone, and a revised understanding of the linguistic problems associated with the translation of key terms and concepts.

CONTEMPORARY FINDINGS AND REINTERPRETATIONS

Archaeological findings and satellite imaging reveal that subsurface activity and tectonic shifting produced an earthquake and forced masses of sulfuric acid out from underground, resulting in fires and massive destruction. Situated on a fault line south of the Dead Sea, the Pentapolis experienced the pressurized release of subterranean bitumen into the atmosphere. Interacting with fires or sparks on the ground, the petroleum-rich bitumen ignited and resulted in massive fires. Prior to this environmental activity of approximately 5,000 years ago, the land around the salty Dead Sea was lush, and the area where Sodom was situated was particularly verdant and congenial to farming. This would explain its attractiveness and the accumulation of wealth by the residents, providing a context for the biblical view that greed and lack of generosity characterized the people of Sodom.

Linguistic challenges to the conventional interpretation of Sodom and Gomorrah focus on three elements. First, the names of these two cities are derived from the Hebrew *Sodom*, meaning *burned*, and *Gomorrah*, meaning *ruined heap*, suggesting that the name by which these towns are known were coined after their destruction, because the cities were neither burned nor ruined before their claimed destruction by God. This view tends to support the idea that the story of Sodom and Gomorrah emerges largely as a parable rather than in faithful service of a set of historical events. Second, the centrality of the homosexual desire in the men of Sodom rests heavily on the understanding of the word *know* as a euphemism for sexual intercourse. Modern interpretations suggest that the men of Sodom intended to know the strangers and thereby discover the identity of Lot's guests. Finally, the supposition of homosexual desire on the part of the men of Sodom for the guests relies on a

translation from Hebrew to English in which the Hebrew *enoshe* is taken as meaning *men*, when *esh* would have likely been used to indicate that the Sodomites who wished to know the guests were male. In fact, the Hebrew *enoshe* likely demarcates the mortal residents of Sodom from the angels who were Lot's guests. Indeed, both *esh* and *enoshe* are used in this contested passage from Genesis, differentiating male-gendered humans from mortals.

In actuality, the sin illustrated by the story of Sodom and Gomorrah is less likely the menace of homosexual contact than is the violation and serious breach of cultural practice represented by Lot's selfishness and the selfishness of the people of Sodom. Greed, unwillingness to share, and the widely recognized, traditionally Middle Eastern, violation of the rules of hospitality lie at the heart of the moral of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. Indeed, if any sexual misdeed or violation of cultural protocol is described in the story, many scholars suggest that the discussion in Genesis of strange flesh refers to the citizens of Sodom seeking sexual relations with nonmortals rather than seeking homosexual congress.

PLACE IN EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN NARRATIVES

The legend of Sodom and Gomorrah has, at least since the thirteenth century, occupied a special place in European and North American theological and secular narratives, signifying evil, sin, and, in particular, the perils of homosexual contact between men. In the United States prior to the colonial period, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah did not carry the moral imprecations more familiar in contemporary discourse. Contemporary political and cultural preoccupations have provided particular support to some of the less informed interpretations of this story. The particular emphasis on a mythology that surrounds the claimed homosexual desire in the story has enjoyed popularity since the 1980s and a widespread popular renaissance, with implications for drawing contemporary lines of moral judgment.

The story of Sodom and Gomorrah has moved beyond simple biblical interpretation. It has formed the basis for religious training, been cited for its moral authority in public policy contexts, and been mistakenly used in knowing-but-tongue-in-cheek ways, such as the exchanging of *Saddam* and *Sodom* in humorous contexts. As with many lasting foundational narratives of civilization that transcend time and circumstance, this story's cultural uses stem largely from bad or inadequate translations, cultural fantasy, and lack of archaeological knowledge. Increased archaeological excavation, enhanced satellite imaging, and ongoing improvements in translation and interpretation will yield a more balanced understanding of the various genuine meanings of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah.

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Melinda Kanner

SODOMY

Sodomy, as the term is generally used, refers to anal sex. It most commonly is used to describe anal sex between two males, although it has also been used to describe anal sex between a man and a woman. In common parlance in Great Britain, the term *buggery* is used. It carries the same connotations as sodomy but is often used as well to describe a kind of benign, nonstigmatized queerness. According to historian John Boswell, the word sodomy has meant, over time, "everything from ordinary heterosexual intercourse in an atypical position to oral sexual contact with animals. At some points in history it has referred almost exclusively to male homosexuality and at other times almost exclusively to homosexual excess" (Gomes 1996, p. 150).

Sodomy is often considered the most infamous of all sexual acts, because some see it as a mockery of heterosexual intercourse and because it is the act most specifically linked with pederasty. Thus, sodomy is considered either irreverent or predatory or both. The defining characteristic of sodomy seems to be the insertion of an actual penis into a rectum. Therefore, the use of sex toys or other surrogates, even when inserted into the rectum, is not generally considered sodomy. This distinction means that lesbian sex acts, some of which may involve a surrogate penis used or worn by a woman, often have no legal status as sexual activity. The legal stigmatization of male homosexuality, therefore, has largely been avoided by lesbians. While creating a degree of legal safety for lesbians, such attitudes indicate the general disregard with which lesbian sexuality is treated.

BIBLICAL PERSPECTIVES

The word sodomy is biblical in origin, derived from the name Sodom, one of the five cities of the plain of the Jordan River that, according to the biblical book of Genesis, were destroyed by God because of the sinfulness of their inhabitants. The specific sins of these five cities

are not recorded, but their destruction was immediately preceded by an attempt by one group of male citizens in Sodom to *know* another group of men who were visiting (actually angels of God in disguise). The Hebrew word *yadha* commonly means either *to become acquainted with* or *to have heterosexual intercourse with*. In translations and interpretations of this text over time, however, it has become associated with homosexual intimacy, specifically anal sex. While the meaning of know in this instance is contextually ambiguous, it has become the scriptural basis for the general prohibition of homosexuality in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions.

Homosexuality in scripture has been reevaluated following the increasing visibility and acceptance of homosexuals since the late-twentieth century, as well as the discovery of various ancient scriptural manuscripts whose texts differ from later versions upon which most modern translations are based. Many scholars have come to believe that if the word know indeed means carnal knowledge, then the wickedness of the Sodomites was that they wished to rape their visitors, not that the sex act they intended would involve two men. New Testament scholars point out that in the books of Matthew and Luke, Jesus himself claims that Sodom was destroyed because its citizens were inhospitable to others, which seems to reinforce the claim that rape, not anal sex, was the crime of the Sodomites. After millennia of prejudice against homosexuality, however, these new understandings of scripture have been slow to take hold.

PERSPECTIVES IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

The history of sodomy in European and North American culture has been, as Boswell points out, varied. Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1400), in *The Canterbury Tales*, offered a definition of sodomy that encompassed all sex acts that are not procreative—anything other than heterosexual vaginal intercourse. Pope Gregory IX (c. 1155–1241), in the thirteenth century, called sodomites "abominable persons—despised by the world [and] dreaded by the council of heaven" (Fone 2000, p. 8). In court documents from the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries, a variety of sexual acts with partners of various sexes, ages, and species are referred to as sodomy, including charges of *imperfect sodomy*, apparently referring to lesbianism (Greenberg 1988). In fourteenth-century Italy sodomy was linked to wealth and aristocracy. The rising middle classes, prevented from assuming positions of civic authority by the hereditary nobility, criticized the upper classes for their self-indulgence in all matters, including those sexual. Oddly, they accused the nobility of sodomy because it was seen as (along with wealth and power) something that the middle classes were prevented from having but which they aspired to. This

may be the only moment in European culture when sodomy became something for nonsodomites to desire (Greenberg 1988).

Throughout the history of Europe and North America, sodomy has been illegal. In ancient times penalties for sodomy included death. This is worth noting in that sodomy is the one sexual crime almost exclusively linked to male sexual practice. Other sexual crimes (particularly adultery) that incur the death penalty have traditionally been viewed as women's crimes. The prohibitions against sodomy have rarely been prosecuted, however. Except in historical moments of extreme religious strictness, people have generally only been charged with sodomy in conjunction with other crimes.

European and North American nations have been slow to decriminalize sodomy. Prohibitions against the practice were lifted in several countries in the late-twentieth century but were visibly reinforced in the United States. In *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986), the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that a citizen of the state of Georgia could be prosecuted for engaging in consensual sodomy in his own home. Legally, the matter concerned an interpretation of the U.S. Constitution's Fourth Amendment prohibition against unreasonable search and seizure: Police entered the house in response to a disturbance, were admitted by someone other than the owner, and discovered the owner engaging in anal sex in his bedroom. Once the Court decided that the search of the home was legal, the sodomy charges against the homeowner could proceed; in addition the Court found that Georgia's law prohibiting sodomy was legal. The Court found that the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection guarantee was not applicable to issues of homosexual practice. The Court reversed itself in *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003) and held that all state laws prohibiting sodomy were unconstitutional. In the years between the two decisions, many states, including Georgia, had overturned their own antisodomy laws; the Court invalidated such laws still in effect in states at the time of the *Lawrence* ruling.

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SODOMY LAWS

Sodomy laws, or more accurately, antisodomy laws, are statutes that prohibit sodomy. The term *sodomy* refers generally to modes of sexual intercourse involving the anus or body parts other than the penis or vagina. More specifically the term refers to male anal intercourse with another male, although the term is sometimes enlarged to refer to anal intercourse between males and females, males and animals, or any sexual act that is not heterosexual genital intercourse. The term sodomy derives from the name of the town Sodom, described in Genesis as a place of careless sin and deep lack of hospitality. In the Bible God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah because their residents threatened to rape the angels visiting Lot. Although as David F. Greenberg (1988) observes, there is no connection between biblical passages about Sodom and Gomorrah and the sexual acts now called sodomy; the name of Sodom was belatedly transposed into a term referring to anal intercourse between men. The term sodomy meaning male intercourse with males first appears in English in the late thirteenth century.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The history of laws proscribing anal intercourse between men or between members of a heterosexual couple is somewhat varied. Some cultures, such as ancient Mesopotamia, did not consider homosexuality or sexual variations at all. The Code of Hammurabi, one of the earliest extant collections of laws (c. 1780 BCE), does not mention male-male sexual practices. Ancient Assyria (1450–1250 BCE) punished sodomy with castration: "If a man has lain with his male friend and a charge is brought and proved against him, the same thing shall be done to him and he shall be made a eunuch." Under the *Vendidad* (c. 250–650), the Zoroastrian collection of laws, male homosexuality was understood as an effect of demons: "The man that lies with mankind as man lies with womankind, or as woman lies with mankind, is the man that is a Daeva [demon]; this one is the man that is a worshipper of the Daevas, that is a male paramour of the Daevas."

In ancient Greece homoerotic relationships formed the basis for social ties, especially between older and younger men. The Greeks had no specific term for

homosexuality or sodomy because the gender of sexual partners did not mean the same thing for the Greeks as it does for early twenty-first-century North American and Europeans. Pre-Christian Rome had a similar social system as the Greeks in which relationships between men were tolerated. The emperor Nero (12–41) is reported to have publicly *married* several male partners. Emperor Hadrian's (76–138) preference for men was also well known and tolerated. What Romans did not so easily tolerate was males who played the woman's part in homosexual relations. Caesar Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE) punished such male effeminacy in his law treating adultery.

The late Roman Empire finally promulgated the first European law openly prohibiting sodomy in 390. The law was part of a *code* of laws set forth by Emperor Theodosius (c. 345–395), who was under the influence of the Christian Church. At that time some powerful men in Rome were eunuchs or were homosexual. These men opposed the church, which in turn used scripture to disadvantage its enemies. The growing influence of a Christianity that had imported Old Testament prohibitions and that understood sexual pleasure as contrary to virtue made sexual behaviors easy targets for prohibition.

The Byzantine emperor Justinian (c. 482–565) outlawed homosexuality in 533 in the Justinian Code. As in Augustus's earlier prohibition, homosexual acts were linked to adultery. Other European cultures only later followed Rome's lead. For the most part, however, the church was primarily responsible for defining homosexual acts as sins. The church's policy was defined by Augustine (354–430), who, following the apostle Paul, determined that sexual pleasure was permissible only as procreation within marriage. Because homosexuality, as with adultery, was a sin, its punishment was penance imposed by the church rather than by a secular authority.

Although through the Middle Ages the church defined sodomy as a matter of sin rather than as a crime, sexual transgressions of priests finally catalyzed the first secular laws against homosexual sex. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the church itself became less tolerant of its priests' lack of celibacy, particularly of their marriages and mistresses. When their heterosexual dalliances ceased, some priests became more interested in homosexual relations with their brethren. In the eyes of the rising class of bourgeois merchants, sexual excess of any kind became associated with a decadent feudal aristocracy in league with the church. As a part of his power struggle against the Catholic Church, Henry VIII (1509–1547) devised the first English law prohibiting sodomy in 1533: "Forasmuch as there is not yet sufficient and condign punishment appointed and limited by the due course of the Laws of this realm, for the detestable and abominable

Vice of Buggery committed with mankind or beast," a crime punishable by hanging. Henry's law defines buggery as both male homosexual anal intercourse and bestiality. Because Henry's antibuggery law was linked to his war with the Catholic Church, the law was repealed whenever a Catholic monarch, such as Queen Mary, took power in England. With the Protestant Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), however, the statute was instituted for good and became the basis for all such laws in England's many colonies.

The rest of Europe continued with church law, although Italy had also made sodomy a capital crime that was pretty much ignored in daily life. After the French Revolution in 1789, sodomy was omitted from the penal code, and again from the code adopted in France in 1810. The basic concepts of the 1810 code also became the basis for much of the law in Spanish South America. European traders and colonizers found that in China and Japan, there were no prohibitions against male homosexual relations.

Fears about moral laxity believed to have instigated the French Revolution spurred the English aristocracy into a campaign against vice in the nineteenth century. Joined with more general puritanical beliefs about the sinfulness of pleasure, this attitude formed the basis for legal prohibitions against sodomy and homosexuality in the United States. Just as it had been in England, the colonies made sodomy—considered an *infamous crime against nature*—a capital crime, though after the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), most states eliminated the death penalty for such behavior and usually did not prosecute people. State laws, which followed English prohibitions against sodomy, were based on scriptural prohibitions and considered sodomy both unnatural and a crime against God.

Until the nineteenth century, when the medical establishment became interested in sexual behavior and began to scientifically study various sexual phenomena such as prostitution, laws governing sexual behavior persisted but did not loom large in the public imagination. With the increasing visibility of sexology in the late nineteenth century and psychoanalysis slightly later, the issue of homosexuality, and more specifically the act of anal intercourse, became the object of some public attention, especially when Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) was tried and convicted of this crime in England in 1895. As public cultures shifted from a religious to a scientific basis, it became less certain that sexual behaviors were *unnatural*. If anything, this uncertainty seemed to make sodomy laws all the more necessary. By 1960, all states in the United States had adopted legislation criminalizing sodomy.

THE BATTLE OVER DECRIMINALIZATION

At the same time that the legal codes of states criminalized sodomy, legal scholars suggested that sodomy should be decriminalized. The American Law Institute's Model Penal Code of 1955 did not include sodomy, though it is certainly the case that states did not immediately follow the model's lead. Only Illinois removed sodomy from its criminal laws in a 1961 revision without much comment from anyone. Before the burgeoning awareness created by gay and feminist rights activists in the late 1960s, however, modernization of penal codes eliminated sodomy as a crime in twenty-three other states, starting with Idaho and Connecticut.

Such laws were the obvious place for gay rights activists to begin their work. In California, New York, Minnesota, and the District of Columbia, gay rights movements worked to persuade state legislatures to repeal their sodomy laws. Once the issue of gay rights entered the foreground, it sparked resistance from conservatives and others who might not otherwise have paid attention to legal reform. Starting a battle about rights ended up producing a battle about what was morally correct, natural, and culturally desirable. Sodomy laws became one symbol of a war of beliefs and attitudes about government, privacy, morality, and family values. The side opposing sodomy statutes argued that individuals have a right to express their sexuality with another consenting adult in private. The side wishing to retain such laws argued that it is the government's job to enforce public morality defined as the beliefs of the majority. The latter kind of appeal resonates with previous centuries' confluence of religion and law. In California the public campaign to repeal the sodomy law succeeded, but by a margin of only one vote in the legislature. New York, Minnesota, and the District of Columbia did not repeal their laws until after 1980.

With the increased visibility of a homosexual minority as well as the revitalized religious fundamentalist movements in the 1970s and 1980s, a battle over values began in the United States that continued into the early twenty-first century. Law is only one place where such battles are joined. As some states continued the movement toward legal reform and modernization, other states where religious lobbies were stronger passed new laws outlawing homosexual behavior. In 1974 Kentucky passed a statute outlawing anal intercourse between men (but not between heterosexual partners). Three years later Arkansas passed a similar law. Because the Kentucky law singled out male participants, it was declared unconstitutional by the Kentucky Supreme Court.

The advent of AIDS in the 1980s galvanized fears about homosexuality and again made sodomy laws a matter of public interest. This produced what is perhaps the most famous of two key contemporary cases treating the

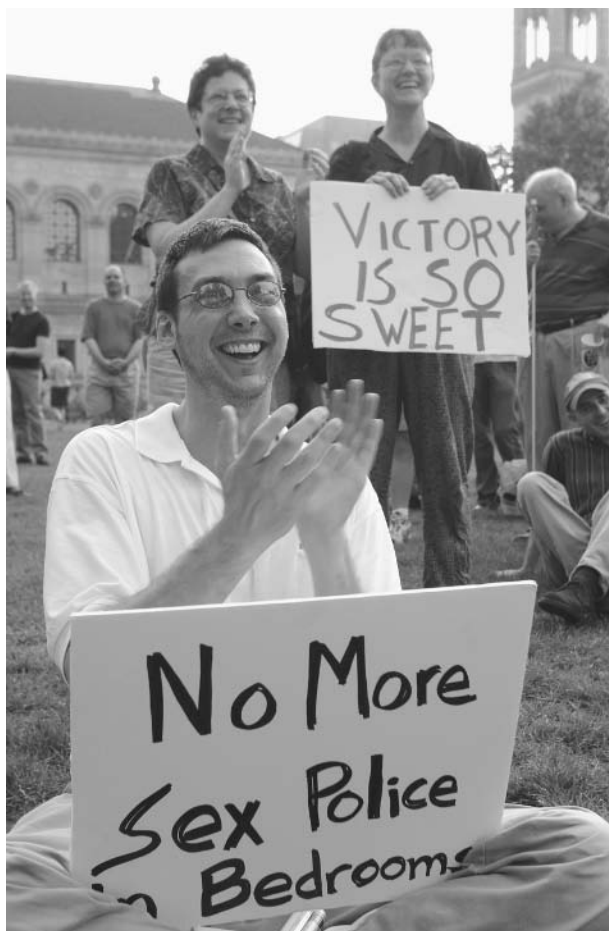
constitutionality of states' antisodomy legislation. *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986) tested the constitutionality of Georgia's antisodomy law, but it also represented a case of extremely invasive police action. An undercover police officer had targeted Michael Hardwick, a bartender in an Atlanta gay bar. Going to Hardwick's house the officer was admitted by one of Hardwick's friends who thought the officer was another friend. The officer caught Hardwick in the middle of consensual sexual activity with another male and arrested him under the Georgia antisodomy statute, which punished sodomy by up to twenty years' imprisonment. The Georgia statute defined sodomy as sexual acts involving the mouth or anus of one person with the genitals of another. Although the state dropped the charges, Hardwick brought the case in order to have the courts determine whether the statute itself was an unconstitutional abridgment of individual rights under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

The U.S. District Court dismissed Hardwick's case, saying that he presented no case to be adjudicated. The Court of Appeals, however, determined that the statute violated a homosexual's right to privacy under the Ninth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The attorney general of Georgia, Michael J. Bowers, appealed the Court of Appeals decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled on the case in 1986. A divided court found that "the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment does not confer any fundamental right on homosexuals to engage in acts of consensual sodomy."

Despite what seemed to be a negative decision by the Supreme Court, other states continued to repeal or change their sodomy laws. Some states, such as Nevada, altered a gay-only sodomy law (a law that proscribed sodomy only between same-sex couples) to a law prohibiting public sexual activity. The U.S. Congress, which makes the laws for the District of Columbia, finally repealed the district's sodomy law in 1995. Rhode Island's antisodomy law was not repealed until 1998.

STATUS IN THE EARLY TWENTY- FIRST CENTURY

As of 2006 thirteen states still had antisodomy laws on the books, including Texas and Michigan, though a 2003 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, *Lawrence v. Texas*, suggests that state antisodomy laws are unconstitutional. The Lawrence case involved the arrest of two adult males who were having consensual sex in their home, an arrest made possible by a Texas antisodomy statute that made engaging in "deviate sexual intercourse" with another individual of the same sex" a misdemeanor. The Supreme Court held that the Texas law "violated the adults' vital interests in liberty and privacy protected by the due process clause of the federal Constitution's Fourteenth



Gays and Lesbians Celebrate Supreme Court Ruling Overturning Sodomy Law. Celebrating the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to overturn the Texas sodomy law that prohibited consensual sex between same-sex partners in 2003. © REUTERS/CORBIS.

Amendment.” The Court also determined that the statute “sought to control a personal relationship.” It declared further that “the state could not demean the adults’ existence or control their destiny by making their private sexual conduct a crime, as the adults’ right to liberty under the due process clause gave them the full right to engage in their conduct without intervention of the government.”

The Supreme Court’s decision in *Lawrence v. Texas* makes it difficult for those states that still have antisodomy laws to prosecute offenders. Even though one state’s statute may be declared unconstitutional, other states with different statutes covering a similar crime may continue enforcing their laws until the laws are challenged or changed by their legislatures. This was the case, for example, in Kansas until the Kansas Supreme Court (in *State of Kansas v. Limon*) declared the Kansas sodomy statute unconstitutional. States may still prohibit sodomy in certain kinds

of circumstances: with minors, in public, without the consent of both parties. But the kinds of nonreproductive sexual activity often outlawed by sodomy laws have become a part of the behaviors and rights that the Supreme Court deems protected by the Fourteenth Amendment.

This decriminalization in the United States followed the more liberal policies that were already in place in Europe. There are no antisodomy laws in Europe, including in the Vatican City. In the Caribbean and South America, there are still sodomy laws in Nicaragua, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. In East and South Asia, antisodomy laws are more prevalent, existing still in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Fiji, India, Malaysia, Myanmar, Nepal, New Guinea, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Uzbekistan, and Samoa. Afghanistan and Pakistan still have the death penalty for the crime, whereas punishments in other countries range from three years to life in prison. Sodomy is still illegal in most African countries, with the notable exceptions of Chad, the Congo, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, and South Africa. The death penalty for the crime persists in Nigeria, Mauritania, and the Sudan, whereas other countries punish sodomy with prison terms of between three years and life. Only in Jordan and Israel is sodomy legal in the Middle East, whereas in all other countries it is illegal and in several (Iran, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen) it carries the death penalty.

Laws regulating the private consensual sexual behavior of adults often seem still to be linked to religious beliefs. However, as a survey of such laws around the world shows, there is not always a correlation between state religions and sodomy laws nor does one religion seem to have a stricter prohibition than any other. The presence of antisodomy laws may reflect cultural anxieties about hierarchy and order or insecurities about family stability, because most of the extant antisodomy statutes are in less industrialized countries. The presence of antisodomy laws may also reflect as well the status of women in these countries.

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Judith Roof

SODOMY, REPRESSION OF

In most historical periods, same-sex sexual activity has left few traces. By contrast, verbal sanctions that regulated or sought to regulate homoeroticism have often survived in writing. For the pre-modern period, sexual prohibitions therefore provide one of the main sources for our knowledge of sexual cultures in the past.

The earliest known prohibitions on same-sex sexual activity arose from societies in the Near East with little separation between a legal and a religious sphere: the Zoroastrian “Code Against the Devas,” the Book of Leviticus, St. Paul’s New Testament letters, and the Koran. Such passages, taken from specific contexts, are far from unequivocal.

Reiterations of older laws or commentaries sometimes invested precedents with clear-cut meanings they had originally lacked. Genesis 19, God’s wrath over Sodom’s sinfulness, emerged as the *locus classicus* to advocate for penal severity with regard to male-male sex acts. Justinian’s law code of 528/542 elaborated on the tale of Sodom’s destruction by positing a causal link between same-sex sexual acts and natural disasters such as epidemics or earthquakes.

Lack of prohibitions against same-sex sexual activity does not necessarily indicate freedom of sexual expression, however. In ancient Greece sex was a question of ethics, not a matter of regulation by the law. Certain sexual acts, though, were sanctioned. Athenian law of the fourth century BCE, for instance, prohibited men who had prostituted themselves from addressing the civic assembly.

The explicit condemnation and severe penalization of male-male sex that emerged in Christianity resulted from the confluence of various intellectual, social, and religious forces over a long period of time. Christian theology viewed sexual sins as emblematic of humans’ fallen state, transgressions all humans were prone to commit.

During the first millennium CE, surveillance of same-sex sexual activities lay mainly within the realm of church discipline. The so-called penitentials, pioneered in Irish monasticism and issued from the sixth to the eleventh centuries, were tools of church discipline that listed the appropriate public penance for all types of offenses, sexual transgressions prominent among them. Tariffs for male-male sex acts varied from text to text (women were rarely mentioned in this context); factors such as age and the type of sex act committed (masturbation, intercrural, oral, anal sex, and so forth) affected how many years a sinner had to do penance.

Nonetheless, before the eleventh century, same-sex sexuality was of relatively little concern to Christian

theologians or authorities. This was to change with the emergence of ecclesiastical reform and of scholasticism. The alarmist rhetoric about the dangers of sodomy, a term fleshed out in this time period, set the stage for more proactive measures. In an attempt to systematize religious knowledge, St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, lumped several, if not all, nonprocreative sex acts together as the sodomitical vice. At least by intent, scholastic definitions encompassed sexual acts among women, though these implications were rarely spelled out.

Gratian’s *Decretum* (c. 1140), canon law’s foundational textbook, showed little interest in sodomy, however. Sodomy was censored as extramarital intercourse. Several twelfth-century synods demand that those who practice sodomy should be excommunicated. Analyses of records from church courts indicate, however, that sodomy cases, including those among the clergy, rarely came to court. The enforcement of prohibitions on sodomitical sex in court or in confession, the so-called *forum internum*, was caught up in a dialectic of silencing and speaking. The *Summae confessorum*, manuals for priests, and catechetical texts testify to anxieties among theologians that any mention of this sin ran the risk of instigating the same behavior.

From the twelfth century, laws penalizing male-male intercourse started to appear in secular legislation across Europe. The fact that lawmakers and rulers took an interest in such activities therefore marks a significant turning point in the history of sexual repression. In the reign of Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, the Council of Nablus, a gathering of royal officials and clerics, stipulated that sodomites be burnt at the stake. Twelfth-century Norwegian law included a provision condemning two men convicted of sex to permanent outlaw status. Some thirteenth-century French and Spanish law codes also included relevant sanctions. They drew on a variety of sources, biblical, canon law, as well as Roman law while merging them with customary law. Only rarely, legal stipulations also targeted women offenders (e.g., *Li Livres di jostice et de plet*, c. 1270, or the German *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* of 1532). In the high and late Middle Ages, secular authorities across Europe meted out penalties against so-called sodomites or heretics, though overall levels of enforcement probably remained low, especially for women.

While persecution of so-called sodomites was most stringent in secular urban courts, sodomy was a *delictum mixti fori* throughout the later Middle Ages. Penalizing offenders lay within the competence of both church and state jurisdictions—legal authorities that often competed and rarely teamed up together. Nonetheless, it would be erroneous to posit two distinct legal spheres for the later

Middle Ages or the early modern period. Ecclesiastical concerns and secular persecution interpenetrated one another.

The deregulation of legislation on sex between men has rarely been scrutinized. In the eighteenth century, legal practitioners and reformers initiated a period of milder punishments. Enlightenment writers called for rescinding a crime the French National Assembly called an “imaginary crime” in 1791. Legal reforms and abolition of legislative measures often were coextensive with continuing repression of these same acts, though, on moral grounds.

Unlike Europe, the rest of the world did not witness the rise of a repressive mentality and measures with regard to sex acts between men or between women. Few if any regulations are recorded for medieval China or premodern Japan—cultures whose social and military elites adopted fashionable homoerotic codes. Yet during colonialism European powers also exported their conceptual apparatus across the world. Entering into a dialogue with European modernity therefore increased the pressure to conform with European legal standards. In Iran and elsewhere, this development resulted in public campaigns against erotic cultures described as homosexual and viewed as unmodern.

Michel Foucault’s insight that the category of “sexuality” is not neutral has further enriched the discussion over how to approach the production, dissemination, and reach of sexual norms. Discourses are themselves regulatory in character: the word *sodomy* is an extreme case in point. It is a concept whose very essence conjures up a horizon of significations which condemn homoeroticism as a fundamental threat to society.

SEE ALSO *Bugger, Buggery; Catholicism; Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Nefandum; Sodomy; Sodomy Laws.*

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Helmut Puff

SONG OF SONGS

The *Song of Songs* is one of the books of the Hebrew Bible of the third class, denominated hagiography, or *kathūbhīm*. In the Greek version of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, and in the Latin Vulgate, it is titled *Canticum Cantorum*. The title of this erotic composition means literally Canticle of Canticles, a superlative form (in Hebrew *Šir haš-Širim*), traditionally attributed to King Solomon in the tenth century BCE, although early twenty-first-century scholarship considers it the composition of an unknown poet (circa sixth to fourth centuries BCE) writing in a style used at the time of Solomon.

SACRED VS. PROFANE

The controversy centers on whether or not this poetic dialogue of love between a man and a woman, with the presence of a chorus, is to be read strictly allegorically without regard for its literal meaning, or also literally. Traditionally the Hebrew Talmudic and Catholic exegetes have read it as a sacred text allegorically celebrating the union or marriage of love between God and Israel, the bridegroom and the bride, respectively. Hebrew Prophets such as Hosea, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah have expressed God’s love toward Israel as a binding love or a marriage. Consequently the Christian tradition transformed it into a union between Christ and the Church, or the union of Christ and the soul, or the Virgin Mary and the human soul. The metaphor was used by Christian authors such as Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), who employs it in *La Divina Commedia* (1307–1321) and extends it to the union of Saint Francis and Lady Poverty as lovers in the final part of that work, the *Paradiso*. The *Songs of Songs* is an erotically charged lyric composition that, though rather brief, has elicited an extraordinary amount of commentary throughout the centuries.

Jewish sage and rabbi Akiba ben Joseph (c. 50–c. 132) defined it “as the most holy of the Kethubhim”: “The entire world is unworthy of the day the *Song of Songs* was given to Israel, for all the scripture is Holy, but the *Song of Songs* is the Holy of Holies” (quoted in Bloom 1988, p. 1). Saint Teresa of Avila (1515–1582) found in it the loftiest of mystical elevations. Since the twentieth century, and especially in contemporary feminist scholarship, the literal erotic and naturalistic interpretation has been widely accepted. *Song of Songs*, in this view, is in fact an erotic poem manifesting sensuous love between two lovers in which the woman’s voice is strong, sensual, independent, and assertive. It is the voice of the Shulamite woman that resounds in the expression of lust and sensuous desire whose fulfillment she shares with her companion. The woman is not unlike the Queen of Sheba (1075–955 BCE), who was united in love with King Solomon.

The feminist scholar Phyllis Trible, in her essay “Love Lyrics Redeemed,” sees the lyrics as uttered from “lover to lover with whispers of intimacy, shouts of ecstasy and silences of consummation” (Bloom 1988). She connects the exchange between the lovers to the creation of sexuality in the biblical Book of Genesis, a sexuality that was denied in the traditional exegesis and turned into sin and transgression. As Ariel and Chana Bloch observe, “Never is this woman called a wife, nor is she required to bear children. In fact to the issues of marriage and procreation the *Song of Songs* does not speak. Love for the sake of Love is the message and the portrayal of the female delineates this message best” (Hirschfield 1995, p. 66).

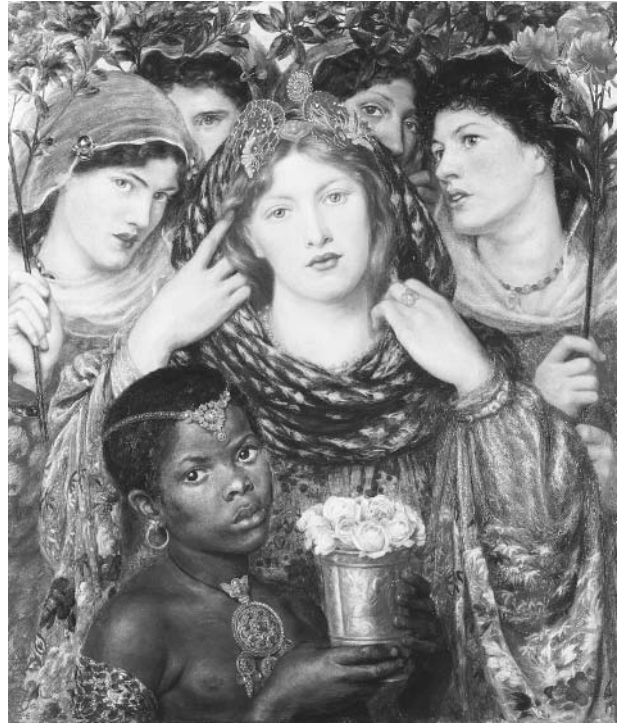
This orientation is reflected in translations informed by feminist scholarship, as in this passage translated by Chana and Ariel Bloch:

Come, my beloved,
Let us go into the fields
And sleep all night among the flowering
 henna. . .
There I will give you my love.
The air is filled with the scent of mandrakes
And at our doors
Rich gifts of every kind, New and old, my love,
I have hidden away for you.

(*Song 7:12–14, Hirshfield 1995*)

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS AND RELATIONSHIP TO RELIGIOUS AND FEMINIST ANALYSIS

For Marcia Falks, *Song of Songs* has in it elements of the Arabic Wasfs, which are “poetic fragments that describe through a series of images the parts of the male and female body” (Bloom 1988, p. 67). Indeed this technique is enhanced by the dialogue format which led some to believe that it is a dramatic representation. Jesuit priest Andres Pinto Ramirez (1595–1650), writing in 1642, believed that the text was represented in dramatic form at the time of Solomon. Protestant theorists (e.g., Fredrick Heinrich Jacobi [1743–1819]) also believed that the text was a drama. Others maintain that there are two characters involved, the Shulamite shepherdess who enters the harem of Solomon and the shepherd who is Solomon himself, or that there are three protagonists: the Shulamite, the shepherd who is in love with her, and Solomon who wants to conquer the woman. As the religion scholar W. E. Phipps states, the simplest explanation is that the poem represents “lyrics principally used for wedding celebrations in lovely outdoors settings,” part of the Hebrew religious traditions allowing “sensuousness in male female relationships” (Bloom 1988, p. 7).



The Beloved by Rossetti. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's painting *The Beloved* depicts the bride from the *Song of Songs* and her attendants. THE ART ARCHIVE/TATE GALLERY LONDON/EILEEN TWEEDY.

Rabbi Akiba had in fact affirmed that this is not a vulgar song but a nuptial song meant to sanctify marriage, the tradition of the kiddushim (“sanctification”). In rabbinic tradition, therefore, it was most natural to allegorize the *Song of Songs* as the union or marriage of Yahveh and the nation of Israel, the groom and the bride. One can understand how Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) wrote eighty-six sermons on the *Song of Songs* in order to obliterate any literal interpretation, due in part to his contempt for sexuality and women. Christian commentators, such as Abelard (1079–c. 1144), who may have read the *Song of Songs* as an expression of natural sexual urges, which were sanctified when man and woman were put together in the Garden of Eden, were declared heretics. The Catholic interpretation remained faithful to the exegesis of Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who called it “the bridal union of the Church with Christ her spouse.” The Protestant interpretation, starting with the German Reformation leader Martin Luther (1483–1546), adhered to the allegorical reading as suggested by the King James version of the Bible. The Swiss theologian and reformer John Calvin, however, believed in a literal interpretation. The *New English Bible* (1976), sanctioned by the Catholic

Churches of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, does recognize primarily its literal lyrical meaning:

Unique in the Bible, this collection of songs sensitively touches several major chords in the love life of a young man and a maiden. It is an anthology which plays on a wide range of themes: love's awakening, the description of the beloved, the enticement, the surrender of the embrace, the pain of separation, the joy of coming together again, the wedding ceremony. . . . In its own way, the book extols the virtues of deep rather than transient love. . . . [T]he positioning of the various songs creates a definite dramatic effect.

(Sandmel 1976, p. 717)

Indeed many poets have been influenced by these love lyrics, from the English Edmund Spenser in the sixteenth century to the German Johann Gottfried von Herder and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the Senegalese Léopold Senghor in the twentieth century. Feminist scholars have raised the consciousness of contemporary readers by reclaiming the poem's original meaning and the strong active voice of the woman addressing her beloved, eliminating the millenarian male religious attempt to frame the poem as an expression of evil and sin and to suppress its tender and naturally sensuous expression of deep human love.

SEE ALSO *Bible, Old Testament or Tanakh; Gender, Theories of; Literature: I. Overview; Love Poetry; Love, Devotional and Erotic.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

SOPHIA

Sophia is the preeminent female spiritual being in Gnostic mythology. Her character is complex and contradictory, encompassing ambivalence toward the feminine that simultaneously casts women as cherished helpmates and evil sexual predators.

Sophia is the Greek translation of the Hebrew term *Hokhmah*, both of which mean “wisdom.” Sophia is the feminine personification of wisdom. She first appears in Hebrew literature from the first centuries before and after the common era. Sophia appears most prominently in the apocryphal (noncanonical) books but also is found in the poetic writings of the Hebrew Bible such as Proverbs. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Jewish Sophia is a remnant of a pre-Hebraic Mediterranean great mother goddess. She often appears as a companion to the Jewish god. A notable noncanonical writing, *The Thunder, Perfect Intellect*, describes Sophia as a series of positive and negative paradoxes. It claims that she is the harlot and the holy, the mother and the virgin, the root of sin and free from sin. This poem reveals a classical ambivalence about the good and evil nature of the feminine.

The image of Sophia as a powerful but contradictory being is integrated into the Gnostic traditions that involve her. In the Gnostic *Apocryphon of John*, Sophia appears as the last in a series of paired spiritual beings. She disrupts the idyllic spiritual realm by defying tradition and creating without the help of her male partner. In addition to breaking with the normal pattern of creation, Sophia is described as being motivated by excessive feelings of lust and sexual desire. Her transgressions lead to the creation of the monstrously imperfect Ialdabaoth, the evil false god of Gnosticism. Ialdabaoth then produces the human realm, which is hideously flawed because of the taint of Sophia's unnatural act of creation. Her contravention of tradition has the further negative consequence of casting Sophia and Ialdabaoth out of the spiritual realm as fallen beings. Sophia, however, is redeemed in later Gnostic myths and becomes a paradigm for human salvation.

The lessons encoded in Gnostic depictions of Sophia seem to include a warning about the dire consequences of the creative power of the feminine. Sophia's independent act of creation mirrors the solo creation of the unknown god, except that her lust-based creation results in error and corruption. The myth suggests that when attempted alone, the feminine power to create only achieves imperfection. The myth also sets up a normative model for gender relations, implying that in the ideal setting of the spiritual realm the masculine and feminine always work in pairs and that deviation from that pattern produces disaster.

In modern times practitioners of New Age religions and some feminist theologians have pointed to Sophia as evidence of a powerful but suppressed feminine aspect of the divine.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Early and Medieval; Gnosticism; Hokhma.*

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Jennifer Hart

SPACE, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

The distinction between public and private, like many dichotomies, has been criticized by feminist scholars as part of a nexus of ideas that mark women as inferior. Other dichotomies that are related to and reinforce the public/private distinction are: male/female, rational/emotional, culture/nature, and universal/particular. In order to understand how the public/private distinction impacts women's daily lives, it is necessary to analyze the different, but overlapping, conceptions of "public" and "private" and to consider how these ideas have taken material form in various cultural settings.

THREE MEANINGS OF "PUBLIC"

The political idea of a public sphere and the corresponding concept of a private sphere is a distinctive feature of post-Enlightenment Western democracies. In the West, at the time of the U.S. and French Revolutions, the idea that there exists a corporate body called "the public" that can express its opinions and can also be the sovereign power came into existence. An examination of this historical emergence of the public sphere reveals three related meanings of the words *public* and *private*.

As Western democracies first took form, people needed a space in which to meet, discuss their positions on governmental matters, and to express them. Ideally, a unified public opinion that adequately expressed what would be good for the country as a whole would emerge from rational debate. Therefore, public space needed to have three related qualities. First, it needed to be accessible to all. The democratic ideal calls for the participation of everyone in the society. Thus, one meaning of *public* is "open" or "accessible." Second, everyone present in a public setting should have an equal say. In an ideal democratic state, no person's opinion should count more than any other person's, so issues of status should be overlooked. Therefore, a public space should be neutral. Last, if all goes as intended, the people present in a public space will develop and express a public opinion that is truly beneficial to the public welfare, rather than to private interests. This has been called the discursive public sphere.

The public sphere, however, becomes complicated because it follows that citizens both debate and carry out public policies in a democracy. Thus *public* sometimes means "governmental" when it focuses on the role of elected officials administering the decisions of the public. However, public can also mean the electorate as a whole and is sometimes opposed to the policies that its elected officials carry out. For example, a "public" demonstration *against* the government is a discursive public sphere just as a meeting of a governmental body is, even though the two may be pitted against one another.

Corresponding to each of these senses of public is a concept of privacy. Hence, corresponding to the openness of a public space, a private space has restricted access, as in a "private party" or "private property." It may also connote a lack of neutrality, as when "private beliefs" are contrasted with "public opinion." In contrast to the discursive public sphere, private can mean both particular and emotional. Special interest groups are concerned with their own rather than the general welfare. Emotional expressions are private, rather than part of the rationally achieved public opinion. Thus, private spaces are associated with concealment, restriction, bias, particularity, and emotion.

Spaces are constructed in relation to this dichotomy of private and public, emphasizing one or more of the meanings of the two terms. A restroom, for example, may be public because it is open to all, but it is not a discursive public space. A county courthouse is—ideally—open, neutral, and discursive. This does not make it more public than the restroom, however. Instead, public is a flexible term that shifts emphasis from one or more of these meanings in different contexts. When the governmental meaning is stressed, public excludes the world of commerce as well as private homes; but when the contestatory discursive sphere is emphasized, the world of work, special interests groups, and other elements of "civil society" become the location of the public sphere.

Just as the location of the "public" can be shifted, spaces can become more or less private in different contexts. A house is private property, but there are more restrictions on admittance as well as more emotional connection to the bedroom than there is to the living room. Further, one's kitchen, normally understood as a private place, can house a discursive public sphere when a group of women meet there to discuss politics.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Women have historically been associated with the private sphere and with private places such as the home. Women have been described as naturally more emotional and self-interested than men, as well as more fragile. Based on this

understanding of women it has seemed appropriate that women remain in the private sphere, where their perceived fragility can be protected and their irrationality can be removed from the discursive public. This view is, of course, false; but it has, nevertheless, shaped societies globally.

Containing women in private has been achieved in many ways. In the United States, the ideology that “a woman’s place is in the home” coupled with the lower pay that women receive in most occupations has, historically, kept women tied to the private sphere. The threat of rape in most societies has limited women’s forays into the public sphere, especially at night. As Lila Abu-Lughod (1985) observes, among the Awlad ‘Ali Bedouins, women and men are not spatially separated into private and public areas but maintain their separation through behaviors like women’s veiling and avoiding looking in a man’s face.

The slipperiness of the terms *public* and *private* has made it difficult for women, persons of color, and other non-powerful persons to gain full admittance to the public sphere. The expansion of the electorate formally opens the public sphere to women; however, the understanding of the public as neutral and/or nonemotional often works to tokenize their inclusion. Feminists have argued that the purportedly neutral public sphere is in

actuality masculine, although that masculinity is masked. The calm, rational neutrality expected of citizens in the public sphere is associated with masculine behavior. Thus as women are admitted to the public sphere, they find themselves with a dilemma. They can present themselves as masculine, wearing clothing that mimics male attire, or they can present themselves as feminine and, therefore, mark their inappropriateness in the male public sphere.

Powerful women in the West have tended to opt for the first technique, as the attire and demeanor of women elected to public office attests. This mode of inclusion in the public sphere, however, can keep a woman from being able to present the needs of women into the discursive development of public policy. She may feel that she needs to steer clear of feminist issues in her attempt to come off “neutral” (or, in other words, masculine). Thus, although she is included in the public, it is only a partial inclusion, because she leaves many of her own interests behind. This has been the experience, also, of women in socialist countries, such as China, where state-sponsored feminist reforms led to the homogenization of the public sphere: Men and women dressed and worked alike. Chinese feminists, however, as Mayfair Mei-hui Yang (1999) notes, found that the state’s attempt to minimize gender differences obscured the preexisting power



A Member of Madres de Plaza de Mayo. A member of Madres de Plaza de Mayo looks at a flag featuring photos of those who disappeared under the military dictatorship in Argentina between 1976 and 1983. ALI BURAFI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

relations between men and women as well as the unique problems of women.

The second avenue of inclusion in the public has been taken by groups such as the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, who have mobilized their status as mothers to petition for the return of their disappeared children in Buenos Aires. They do not claim to be more than private, emotional, domestic persons; yet they brought their concerns to the public setting of the Plaza de Mayo and insisted on being heard. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in the United States led protests against saloons, pushing for abstinence in order to protect women in their homes. Thus, they brought issues from the private sphere into the public, but did so as wives and mothers with the intention of protecting the private sphere. The WCTU did advocate suffrage for women, but on the same basis: the protection of the (private) home.

Using both of these methods, women have gained partially successful admittance to the public sphere. However, many feminist theorists maintain that the public sphere must be rethought in order to fully admit women and other underrepresented groups. Rather than understanding each society to have one public sphere, with all underrepresented groups marginalized to the private sphere, it is more accurate to see the public as a multitude of publics in conversation, although one or a few of them remain dominant. The currently dominant public sphere is masculine, and its privileged status is achieved by domination, not superior rationality. A heterogeneous public made up of alternative publics, or "counter publics," can provide space for a more inclusively democratic development of public opinion. This view requires doing away with the Enlightenment belief in the unity of reason that leads to only one homogenous public sphere.

Some feminists also argue for the resistant potential of the private sphere. In a space set apart, women can regroup and gather strength in order to resist oppression. Thus, bell hooks (1990) speaks of "homeplace" as a site of resistance. Nancy Fraser (1997), on the other hand, views these sites of resistances as "counter publics," which must be fostered in their multiplicity.

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C. Tabor Fisher

SPANKING

SEE *Sexual Practices*.

SPENTA ARMAITI

SEE *Zoroastrianism*.

SPERM BANK

SEE *Artificial Insemination; Reproductive Technologies*.

SPERM DONOR

SEE *Artificial Insemination; Reproductive Technologies*.

SPERMICIDE

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods*.

SPIES

SEE *Espionage*.

SPINSTER

Spinster at first designated, simply, people (either male or female) whose occupation was spinning. The term was originally appended in name lists of various sorts to designate the individual's occupation. From the seventeenth century onward, the term morphed into a legal designation for a never-married woman and from there into general use, where it usually was deployed with faintly pitying or contemptuous connotations. Thus a term that begins as an occupational tag for people

(mostly women) who could support themselves independently with the work of their hands evolves into an invidious policing technique for what Adrienne Rich famously dubbed “compulsory heterosexuality”: a spinster was an unmarried woman who had “lost” the race for heterosexual success.

Women who were spinsters were free, of course, to view the term rather differently. Louisa May Alcott (1832–1888), author of *Little Women*, *Little Men*, and many other novels, short stories, journals, and essays (some based on her work as a nurse during the Civil War), gloried in the title. Commenting on her sister’s honeymoon cottage, she noted in her journal, “Very sweet and pretty, but I’d rather be a free spinster and paddle my own canoe.” As her writing career was to all intents and purposes the sole support of her birth family from an early age, it is no doubt safe to say that Alcott’s paddle was formidable.

Like other women categorized as spinsters, Alcott undercuts the presumptively negative valence of the term in her own personal habitation within it. Additionally, as with so many other labels that begin their linguistic careers as terms of opprobrium (e.g., *queer*), spinster has also been reclaimed for political and theoretical purposes. The feminist philosopher and theologian Mary Daly (1987) revises spinster thus: “a woman whose occupation is to Spin, to participate in the whirling movement of creation; one who has chosen her Self, who defines her Self by choice neither in relation to children nor to men; one who is Self-identified; a whirling dervish, Spiraling in New Time/Space.”

Spinster functioned as a “polite” code word for lesbians well into the twentieth century. For instance, Barbara Bell’s 1999 memoir quotes Joan Lock, a 1950s British police officer, as estimating that 10 to 15 percent of the women who served with her were of “the confirmed spinster type.” It is still deployed as a pitying/contemptuous marker for presumptively heterosexual women who have not, somehow, managed to be winners in the race for a heteronormative life with male husband and children. There are also people who are recycling the word to define a voluntarily chosen lifestyle that involves neither; notably, this use of the word conflates the lesbian woman with the heterosexual woman who chooses to opt out—or, rather, it erases what is supposed to be a line of demarcation.

Spinster has thus moved from a term denoting a woman who lives independently financially and legally to a term denoting a woman who lives independently financially and legally. And yes, this is progress.

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Lynda Zwinger

SPONGE

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods*.

SPORTS

At the onset of the twenty-first century, few sports are still closed to women, who, in increasing numbers, at least in the Europe and North America, invade male purviews, and are more present in *extreme* sports. However, outside of some events in professional tennis, women routinely are less well paid for athletic performance, less praised and covered by the media, and less marketed. This last aspect has changed since the mid- to late twentieth century, with major companies discovering the consumer potential of women athletes’ images to sell their products (Heywood and Dworkin 2003). Yet, especially in sports based on strength or physical confrontation, women are largely ignored, or attacked and ridiculed for exceeding the bounds of female nature. Women who lift weights or inflict and endure blows are still considered sexually deviant because building body mass or enjoying the danger and risk of combat—that “purity of their intention to harm” eloquently evoked by Leah Hager Cohen discussing boxers (Cohen 2005, xiv)—are seen as antithetic to an essentialist view of female nature—as passive, retreating, soft, and gentle. The issue of femininity continues to haunt women athletes in the Europe and North America, whereas in other parts of the world, they face complex cultural issues of modesty and the public exhibition of their bodies that can lead to prohibitions against their participation in sports. Conversely, the compulsory ideal of aggressive, heterosexual masculinity as desirable in men leaves no tolerance for male athletes to be openly homosexual and elicits antipathy and derision if they show any apparent signs of femininity.

Since ancient times women have been present, if not visibly active, in the basic human kinetic activities such as swimming, running, gymnastics, and perhaps wrestling. In most known human societies, their athletic pursuits have been at the very least restricted, if not curtailed, or even blocked, and they have been viewed as secondary or inferior to those of men.



Roman Sports. This Roman mosaic depicts two young women participating in sports. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI.

Because of scant evidence for the presence of women in sports before the modern era, historians dispute whether forms of female physical activity that are forms of entertainment should be added to this history, or whether they should be discounted unless actual competition was involved (Guttman 1991). Reasonable enough in terms of what modern sports entail—the enormous import of competition and its political and national ramifications—this distinction is reductive for cultures and historical moments that have notions of competition that differ from those of the contemporary global sports world. It does not take into account how much the mere fact of being able to train and practice a sport, even without competition, had to mean for girls and women otherwise constrained in their activities their daily lives, professional options, and rights of citizenship. And it casts aside entertainers such as acrobats—lionized in the competitive gymnastics of the early twenty-first century—or equestrians, who required real training and physical skills. Riding, for instance, became a plebeian and acrobatic, performance-oriented, form with the late-eighteenth-century advent of the circus, as female equestrians realized highly skilled feats on horseback. This is not unrelated to the spectacular—in every sense—rise in the public participation of women in athletic endeavors with the onset of the modern industrial age.

SPORT, RITUAL, AND THE SACRED

The religious nature of the sports arena or of a given sport sometimes elicited fears of women polluting it through physical contact—in particular, menstruation. This may be the root of the well-known absence of women from the original Greek Olympic games. The first record of women participants in the Olympics is dated 776 BCE in a place called Olympia on the northwest coast of the Peloponnese, but the games go back at least another 1500 years and may have originally been those of women. Abolished in 393 CE by Emperor Theodosios I (Flavius Gratianus, 346–395), the Games were at once an athletic and religious event dedicated to Zeus, in which only free, male, Greek-speakers could participate. However, the quadrennial Heraia, or women's games dedicated to Hera, held in the same place, indicate that, perhaps, it was the mixing of the sexes that transgressed the sacred. It was not, at any rate, a basic opposition to women practicing sports in any guise. Contrary to what was asserted before the 1970s, there were women athletes in ancient, classical Greece who were much more active than Roman women would be. The existence in the Hellenistic period of an administrator of the gymnasium, or *gymnasiarch*, of the women, implies that at least some women used the gymnasium, and under Roman and Byzantine rule, it seems that Greek girls and women were fairly active in sports (Guttman 1991), calling into question the entrenched Sparta-Athens dichotomy, opposing athletic to sedentary and subjects to objects (Arrigoni 1985). Plato argued, against his contemporaries' views, for the Spartan model, and stated both in *Republic* and *Laws* that women should undergo the same exercise programs as men, and that “gymnastics and horsemanship are as suited to women as to men.” (Guttman 1991, p. 27).

The fear of contact with menstrual fluid is a specific Shintoist prevention against the presence of women on the wrestling mat, one that is being slowly contested as women begin to participate in Sumo wrestling. Religious veneration of the art and the space of the contest is also behind a long-standing Thai prohibition against the participation of women in the same ring as men, and thus, in the national sport, Muay Thai, or Thai kickboxing. Thai women have increasingly challenged that barrier, and a head-on collision with these restrictions took place in the late 1990s, in full national view, with the career of champion kick-boxer Parinya Charoenphol, or Nong Thom (b. 1981). A male-born but female-identified fighter who fought as a transvestite, or *ladyboy*, he finally underwent a sex-change operation and transmuted into a delicate-limbed but strong woman fighter and trainer, upsetting both Thai and international views of gender, strength, and violence. On another level, women have for a long time trained and competed in Asian martial arts imbued with philosophical and religious dimensions,

including in societies not otherwise inclined to promote the equality of women, such as Japan, where the extensive training of women in judo and other arts reflects a cultural commitment to discipline and obedience, instilled, unlike in Europe and North America, through fighting techniques rather than passivity.

THE MATERNITY IMPERATIVE

Patriarchal control over the reproductive capacities of women and the deep-seated societal conviction that bearing children is the essence of women's social role has long been the strongest factor in allowing or blocking women from sports. In Sparta naked girls and young women participated in foot races, cheered on by male spectators who picked their wives from among the most athletic (Guttmann 1991). The Spartan view that foot races and wrestling promoted the development of healthy mothers of warriors was clearly eugenic, as was the rhetoric of fascist Italy, in its endorsement of accomplished female athletes to glorify the nation, in contrast to the subjection expected of all women (Gori 2004). The same aim led to the opposite view, with ludicrous early twentieth-century *scientific* concerns that the precious organs of women would be damaged or fall apart when subjected to strenuous exercise. The dogma of compulsory motherhood was so widespread and unmovable in early twentieth-century France that even some feminists prefaced their endorsement of women in sports as necessary to further reproduction and enhance maternity, and the conservative sex/gender ideology deployed through every avenue available—the press, medical corps, physical education specialists, writers, and so forth. Women were thus barred from any number of sports in the name of the sanctity of motherhood, combined with demeaning views of the female body as a womb surrounded by a fragile nervous system.

Some bans were clearly symbolic. For instance, the leading national French periodicals of the early 1900s claimed that women lacked calm and would always be unable to drive a car—a long-lived stereotype—and that their fragile nerves made them unable to handle a high-powered machine—although they had been flying airplanes. Power, mobility, and freedom were central tropes in the gender-enforcing efforts of the early twentieth century. (Zeyons 1994).

INDECENCY AND MODESTY

Across many cultures the partial or total nudity of athletes has been deemed antithetic to the modesty of women. Viewed as indecent in the Victorian era, in particular in the United States, the exposure of even parts of the female body was fiercely opposed as women

were trying to enter sports such as professional swimming in the 1910s and 1920s (Warner 2006).

In the twenty-first century the near impossibility in some instances, to practice a sport in any competitive manner fully clothed, and covered in such a way as to not offend modesty remains a crucial issue for Muslim women in particular. This was brought home in the 2004 Olympics when the woman runner from Afghanistan was praised publicly for running with a scarf and thus honoring her country and religion. Such questions became a major obstacle in the career of the distinguished Algerian runner Hassiba Boulmerka—at first adulated, and then reviled in her home country—and may have contributed to her gradual erasure from international sports.

Questions of covering and exposure are related to gender in other ways as well: Thai transgendered kickboxer Nong Toom, mentioned earlier, while still in a male body, fiercely and desperately resisted the custom of disrobing completely at weigh-in, and associated his femaleness with as much modesty as the sport allowed.

GENDER, SPORTS, AND TECHNOLOGY

Although medieval women had little or no sports practice, aristocratic women were at least expected to know how to ride; the norms of such traditional societies allowed bold actions by women when useful to society and their social class. Despite the cumbersome apparatus used by French women to ride, a sort of side armchair mounted on the horse's back, the *sambue* (Frieda 2003), women leading troops on battlefields—which is not to say that they fought—evading pursuers in feudal political upheavals, and participating in hunting, the quintessential aristocratic pastime, are evidence that some did so with ease.

Riding remained the principal outdoor activity of aristocratic women of the Renaissance (1350–1600), again, often in the context of hunting. It is thought that queen Catherine de Medici (1519–1589) brought to France, as a young bride at the court of Francis I (1494–1547), the side-saddle that made it possible for women to move beyond the slow amble and ride at a fast pace. She also brought a form of pantaloons that addressed the ever-present issue of women's modesty. One of the traits required of the courtly ladies in the French king's immediate entourage was precisely "courage on horseback," and Catherine lived up to the requirement, capable both of sustaining falls and of riding hard and fast, jumping hedges and fences (Frieda 2003, p. 50).

Thus, a decisive factor in increasing the participation of women in sports has been technological change, and, from the end of the eighteenth century, the increased presence of women in sports is linked to industrialization and the expansion of mechanical conveyances. These

were initially risky enough to draw only the bold and, curiously, to make gender barriers fall. The advent of the hot-air balloon at the end of the eighteenth century attracted substantial numbers of women in spite of its dangers. Between 1783 and 1848, sixty-eight women (versus 491 men) took to the air in the developing forms of these balloons. But out of the fifty-six such pioneers who were professionals, in the first half of the nineteenth century, twenty were women, so that female aerostatics were more professionalized than the were the male. Sophie Blanchard (1778–1819), married to an aeronautic engineer, accompanied him in 1804 during a flight and in 1805 completed a tour with solo demonstrations in a small hydrogen balloon with stops in Rouen, Bordeaux, Montpellier, and Toulon, then another tour with her husband from Antwerp to Amsterdam and Rotterdam. She continued alone after his death in 1809, but met her own death in an accident in 1819 when her balloon caught fire and she was thrown from the basket at a celebration at the Tuileries in Paris. Jeanne Genevieve Garnerin, in 1798, was the first woman ever to execute a parachute jump; her niece, Elisa Garnerin, completed thirty-eight balloon ascensions followed by parachute jumps between 1815 and 1835 (Zeyons 1994, pp. 212–213). After mid-century, flying the balloon—a new fad at weddings—became commonplace and lost its sporting value. Yet Louise Poitevin in the 1850s astonished spectators with elaborate airborne stunts, and in 1902, the magazine *La Vie au Grand Air* [Outdoor life] sponsored a women's long-distance sporting event, with a record of 408 km.

The budding airplane industry provided women with a golden opportunity in a new type of sport. Between 1908 and 1914, more than ten French women were well-known pilots. Marie Marvingt (1875–1963), licensed in 1910, was an accomplished sportswoman. She practiced flying balloons, hydroplaning, riding, swimming, canoeing, mountain climbing, skiing, bobsledding, playing tennis and golf, fencing, wild bear hunting, boxing, and jiu-jitsu, and was the most decorated woman in French history, receiving thirty-four medals. On May 27, 1910, she established the first woman's flying time record at forty-three minutes and participated in military operations during World War I (1914–1919) (Zeyons 1994, pp. 212–213). Flying was no frivolous pastime, because several women also died in airfield accidents (Suzanne Bernard in 1911, Denise Moore in 1912, Raymonde Laroche in 1919) (Zeyons 1994, p. 214)

GENDER, COMMUNITY AND THE NATIONAL HONOR

The nationalistic investment in modern competitive sports, especially at the Olympics, combined with globalization's rapid exportation of specific forms of athleticism

to other countries, has paradoxically provided a backdoor for women in sports, even though nationalist ideologies are usually inimical to women. By the late twentieth century, the participation of women was a routine element of most countries' victory strategies. In contrast, at the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm, because of modesty controversies about women in swimming, the U.S. Olympic Committee had declined to field a women's team, whereas other European countries were being represented.

The importance of women in the Olympic race for a country's medals total has sometimes superseded disdain for women athletes or the devalued status of women in the home country. At the 1988 Olympics China reportedly had the highest proportion of women on their team of any other country, although women constituted only 25.84% overall of all competitors (Riordan and Jinxia 1996, p. 133). From 1993 to 1996 China rose to the status of world power in sports, and this trend has been attributed entirely to its women athletes. This is "... referred to in China as the blossoming of the yin (female) and the withering of the yang (male)" (Riordan and Jinxia 1996, p. 131) This nice record was subsequently tarnished by revelations of widespread use of anabolic steroids, including among many sportswomen, and with government-sponsored involvement, something of course also prevalent in Europe and North America (Riordan and Jinxia 1996). At the 2004 Summer Games, Hasna Benhassi (b. 1978) won Morocco won a silver medal in athletics in the women's 800 meters, and she was picked best sportsperson on a Moroccan radio survey of forty-three press institutions in December 2005.

Despite campaigns by extreme Islamic fundamentalists to bar women from public competition, national imperatives propelled women from the Muslim world—some of them Christian as well—to long overdue recognition. At the 2004 summer Olympics, just about every Muslim country of the globe (except Iran and the United Arab Emirates) sent at least one woman—sometimes several—even within small delegations. Iraq, Kuwait, Chad, The Comorro Islands, Djibouti, the Gambia, and Jordan all had at least one woman competing. Turkey had the most and perhaps the most varied, along with Egypt and Algeria, whereas tiny Bahrain, Albania, and Azerbadjan had two, the latter competing in target shooting. Although many or most of these women competed in track and field, and sometimes in swimming—precisely those areas likely to fuel modesty controversies—it is noteworthy that a substantial contingent competed in martial arts, chiefly judo, taekwon-do, and even wrestling, with several competitors from Algeria and Tunisia ranking in the top ten in the finals. The only competitor in judo from Afghanistan was a woman, Friba Razayee (b. 1985), one of the first two women from the country

to compete at the Olympics. Egyptian women competed in archery and in fencing, as did Algerian women, and in women's weightlifting, one gold medal was won by the Turk Nurcan Taylan (b. 1983) and a silver medal by Indonesian Raema Lisa Rumbewas (b. 1980).

Women who are injured while competing internationally, and yet, forge on, are heroized: Such was the case of the Indian heptathlon competitor J.J. Shobha (b. 1987), a gold medalist in the 2003 Afro-Asian games, who received the Arjuna award in 2004 for returning to the competition with a bandaged ankle, and finishing third in the final 800-meter event and eleventh overall. A famous example of this fervor is the young U.S. gymnast, Kerri Strug (b. 1977), who, in 1996, was carried wrapped in a U.S. flag by her coach to the victory podium.

The degree of nationalistic passion elicited by a sport with such questionable assumptions—women's gymnastics—is noteworthy, both with respect to the issues of femininity in sport and of children in the public imagination of sports and bodily performance. *Women's* gymnastics displays blatant gender discrimination, with exercises that emphasize being limber, agile, and graceful, whereas the men's competition involves real adult men whose performance stresses muscular strength rather than contortions of the body. Girls and young women, performing arduous aerial feats, are domesticated for viewers of this immensely popular sport through what Ann Chisholm describes as the "cuteness" of female children, which both contains femininity and reaffirms it in an unthreatening way (Chisholm 2002, p. 429). In fact, women's gymnastics regularly sacrifices the emotional and physical welfare of very young girls, who are often still children, dressed and made up in enticing apparel, to the ambiguous desires and aims of coaches, parents, the public, and the nation.

REGULATING SPORTS FOR GENDER

The Olympic Games were reinstated in 1896 in Athens to encourage international cooperation through sport by French sports educator Pierre de Frédy, Baron de Coubertin (1863–1937). His views were openly hostile to women and he maintained in his lifetime the position that they had no role to play in them other than crowning the victors (Graydon 1983). There was not one woman athlete at those 1896 games, but women did begin to trickle in over the next few decades, especially from Scandinavian countries, with France and the United States being the rear guard. The number of women at the Olympics began to rise against obstacles at every step, and the 1984 summer games marked a turn in this respect. Yet the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has continued to maintain an often hostile regulatory function vis-à-vis women and can propel or terminate the career of aspiring women athletes.

It has recently approved such limited sports as steeplechase and beach volleyball but continues to ban women's boxing. This ban not only squashes the Olympic hopes of women who have trained for them and will be too old for the next games, but also as shown, by a lawsuit filed by an amateur boxer and her coach, it discriminates openly against women boxers even when they compete in allowed venues, by excluding them from IOC-funded training facilities and funding. At the onset of the twenty-first century, as it was at in 1896, the IOC, stacked with conservative representatives of countries with low opportunities for women and an investment in conservative, normative, gender policies, remains an enemy of female equality in sports.

Yet, the economic and social importance of sports has moved some governments to equalize opportunities for women through law. In 1972 a section of the Education Amendments, called Title IX, prohibited sex-based discrimination in all federally funded education programs, including sports. The enormous importance and business implications of athletics in schools and colleges is a shaping factor in U.S. sports and it has, for a large part, left girls and women behind. The implementation of Title IX brought with it furor and controversy over gendered readings of sport. Battle lines were drawn between supporters of equality for women and entrenched bastions of male-dominated sports that, while resisting the arrival of women in their midst, regardless of change at the Olympics level, argued that women were taking away scarce resources from them. Title IX was thus challenged by the male wrestling establishment, and their claims were embraced by a wide array of conservative forces opposed to the presence of women in sports. The law, its language, and its implications were intensely scrutinized by commissions under the younger president Bush (b. 1946) and was in danger of being scuttled had not public outcry and mass political action by feminist sports advocates stemmed the tide. The disputes over the implications, often misunderstood, and the interpretation of Title IX language continue to affect the way sports are practiced and envisioned in the United States.

PUSHING LIMITS: MALE DOMINATION AND THREATENED MASCULINITY

Constructions of masculinity are often founded on maintaining the radical separation and identification of physically specific sexual trait and gendered roles, expressed by limiting the physical and social possibilities of women. Heteronormativity adds the burden of privileging the homosocial context of sports while radically preventing its homoerotics from surfacing, and stamping out homosexuality when possible.

Whereas there has been pervasive resistance to women in all sports, contact sports have raised the most

hackles: After much opposition soccer and basketball have gained some degree of recognition. But this is still far from being the case in combat sports that engage the body in intimate contact, such as wrestling and boxing. Wrestling is seen as a male-dominated sport even though there are women wrestlers, as clearly sexual in the kind of synergy it produces between men, as, “in wrestling, the key image is the violent embrace of two men, and the conflict reaches its resolution when one man mounts the prone body of the other.” The play of dominance and submission is clearly homoerotic, and “the most violent postures are also the most apparently sexual” (Mazer 1990, pp. 116–117) while male wrestlers play out an intimacy between men that is “otherwise considered taboo by mainstream America” (Mazer 1990, p. 117). Mazer does not see an equivalent spectacle between women and suggests, rather, that the homoerotic display is really for heterosexual male consumption, fed by lewd and proscribed displays of nude female flesh on stage.

Boxing has encountered, if possible, a worse reception. Although thousands of women worldwide are registered as amateurs or fight as professionals, train hard, have a following, and are sometimes credited with providing a better performance than the male fighters on the same card—women are almost always on the undercard: The recognition women boxers receive is scant. In effect their role in the sport has been given mass exposure largely through external forces such as popular movies. Women’s boxing in the United States only became legalized quite late following a lawsuit by a young female boxer who wanted to fight with men. Instead, the court ordered the Golden Gloves organization to provide similar venues for female fighters. This case went to the courts in 1982, before the case for girls in wrestling had been considered, and the outcome was that “the court protected boxing from the potential disruption of coed competition, and in refusing to issue a preliminary injunction it brought amateur boxing more time to adjust to the idea of sanctioning female fighters” (Fields 2005, p. 126).

In 1993 the boxing federation dropped the prohibition against female competitors after another suit by a 16-year-old woman in Seattle who asked to fight other girls, not boys. The U.S. Amateur Boxing Federation (USABF) was ordered by Federal District Court Judge Barbara Rothstein to allow girls to compete until the matter went to trial, but it did not oppose, and instead, opened its doors to girls. Thus, in 1993, Dallas Malloy became the first USABF-sanctioned female fighter (Fields 2005). However, professional women’s boxing in the United States continues to suffer from accusations of being *circus-like* on the basis of a few controversies, in particular over mixed-matches (e.g., a woman fighting a man), which do little to promote female professional boxing but unleash virulent and contradictory views of sports, violence and gender—who is a legitimate oppo-

nent? Is it still too shameful for a man to suffer defeat from a woman? Such negativity is not necessarily universal. Women’s boxing has found an enthusiastic home among some women in Egypt, Jordan, and India; and in Germany female boxing, epitomized by the stellar career of Regina Halmich (b. 1976), enjoys a completely different status from in the United States. In the latter, women’s boxing has to become newsworthy through the performance of *famous daughters*, but Halmich is a widely respected athlete whose views about sports, society, and politics are heard and who has a huge following.

PERSISTENT SEX AND GENDER BARRIERS

In the twenty-first century the most persistent gender-based problem faced by athletes in many countries, especially the United States, is the constant questioning of their femininity and the threat of being accused of being lesbians. As Pat Griffin puts it: “women’s sport advocates have spent 100 years defensively promoting an image of women athletes as feminine and heterosexual to gain some modest degree of public acceptance” (1998, p. 213). Women in sports are thus constantly pressured into reaffirming femininity and heterosexuality and confirming that prescribed gender roles are unavoidable. Women athletes always have to respond to suspicions regarding their *normality*. In a mainstream sport such as tennis, only the talent and gumption of a Martina Navratilova (b. 1956) countered homophobic campaigns, but the press does not desist.

In team sports lesbians are expected to stay in the closet and be ignored, whereas the fact that lesbians are active in sports is common knowledge: “lesbian baiting is still used to control all women in sport” (Griffin 1998, p. 214). Virulent double standards affect the permission given heterosexuals to speak of their personal and romantic life—a subject of shaming and silence for lesbians and gays and a publicity and recruitment tool for heterosexuals. In cases of sexual relations between coaches and team members, male coaches in such inappropriate situations are only fired under great pressure and are defended by administrators, parents, and athletes themselves, even when they have been shown to be abusive. Yet outed lesbians are exposed and banned from the sport (Griffin 1998). Heterosexist discourse has successfully framed the question so that merely talking about homosexuality is talking about sex (Griffin 1998), whereas prattling all over the press about the *sex-appeal* of male stars or the beauty of female athletes is acceptable. This, one must add, affects gay men as well, as in the famous case of baseball player Dave Pallone (1990) who was hounded out of the sport.

The press plays a determining role in this ideology of sports and gender. The leading sports journal in the

United States, *Sports Illustrated*, promotes a heterosexist, homophobic, and masculinist gender order. In its yearly *swimsuit issue*, curvaceous female celebrities with no athletic credentials model alluring and scanty garments. In its front page outing of basketball coach Pam Parsons and her lover, it contributed to ruining Parsons' and her lover's professional options, but does not pay such attention to male coaches caught tinkering with their charges. In its July 1, 1999, homophobic coverage of Nong Toom ("He'd rather fight *and* switch" by Rick Reilly), it held the accomplished boxer's struggle with gender crisis in the public arena to ridicule. Mainstream magazines outside of the sports industry play up the image of famous women athletes in *town* clothing, wearing evening gowns, to underscore the image of the *complete* woman whose femininity is reasserted. And some women athletes have cooperated or played with—depending on one's viewpoint—the ambiguous public fascination with the bodies of strong, muscular, women; for instance, women boxers who have posed seminude or nude for *Playboy*.

Outside of Europe and North America, or of the norms of those countries, women athletes face other serious conflicts. Women athletes in the Arab and Muslim worlds contend with a double hurdle: They are largely marginalized by European and North American sports commentators and organizations, except insofar as their performance embodies social and cultural conflicts in their home country while their achievements are ignored, and condemned by the conservative and militant forces at home over issues of modesty, exposure, and complicity with Europe and North America.

In European and North American countries with long histories of colonialism and racism, such as the United States, France, or Great Britain, athletes of color, of all sexes, face supplementary pressures in conforming to gender stereotypes as part of an expectation of representativity for their communities. The imperative of femininity has deeply affected leading Black female athletes, for instance, from Wilma Rudolph (1940–1994) to the Williams sisters, Venus (b. 1980) and Serena (b. 1981)—the former widely respected and applauded for her acceptability, the latter often subject to disparaging remarks across constituencies, including other athletes, that translate racist views of black female identities as well as conservative gender views.

Even when accepted, women athletes must follow gender scripts in ways that remain foreign to (clearly) heterosexual men, who are indulged by the public and press for a variety of failings and transgressions (some of them criminal). Women are not allowed such latitude and are held to a higher standard—the public presentation of female athletes continues to stress their conventional roles as mothers and wives or girlfriends, their marketability as erotic female icons of beauty, or as

involved in charity work. These features are a welcome corrective to aggression and competitiveness, which are still assumed to be mostly masculine and thus, ultimately, disturbing in women.

Competitive sports, whether they are still in effect a *man's world* or not, maintain that fiction through retrograde regulations, codes, and visual signals, such as the ring girls of boxing and other tournaments, and by structural contexts that send implicit gendered messages. At the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, for instance, billed as raising the visibility of women, a roiling controversy flared between the *Gender Equality* ministers from Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and the municipality of Athens, led by a woman mayor, over an alleged request by the Athens City Council to boost permits for brothels to meet demand during the Games. For the 2008 games, China, a country disproportionately represented by women athletes, has already signaled the content of that symbolic visibility by picking a women's musical world fusion ensemble, The Twelve Girls Band—an enormously accomplished, yet gender-conventional group of women performers from across China and musical genres—to star at the opening ceremony.

SEE ALSO *Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender, Theories of; Hierarchy; Manly (Masculine) Woman; Nationalism; Violence.*

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Francesca Candé Sautman

STAR-CROSSED LOVERS

Two households, both alike in dignity,
 . . . From ancient grudge break to new mutiny,
 . . . From forth the fatal loins of these two foes
 A pair of star-cross'd lovers take their life.

(Romeo and Juliet, Prologue)

"Star-cross'd," coined by Shakespeare (1564–1616) to describe the young lovers in *Romeo and Juliet* (1595), has come to describe two people whose tragic destinies are intertwined. *Cross'd* carries the triple meaning of (1) brought into each other's path; (2) thwarted (or at least fraught with adversity or affliction); and (3) burdened (as in *a cross to bear*). Although Shakespeare gave a name to this kind of love, such love stories existed in world literature long before Shakespeare's time.

There are examples of star-crossed lovers in most literary traditions of the world. In Asian literature, Jia Bao-Yu and Lin Dai-Yu, two characters in Hsueh-Chin Tsao's early-eighteenth-century Chinese classic *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, are excellent examples of star-crossed lovers. When his family makes Jia Bao-Yu marry another girl, Lin Dai-Yu dies of grief. In Japan's famous eleventh-century literary work by Lady Shikibu Murasaki (c. 976–c. 1031), *The Tale of Genji*, the love between Genji and Fujitsubo, the emperor's concubine, is similarly doomed. Each of these examples fit the criteria set forth below for star-crossed love. However, this



"Tale of Genji," Twelfth Century. © ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS.

entry focuses on paradigmatic cases from the European and North American tradition.

CAN THIS LOVE SURVIVE?

Six elements define the state of being star-crossed: transgression, destiny, secrecy, heightened passion, tragedy, and sacrifice. Not all six need be present for a love relationship to be considered star-crossed, but to differentiate the paradigm from Aristotelian tragedy and other forms of love stories, several of the elements must be involved, often with one dominant element.

Transgression and Star-Crossed Love Star-crossed love is transgressive: It is nearly always forbidden by society and/or made dangerous by circumstance. Romeo and Juliet are the only children of two feuding families. In Shakespeare's source, Arthur Brook's narrative *Pyramus and Thisbe* (1562), the lovers were forbidden to marry by their parents.

The love story of Peter Abelard (1079–1142), the French philosopher and theologian, and Heloise, in the early twelfth century, which survives in their famous letters

to one another, provides another example. Heloise, the niece of a canon, fell in love with Abelard, who was her tutor, in her uncle's house. The two transgressed by disregarding the boundaries imposed on them by their social roles. After Heloise bore their child, Abelard was castrated and disgraced, then sent to live out his days in St. Denis while Heloise was sent to a convent nearby.

Inevitability and Star-Crossed Love Star-crossed love is inevitable, preordained by destiny or fortune. Tristan and Isolde, lovers in a twelfth-century myth, illustrate this inevitability. In the Celtic version of the myth, Isolde was the daughter of Angwish, King of Ireland, and betrothed to King Mark of Cornwall. Mark sent his nephew Tristan to escort Isolde back to Cornwall. Through an accident of fate, Isolde and Tristan take a love potion intended for Isolde's wedding night. They fall into desperate, hopeless love. Sir Thomas Malory (c. 1410–1471) links the story of Tristan with another star-crossed pair, Guinevere and Lancelot, in his *Le Morte d'Arthur* (1485).

Secrecy and Star-Crossed Love Star-crossed lovers' relationships are conducted in secret. The lovers dream of creating a passionate universe for themselves apart from everyday reality. Romeo and Juliet meet at the Capulet ball and fall instantly in love; yet during the four-day course of the play, they never see each other in daylight. Tristan and Isolde maintain their passionate relationship secretly after Isolde's marriage to King Mark; Pyramus and Thisbe communicate in secret through a chink in the wall of their parents' adjoining houses and arrange secret meetings at the Tomb of Ninus, in the fields outside the city. The latter two would gladly have married, but their parents forbade it. Instead they conversed through signs and glances, and the love grew more intense in its secrecy.

The world of star-crossed lovers is self-enclosed and passionate. The same kind of romantic and erotic isolation characterizes the nontraditional star-crossed pairing of two Wyoming ranch-hands, Ennis Del Mar and Jack Twist, in Annie Proulx's short story "Brokeback Mountain" (1997):

They never talked about the sex, let it happen, at first only in the tent at night. . . . There were only the two of them on the mountain flying in the euphoric, bitter air, looking down on the hawk's back and the crawling lights of vehicles on the plain below, suspended above ordinary affairs and distant from tame ranch dogs barking in the dark hours. They believed themselves invisible.

(Proulx 2005, p. 15)

Intensity and Star-Crossed Love Star-crossed love is deeper, the passion stronger, than anything either of the lovers has ever experienced. Tristan could not consummate his marriage to another because of his love for Isolde. Heloise describes the intense passion she and Abelard felt and the suffering that would follow: "We shall both be destroyed. All that is left us is suffering as great as our love has been" (Radice 2003, p. 16). Juliet's declaration of this great passion is one of literature's most famous:

My bounty is as boundless as the sea,
My love as deep; the more I give to thee
The more I have, for both are infinite.

(II.ii.133–135)

The youthful passion of Romeo and Juliet destroys them, and hurts, then unites, their families and their city. The passion between another pair of Shakespeare's star-crossed lovers, Antony and Cleopatra, is powerful enough to destroy empires along with the lovers themselves.

Sacrifice and Star-Crossed Love Star-crossed love is often sacrificed for what is seen as a greater good for the beloved. The world of Italian opera is rich with examples of lovers

doomed by their own choices. In Giacomo Puccini's *La Bohème* (1896), Mimi agrees to abandon Rodolfo for his own good. In *Tosca* (1900), also by Puccini, the title heroine pretends to sacrifice her body to Scarpia in return for her lover Mario's life. Tosca instead commits murder for Mario, only to see him executed anyway, which causes her to leap to her death from the top of Castel Sant'Angelo. In the classic Italian novel *I Promessi Sposi* (1840), by Alessandro Manzoni, Lucia makes a holy vow to save Renzo, even though doing so means they can never consummate their marriage.

Tragedy and Star-Crossed Love The star-crossed love story follows a tragic path. Shakespeare calls it "death-mark'd." Death—or, at least, disaster—is the only possible end for star-crossed love. On the eve of his death, *Tosca's* Mario expresses the paradox of love and loss in the last line of his famous aria, *E' lucevan le stelle*: "Time is fleeting and I die in despair, yet never have I loved life more." Romeo too has a sense of imminent tragedy on his way to the Capulet ball where he meets Juliet:

. . . my mind misgives;
Some consequence, yet hanging in the stars,
Shall bitterly begin his fearful date
With this night's revels; and expire the term
Of a despised life, closed in my breast
By some vile forfeit of untimely death:
But he that hath the steerage of my course
Direct my sail.

(I.iv.107–114)

Star-crossed lovers are doubly doomed. The stars—or fortune or fate or destiny—point them toward disaster; so does the world they try to escape. It is precisely the impossibility of a self-contained romantic/erotic life that dooms them: They cannot live outside the world of family, society, and politics, nor can they fully escape the rhythms and obligations of everyday life. Valerie Traub, in her book *Desire and Anxiety* (1992), sums up Romeo and Juliet's predicament:

The two lovers attempt to forge an erotic alliance beyond the physical and ideological constraints of the feuding houses of Capulet and Montague. To the extent that their erotic love is given expression in spheres untouched by the feud—the balcony, the bedroom, the abbey, the tomb—they succeed. But the tragedy of the play is precisely the futility of such a desire. . . . Romeo and Juliet's love . . . is ultimately doomed precisely because it attempts to exist outside of the material, political world.

(1992, pp. 2–3)

Harold Bloom, in *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*, argues that “*Romeo and Juliet* is unmatched, in Shakespeare and in the world’s literature, as a vision of an uncompromising mutual love that perishes of its own idealism and intensity” (Bloom 1998, p. 89).

Most star-crossed lovers—either one or both—attempt to defy fate. Hearing that Juliet is dead, Romeo—the very Romeo who cried after killing Tybalt “O, I am fortune’s fool!” (III.ii.139)—declares “Then I defy you, stars!” (V.i.24) and tries to take charge of his own destiny. Although such action heightens passion and strengthens the lovers’ resolve, it also accelerates the journey to tragedy and doom.

Star-crossed love endures as a major theme in literature and film in the early twenty-first century, though sometimes the cause of the lovers’ doom shifts from destiny toward psychological as well as social forces. As an expression of the unattainable—or unsustainable—passionate ideal, it reflects an enduring and widespread human need.

SEE ALSO *Love Poetry; Romeo and Juliet; Shakespeare, William.*

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Susan McGury
Peter Forster

STEIN, GERTRUDE AND ALICE B. TOKLAS

1874–1946 and 1877–1967

Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas were lifelong friends, lovers, domestic partners, and creative collaborators. They both grew up in the San Francisco area but did not meet until 1907 at Stein’s brother’s house in Paris. They were among the premier expatriate couples of Paris modernism, and remain one of the best-known lesbian couples of the twentieth century. It is significant that Stein’s most popular and enduring work, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933), is a fictional autobiography that conflates the couple’s subjectivities into those of the fictional Alice; in its pages, Gertrude Stein writes as if she were Alice Toklas writing about Gertrude Stein. *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* is an enduring portrait of Paris, its cafes, parties, famous artists, and writers, in the years between 1910 and 1930. This vibrant culture is contextualized in terms of the women’s mutually interdependent and generative lesbian relationship.

STEIN: BECOMING A WRITER

Gertrude Stein was born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, on February 3. When she was three, her family moved to Vienna, and then to Paris. After two years in Europe, her family moved to Oakland, California. Stein lived there until she attended Radcliffe College, graduating in 1897. She then spent two years at Johns Hopkins School of Medicine but left without earning a degree. She moved back to Paris in 1903, where she lived with her brother Leo at 27 Rue de Fleurus. Leo was an art critic, and Gertrude began collecting art with him, lining the walls of their atelier with paintings by Auguste Renoir, Edouard Manet, and Paul Cézanne. The siblings’ famous salon began when they started inviting people to view their paintings.

In 1903 Gertrude wrote a short novel about a failed lesbian love triangle, *Q. E. D.*, but did not try to publish it, perhaps because of its autobiographical subject matter. She claimed to have forgotten about it until 1932. In 1903 she also began writing the long novel *The Making of Americans*. In 1904 she began the novella *Fernhurst*, and in 1905 started *Three Lives*, a series of three novellas about three working-class women from Baltimore.

Three Lives was finally published in 1909. The other writings were published later—*The Making of Americans* in 1925, *Fernhurst* and *Q.E.D.* together (posthumously) in 1971. Whether or not Stein truly forgot about her first novel, *Q. E. D.*, several of its characters, situations, and lines of dialogue reappear in recognizable form in the middle novella of *Three Lives*, “Melantha,” about a mixed-race woman who is ostracized because she believes in the free expression of sexual desire. She has numerous affairs with both men and women, rejects marriage with a

popular doctor, and is finally betrayed by her best friend Rose, who breaks with Melanctha because she is not sexually respectable. Melanctha dies of consumption, suffering the sad demise common to the literary stereotype of the tragic mulatto she represents, but her story is also the story of marginalized desire and betrayal first touched on in *Q. E. D.*

“Melanctha” is a formally innovative text that uses an unreliable racist narrator, run-on sentences, and African American speech patterns to create a new, impressionistic way of writing. Critics hailed its portraits of black characters; some thought it was among the most sympathetic and realistic portrayals yet published, whereas other readers condemned the text for trafficking in the demeaning kind of racist stereotypes found in pulp novels and minstrel shows. “Melanctha” proved an early example of primitivism, a mode of representation that conflated non-Anglo-Saxon racial heritage—being of Jewish or African descent—with unconventional sexuality, such as homosexuality or sexual promiscuity. Primitivism was a fantasy wherein anyone could throw off the constraints of civilization and embrace the savage that lurked within. Visual artists such as Pablo Picasso were working with primitivist facial masks at the same time that Stein was writing “Melanctha,” and certainly primitivist notions of character allowed Stein to create an experimental, streaming style of prose narrative and dialogue that helped put her on the literary map.

STEIN AND TOKLAS: LIFE AND WORK TOGETHER

By 1909 Stein was living with Alice B. Toklas, whom she had met two years earlier. Toklas was born in San Francisco on April 30. She attended the University of Seattle and then the University of Washington, where she studied music. When her mother died she returned to San Francisco to care for her father and brother for the next ten years, finally leaving at the age of twenty-nine to start her own life in Paris. Toklas met Stein almost immediately upon her arrival in France in 1907. By the next year, Toklas had taught herself to type in order to transcribe Stein’s manuscripts, and she quickly became Stein’s partner, secretary, confidant, muse, audience, and household manager. Toklas had excellent taste in paintings, furniture, and music, and was a very good cook. Stein and Toklas wrote each other love notes, calling each other by pet names such as “pussy” and “lovey.” Stein wrote coded erotic poetry about their life together, the most famous example of which is *Lifting Belly*, written during World War I but not published until after Stein’s death. Many feminist critics consider *Lifting Belly* to be a classic of lesbian literature, and see the word *cow*—a term sprinkled throughout Stein’s writing—as a coded reference to orgasm:



Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas. AP IMAGES.

Lifting belly high.
That is what I adore always more and more.
Come out cow.
Little connections.
Yes oh yes cow come out.

(Stein 1989, p. 33)

After Leo moved out of the Rue de Fleurus in 1910, Stein and Toklas continued the literary and artistic salon, hosting writers Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Sherwood Anderson and artists Picasso, Henri Matisse, and Georges Braque, among others. In *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, Alice talks about sitting with the wives while Stein visits with her male “genius” friends. The book is a loving tribute to Toklas’s observational skills and engaging character, and it made Toklas, and the relationship between the women, famous when it was published.

After *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, Stein and Toklas went on a lecture tour of the United States, and Stein received book contracts for subsequent work from the publisher Random House. During their life together, Stein published several volumes of memoirs, countless portraits, many poems, and several essays on writing. Stein and Toklas survived two world wars, driving medical supplies during World War I and laying low in the

countryside of Bilignin and Culoz during the Nazi occupation of France in World War II. Their friendship with Vichy collaborator Bernard Fay helped them escape Nazi persecution, and Stein has been criticized for her self-serving politics during an era when other Jews were being sent to concentration camps and exterminated. Stein died of stomach cancer in 1946, leaving her estate to Toklas, who lived on for two decades. Without legal status as Stein's widow, however, Toklas eventually lost many of the paintings to members of Stein's family, who challenged her rights to them. After Stein's death, Toklas struggled financially, occasionally selling a painting and publishing letters and an autobiography, *What Is Remembered* (1963), and a famous cookbook, *The Alice B. Toklas Cook Book* (1954), to support herself. She is buried next to Stein in Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris.

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Jaime Hovey

STERILIZATION

Sterilization is the result of any procedure or condition by which a person becomes incapable of reproducing. Sterilization may be voluntary and undertaken as a permanent form of birth control, or it may be involuntary, the result of disease, treatment (including surgery, drug therapy, or radiation), trauma to the reproductive organs (such as castration), or public policy (as for population control). Surgical sterilization—vasectomy in males and tubal ligation (salpingectomy) in females—is the most common form of contraception used in married couples ages thirty and above. Because it is considered permanent, married women are more apt to undergo sterilization than those who are unmarried. Even though female

sterilization involves more invasive surgery, has more complications, costs more, and has a higher rate of failure than male sterilization procedures (0.4% for females, compared with 0.15% for males), the rate of female sterilization is roughly 19 percent, whereas that of males is around 12 percent. In the United States, insurance companies are more likely to pay for a woman's tubal ligation than for her male partner's vasectomy.

Males are sterilized generally through a vasectomy. This is usually performed in a doctor's office under local anesthesia. The entire procedure takes fifteen to twenty minutes. A small incision is made in the scrotal sac, and a small section of the vas deferens is isolated and drawn through the incision. The ends of the vas are then either tied off or cauterized to prevent the ends from growing back and rejoining. The operation works by preventing the sperm from reaching the urethra and thus the ejaculated seminal fluid. Men who have undergone vasectomies are generally able to resume normal sexual relations within days of the procedure, though they must continue to use alternative birth control methods until the sperm count shows no sperm. Usually by six weeks after the procedure or fifteen ejaculations, men who have undergone the procedure are essentially sterile and incapable of impregnating a woman. Failures within the first two months following the vasectomy are usually due to a few residual sperm remaining in the genital tract. Later failures are generally the result of the vas deferens growing back together. For the latter reason, doctors frequently suggest a repeat sperm count after one year from the procedure. Other complications include a local and temporary inflammation, discomfort, and (very rarely) a serious infection of the epididymis.

Sperm continues to be produced by the testes but is released into the abdominal cavity and reabsorbed by the body. Vasectomy does not diminish libido (sex drive) or cause any change in erectile or ejaculatory function, nor does it noticeably diminish the volume of the ejaculate (since sperm normally only accounts for 1% of the seminal fluid). Male hormones, including testosterone, are still produced. Though vasectomy is considered a permanent form of sterilization, the procedure may be reversed in a vasovasotomy, in which the ends of the vas deferens are surgically reconnected. Success rates vary from 16 percent to 79 percent.

Tubal sterilization, also called tubal ligation (having one's tubes tied), is the most common method of female sterilization. During this procedure, the fallopian tubes are cut and cauterized (or otherwise occluded) to prevent the ova from reaching either the sperm or the uterus. There are several surgical means to accomplish this, including both abdominal and vaginal approaches. Laparoscopy is a minimally invasive method whereby a small incision is cut in the abdomen (or navel, in what is

sometimes called belly-button surgery). The fallopian tubes are then isolated with a lighted laparoscope and looped out through the incision where they are either severed or tied. The tubes then slide back into the abdominal cavity. The procedure may be done on an outpatient basis, and women may return to their routines and resume sexual intercourse when discomfort subsides.

A laparotomy is more invasive and involves a larger incision. Women who elect to undergo tubal ligation immediately after a Cesarean section will undergo this type of surgery. A minilaparotomy (or minilap) employs similar technique but requires a smaller incision. Tubal ligation may also be performed vaginally, with the fallopian tubes severed through an incision on the back wall of the vagina (and thus leaving no visible scar). In addition, the Essure method, developed in 2002, uses hysteroscopy (a tube with a video and light source attached) to guide the placement of micro-inserts (elongated plugs) at the opening of each of the fallopian tubes in the uterus. Over the following three months, scarring develops and blocks sperm from entering the tubes to fertilize the egg. The advantage to the latter method is that it may be done in the doctor's office under local anesthesia. The downside is that, because there is a relatively high failure rate immediately following the insertion, the woman must undergo a hysterosalpingogram (a type of X-ray) three months after the procedure to confirm that the tubes are adequately occluded.

None of the previous methods disrupts the woman's sexual drive or response. Nor do they induce premature menopause, as hormone secretion is undisturbed. Women who have a tubal ligation will continue to ovulate and menstruate (though the unfertilized egg will be reabsorbed by the body). The procedure is considered permanent because it is difficult (and expensive) to reverse.

A hysterectomy may also result in sterilization, though it is not considered a method of voluntary sterilization. It is generally performed as a treatment for cancer or other disease of the reproductive tract. Hysterectomy with removal of the ovaries (oophorectomy) will put a woman into surgical menopause because of a profound reduction of the secretion of the hormones estrogen and progesterone.

When pregnancy does occur following a tubal ligation, there is a high incidence of ectopic pregnancy because of the tubal occlusion. Ectopic pregnancies are more likely to occur two or more years following the procedure rather than immediately following it. Vaginal procedures have higher failure rates and are more subject to infection than laparoscopic or minilaparotomy techniques.

Sterilization can also occur as the result of disease or treatment (such as chemotherapy or radiation). Untreated sexually transmitted disease may render the infected person

(male or female) infertile resulting in irreversible sterility by causing scarring and occlusion in the reproductive organs.

Historically, because of high infant and child mortality rates, survival of societies depended on the fertility and fecundity of its inhabitants. A lack of understanding about reproduction led to many superstitions and folk stories about fertility. In ancient Mesopotamia the test for permanent infertility was to have a woman drink a concoction made of a hollowed-out watermelon and the breast milk of a woman who has produced a male child. If the woman in question vomited, she was thought to be able to bear a child; if she belched, she was deemed sterile and unable to conceive.

Instances of forced or involuntary sterilization involve issues of eugenics (trying to improve the gene pool of a society) and overpopulation. One of the more egregious programs for compulsory sterilization was practiced by Nazi Germany. In an effort to create an ideal Aryan race, the government oversaw the sterilization of over 400,000 people. These programs also existed in other countries. Sweden sterilized roughly 0.1 percent of its population (mostly criminals, mental patients, and as a condition for receiving social welfare benefits). The United States also targeted the mentally and physically impaired (including those with epilepsy, blindness, and deafness). Native Americans and African Americans were singled out in an effort to limit large families. In 2003 the North Carolina Legislature repealed the last of its eugenics laws, which were initially passed in an attempt to eliminate mental illness and genetic defects in the state. In a 2004 case, controversy arose over the decision by a couple to remove the reproductive organs of their mentally and physically handicapped daughter in an effort to keep her physically immature and smaller so that they could continue to care for her at home. Involuntary sterilization still occurs in the United States, but states very often require evidence of therapeutic benefit to the person before allowing the procedure.

In countries desperate to find a way to deal with exploding population growth, a major advantage of sterilization is its effectiveness (nearly 100%) and its permanence. Between 1976 and 1977, the Indian government under Indira Gandhi (1917–1984) began an aggressive program that both rewarded men and women for undergoing sterilization by offering them financial incentive (or in some cases a transistor radio) or coerced them with the threat of being arrested; it was proposed that parents with two children agree to be sterilized or else go to jail for two years. Rural areas were set in sterilization competitions with one another, with the winner receiving preferential status for irrigation facilities and fresh drinking water. People expressed fear of appearing in public places lest they be picked up by sterilization teams. Public outcry against coerced sterilization derailed the program.

Human rights groups have censured countries such as Slovenia and Peru for supporting coerced sterilizations. China is particularly targeted for imposing forced sterilization (among other reproductive control policies) on its population to reach its one-child policy goals.

SEE ALSO *Castrati*.

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Diane Sue Saylor

STONEWALL

In the early morning hours of Saturday, June 28, 1969, New York City police raided the Stonewall Inn at 53 Christopher Street in Greenwich Village. The raid prompted resistance from lesbian, gay, and transgender patrons and onlookers, sparking several nights of antipolice rioting. The Stonewall riots are frequently cited as marking the birth of the gay liberation movement. Annual gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) pride marches around the world commemorate those early acts of resistance on or around the last weekend in June.

HISTORY OF THE STONEWALL

The Stonewall Inn opened as a tearoom called Bonnie's Stone Wall in 1930, the same year Mary Casal's lesbian "autobiography" *The Stone Wall* was published in the United States. There is little documentation of the early years of Bonnie's Stone Wall, but records show that it was raided frequently by the police. By the late 1960s the regular patrons of the Stonewall Inn included the most marginalized gay communities in the city: drag queens, "flame" queens, transgender male-to-female youth, hustlers, and homeless queer youth, all from a mix of ethnic backgrounds, including significant numbers of blacks and Latinos. At its central location in Greenwich Village, the Stonewall drew an eclectic crowd that included gay men from a variety of social classes and some working-class lesbians. Those drawn to the Village for its gay counterculture recognized the Stonewall Inn as one of a handful of New York City clubs catering to sex

and gender outlaws, though many chose not to frequent the Mafia-run establishment to avoid raids, blackmail, watered-down drinks, imperfect sanitation, and mixing with marginal classes of people.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The Stonewall riots occurred amid the social upheaval of the civil rights movement, antiwar protests, student activism, and feminist activism. Specific acts of GLBT resistance and instances of oppression preceded and influenced the events, as did victories and increasing visibility around the world.

European and American homophile organizations founded in the 1950s worked to reduce legal discrimination against gays and lesbians. In 1961 Czechoslovakia and Hungary eased laws criminalizing sodomy, followed by Israel in 1963, then England and Wales in 1967, and East Germany in 1968. In the United States, Illinois became the first state to decriminalize sodomy (1962). West Germany and Canada both decriminalized sodomy in 1969, before the riots.

Founded on the West Coast in the 1950s, American homophile organizations became more visible during the 1960s, staging the first pro-homosexual public pickets in several eastern cities in 1965. As homophile organizations and the gay press were stepping up their tactics and rhetoric, street resistance was picking up as well. In August 1966 transgender youth picketed and later threw dishes, swung purses, and smashed windows in San Francisco's Compton's restaurant when security guards and police harassed the regular transgender clientele. In February 1967 homophile activists in Los Angeles organized a legal defense and an orderly public protest after brutal New Year's Eve police raids on gay bars there.

New York's homophile Mattachine Society waged a campaign against police entrapment in 1965 and in 1966 staged "sip-ins" to challenge the New York State Liquor Authority's practice of closing down gay bars. Courts decided that serving liquor to homosexuals was not in itself illegal, but establishments permitting homosexuals to congregate could be considered "disorderly" and were subject to closure. The New York Penal Code stipulated that people wearing fewer than three articles of clothing appropriate for their gender were subject to arrest, targeting drag queens, butches, and transgender people for police harassment. The Mafia established gay bars as private clubs (the Stonewall Inn kept a sham membership register) and profited not only by selling liquor of questionable provenance but also by exploiting "club members" in prostitution and extortion schemes while keeping police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation at bay with payoffs and blackmail. In light of the state-sanctioned discrimination, however, the Stonewall Inn was valued as a gathering place for people on the sexual

margins. In 1969 the Stonewall Inn was a symbol and a space for an increasingly visible and vocal queer community.

A spring 1969 election in New York City prompted Mayor John Lindsay to pay closer attention to policing both the Mafia and queers, resulting in increased numbers of bar and bathhouse raids. During the week before the Stonewall riots, police allowed residents of Kew Gardens in Queens to cut down trees, ruining a popular nighttime gay cruising area. Police had just raided the Stonewall Inn on the Tuesday before the Friday night Stonewall raid, as well as several other gay places around that time.

THE RIOT AND ITS AFTERMATH

The raid on the Stonewall Inn took place around one in the morning, a peak attendance hour on a hot early Saturday morning. Greenwich Village was mourning the death of the gay icon Judy Garland, with record players blasting her voice into the streets. Seymour Pine of the New York City Vice Squad, Public Morals Division, led four other officers inside the Stonewall, wondering why the two undercover male and two undercover female officers already inside the inn had not communicated with them. Patrons in the bar that night reported that the crowd was fed up with police harassment and that there was grumbling and resistance from the approximately two hundred persons detained inside by officers demanding an identity check at the outset of the raid. As David Carter recounts in his 2005 book on Stonewall, Pine claimed that the raid's goals were routine: to arrest the employees and maybe a token transvestite, confiscate the illegal alcohol, and bust up the bar to put it out of business for a while. Pine reported that trouble started inside the bar when "transvestites" suspected of wearing gender-inappropriate clothing refused to go into the bathrooms for genital checks. One man inside the bar reported that lesbians in the bar loudly protested their manhandling by the police.

Instead of quietly dispersing from the Stonewall that night, a crowd gathered outside. Exiting the inn after identity checks, drag queens camped it up for a sympathetic crowd that also witnessed brutal police tactics. Witnesses reported seeing a drag queen or transgender cross-dresser being clubbed by police, who were roughly pushing her into a police wagon as well as a butch lesbian strenuously resisting that kind of mistreatment. The crowd responded by shouting and throwing coins at police, and the situation escalated into a full-blown melee. As police grew fearful of the crowd hurling bricks and bottles, they barricaded themselves inside the Stonewall. The crowd attacked the bar, breaking the front window with a garbage can and using a parking

meter as a battering ram against the door, followed by the throwing of improvised firebombs.

Witnesses attributed the boldest initial resistance to street youth, many of whom were black and Latino, transgender, and cross-dressing. The police attempted to disperse the crowds by blocking and clearing the streets, but they were haunted by impromptu kick lines of "Stonewall Girls" who doubled back to taunt them repeatedly into the early morning. Nearby, lesbians in the Women's House of Detention lit toilet paper and sent it streaming down from high jailhouse windows in a display of support. When word got out, a crowd gathered the next Saturday night; the protest was smaller the following Sunday but gathered strength on Wednesday after the newspaper *The Village Voice* ran a front-page article on the riots.

Immediately after the riots New York gay and lesbian activists began to organize anew, starting the Gay Liberation Front, which soon split to form the Gay Activists Alliance. In November 1969 the Eastern Regional Conference of Homophile Organizations proposed the Christopher Street Liberation Day March to commemorate the anniversary of the Stonewall riots. This was the first of what are now annual celebrations of GLBT pride and resistance held in cities around the world.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Defined; Queen; Violence.*

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Polly Thistlethwaite

STORY OF O

Histoire d'O (The Story of O) was written by the French intellectual Dominique Aury (1907–1998) to keep the interest of her lover, the renowned editor and author Jean Paulhan (1884–1968), a married man. Paulhan had taunted Aury by claiming that a woman could not write a good erotic novel. Aury published the novel in 1954 under the pseudonym Pauline Réage. The book came to the attention of the French public when Aury, as Réage, won the prestigious Prix Deux Magots. The book, considered scandalous, proved to be wildly popular. It was translated into English in 1965 and has never been out of print. During the 1960s it was the most widely read contemporary French novel outside of France. For years most people speculated that the writer was a man. In a



Dominique Aury, Author of *Story of O*. LIPNITZK/ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES.

1994 article in the *New Yorker*, the British journalist John de St. Jorre revealed the secret already known in some French intellectual circles: that Pauline Réage was really Dominique Aury, a respected and respectable editor, translator, writer, and, most scandalous of all, feminist.

PORNOGRAPHY, LITERATURE, AND FEMINISM

In *The Story of O*, a woman, known only by the first initial of her name, accompanies her adored lover René to the Chateau Roissy where he turns her over to a sadist named Sir Stephen to be trained in the art of perfect submission. O is sexually penetrated in every possible way by a variety of men; she is whipped, beaten, humiliated, and bound. She is not allowed to speak to women or look any man in the eye. She is corseted and left with her genitals constantly exposed. She is forced to wear a collar and cuffs. As time goes on, she learns to accept each cruelty as an act of grace, developing an extraordinary interiority that borders on saintliness. After Roissy, O is sent to Anne Marie, a dominatrix, to be further subdued, branded, and pierced. She is used to recruit other women into training for the lords of Roissy. Eventually her submission is so perfect that she is displayed at one of Sir Stephen's parties wearing a mask and led on a leash attached to rings in her labia. She creates a

sensation and is rewarded by being sexually assaulted by the guests. Abandoned by René, appreciated but unloved by Sir Stephen, O eventually learns to ask for nothing, expect nothing, and desire nothing. Her training complete, she has no other recourse but to seek the perfect realization of her annihilation in death.

Critics have focused on the book as pornography, with some writers applauding the extremes of consciousness charted by the novel, others condemning its violence and misogyny, and some viewing it as a useful parable of female oppression and cautionary tale. In an essay on pornography as literature, "The Pornographic Imagination" (1969), the American writer Susan Sontag (1933–2004) argued that the novel helps prove that the obscene is "a primal notion of human consciousness" (Sontag 1983, p. 221), valuable because it explores the capacity of human beings to lose themselves in sexuality. In *Woman Hating* (1974), the American feminist Andrea Dworkin agrees that *The Story of O* is politically significant precisely because it is pornography. Unlike Sontag, however, Dworkin argues that pornography is important only as a means to reveal the mechanisms of patriarchal oppression, and as a way to study the fantasies and adult fairy tales of master and slave, both male and female, and dominant and submissive that form the basis of sexist culture. Dworkin interprets the name O as representing the vagina, thus reducing the protagonist to a hole to be penetrated. She insists that O's prostitution is not sacred or sanctifying, but is simply a demonstration of male ownership and male power. She sums up *The Story of O* as one of psychic cannibalism and demonic possession in which the question of who is the most powerful is answered by the specter of men standing triumphant over the dead bodies of women.

The psychoanalytic critic Kaja Silverman also discusses *The Story of O* in relation to pornography, but emphasizes the novel as a psychic account of the creation of normal female subjectivity. Unlike Dworkin, who argues that O is reduced to being merely a body, Silverman notes that O is merely a body at the beginning of the novel, but that her training at Roissy eventually gives her an inner life and the consciousness of a mystic or saint. Analyzing O's subjection to the intense discipline of Roissy, Silverman argues that O's body is brought into the discourse of pornography and invested with phallic meaning. Women like O involuntarily internalize this discourse, which in turn makes them participants in their own exploitation. It is necessary to understand the relationship of discourse to women's oppression, Silverman concludes, so as to subvert it.

REINTERPRETATIONS

In the 1980s and 1990s, some feminists and lesbian sex radicals broke with mainstream feminism's condemnation of pornography. In so doing, they rejected feminist notions of false consciousness and evidenced overt

interest in erotica, power play, rough sex, sadomasochism (S/M), dominance and submission, bondage, and fantasy. Lesbian feminist S/M groups, such as Samoïs, argued that these practices expanded women's erotic autonomy. Feminist film critics used *The Story of O* as a yardstick for measuring portrayals of sadomasochistic sex and discipline in the movies. In the early twenty-first century, many readers see *The Story of O* as a manifesto of a woman's right to erotic expression and self-determination, with O's sexual awakening, however tragic its outcome, seen as a kind of transcendence.

The Story of O is a primer for sadists and masochists alike. The fact that the book has never been out of print is a testament to its enduring popularity. It is respected as a literary work in the tradition of the Marquis de Sade (1740–1814) and Georges Bataille (1897–1962), and is considered one of the best sadomasochistic erotic novels ever written.

The Story of O was adapted for film by director Just Jaeckin, who also directed the popular soft-core erotic movie *Emmanuelle* (1975). Filmed in French and starring Corinne Clery as O, the film is a stylized vision of restrained erotica, playing out many of the dominance-submission scenarios detailed in the novel. The film was banned in some countries and was released in the United States with an NC-17 rating (no one 17 and under admitted).

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STRANGE FRUIT

Written first as a poem by Jewish schoolteacher Abel Meeropol (1903–1986) in the late 1930s, "Strange Fruit" captures the haunting and violent history of lynching in America. Meeropol was said to have written the poem after viewing a disturbing photograph of Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith, two young black males lynched in Marion, Indiana, in 1930. First published as "Bitter Fruit" under the pseudonym Lewis Allen, Meeropol's poem, a mix of idyllic language and images of death and decay, became an anthem for the antilynching movement:

Southern trees bear strange fruit,
Blood on the leaves and blood at the root,

Black bodies swinging in the southern breeze,
Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees.

Pastoral scene of the gallant south,
The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth,
Scent of magnolias, sweet and fresh,
Then the sudden smell of burning flesh.

Here is fruit for the crows to pluck,
For the rain to gather, for the wind to suck,
For the sun to rot, for the trees to drop,
Here is a strange and bitter crop.

(Allen 1969, p. 15)

Meeropol created a dreary, melancholy melody to accompany his poem and it was first performed at New York teachers' union meetings before reaching famous jazz nightclubs. At Meeropol's request, Barney Josephson (1902–1988), manager of the popular Greenwich Village nightclub Café Society, introduced the foreboding song to celebrated jazz vocalist Billie Holiday (1915–1959). Holiday's recording label, Columbia Records, declined to produce her rendition, claiming that the lyrics were too inflammatory. Looking elsewhere for a label willing to produce the protest song, Holiday found Commodore Records, a smaller studio that recorded "Strange Fruit" in April of 1939. Although "Strange Fruit" was rarely played on radio stations, it became a signature of Holiday's nightclub act. At the close of her performance, the crowd would settle into an eerie silence, lights would dim, and a spotlight would shine on Holiday's solemn face as she sung Meeropol's tune. As a protest against the horrors of lynching, Holiday's performance could not be ignored, and many credit "Strange Fruit" and its popularity both in the United States and Europe as paving the way for the Civil Rights Movement.

Although many Southerners during Reconstruction claimed that lynching was a necessary evil, one that deterred the population of newly freed black males from raping innocent white virgins, statistics tell a different story. Less than 25 percent of documented lynchings were carried out because of rape accusations, a figure not consistent with the supposed outbreak of black male ravishers. The lynching of black men and women for crimes like theft, murder, assault, or insulting a white person were not as sensationalized or broadly publicized as rape cases that resulted in lynching. In many instances, black males accused of rape would be stripped naked and castrated, obvious revenge for their supposed crimes. Rarely, if ever, was a rape accusation proven in a court of law; mobs of angry whites took it upon themselves to be judge and jury, resulting in spectacles of extreme violence against innocent black males. Northern opposition to lynching was typically countered with tales of countless rapes, the figures inflated to feed the anxiety

of whites across the nation. From this disturbing history emerges a body of African American art and literature that exposes fear, anxiety, rage, and sadness over the period of American history also known as the Negro Holocaust.

As a trope in African American literature, “Strange Fruit” and the history of lynching surfaces in countless narratives, artwork, and music. In the story “Going to Meet the Man” (1965), James Baldwin tells the graphic tale of a young black male who is tortured, castrated, and burned to death for supposedly abusing an older white woman. The lynching scene, described in gruesome detail, portrays a frenzied mob with an obsessive bloodlust. The Jacob Lawrence’s (1917–2000) series on the Great Migration includes an evocative portrayal of a lone black figure, stooped over, and barely visible as a noose hangs in the distance from a spindly tree branch. Gwendolyn Brooks’s (1917–2000) poem “Ballad of Pearl May Lee” (1945) tells the story of a brokenhearted woman whose black lover was lynched for having an affair with a white woman. The speaker laments that her departed lover paid with his life for a taste of “pink and white honey.” Wanda Coleman’s (b. 1946) poem “Emmett Till” (1990) evokes the memory of a young boy lynched in Mississippi in 1955 for whistling at a white woman.

The Strange Fruit Project, a group of hip-hop artists from Waco, Texas, gives credit to Holiday’s song, acknowledging the history of violence in their own town, which purportedly carried out more lynchings in the early 1900s than any other Southern city. Both Richard Wright’s (1908–1960) *Native Son* (1940) and Amiri Baraka’s (b. 1934) *The Dutchman* (1964) explore symbolic lynchings, with their black male characters executed for engaging in social activities with white women. “Strange Fruit” and the collective memory of lynching shaped a cultural and literary history, one that exposes extreme aversion to interracial sexual relationships and the resulting violence against black male bodies.

SEE ALSO *Baldwin, James; Blues; Masculinity; I. Overview; Violence.*

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Melissa Fore

STREETWALKER

SEE *Prostitution.*

SUCKING

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

SU E PIAN

SEE *Sex Manuals: China.*

SUFFRAGE

In almost all European and North American democracies, women obtained suffrage after men. In France the gap is considerable—almost a century. This denial of civil rights, justified for such a long time by the *difference between the sexes* and the complementarities of their roles (the public sphere reserved to men, the private one the *realm* of women) is no doubt the most eloquent example of the social inferiorization of women at the very moment when modern nation states were being constituted with *democratic* institutions.

REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE AND THE PRECEDENT OF THE DENIAL OF CITIZENSHIP

During the French Revolution, some women did indeed vote at the Estates General of 1789 and a few lone voices—Condorcet (“Sur l’admission des femmes au droit de cité”) in 1790, then Olympe de Gouges with her *Déclaration des droits de la femme and de la citoyenne*, in 1791, argued for women’s suffrage. Endowed with reason, like men, and constituting half of the human race, women, they claimed, should enjoy natural rights. The Convention, which raised men to the level of citizens, nevertheless decided in 1792 the political exclusion of women. Assimilating women to the abuses of the Ancien Régime and to clerical conservatism was a convenient pretext. Yet such exclusion already contradicted social and political reality: the existence of *female citizens* passionately engaged in the battles of the French Revolution (1789–1799). In 1793 women’s clubs were dissolved, and women were excluded from the army. Two years later their presence in political assemblies was banned, as well as assemblies of more than five women in the street. In 1804 Napoleon (1769–1821) imposed the civil inferiority of married women through the Civil Code, which became a model for the rest of Europe. This dependent status in the family made

political emancipation even more difficult. It entrenched the idea that the male citizen represented his family, a notion in complete contradiction with the theory of natural individual right.

During the 1848 Revolution in France, proposals were made in favor of women's suffrage, in particular by Jeanne Deroin (1805–1894), but the press met them with guffaws, and politicians remained indifferent (Riot-Sarcey 1994). The Second Republic did not even bother to specify that universal suffrage was exclusively male. But electoral laws were more cautious in Great Britain (1832), in the Netherlands (1885) and in Italy (1888) and clearly indicated the exclusion of women (Rocheftort 1998).

THE BATTLE FOR SUFFRAGE

The right to vote only became compelling as a priority common to all feminist movements at the beginning of the twentieth century. Public figures and groups that defended the rights of women previously privileged access to education, the equality of civil rights, the struggle against government-controlled prostitution and bettering the conditions of working women. Suffragism affirmed itself at the very moment when political institutions were becoming more democratic (Klejman and Rocheftort 1989). It symbolized the hope for emancipation in a society where socially privileged women were asserting themselves in the public sphere as students, teachers, lawyers, doctors, artists, journalists, philanthropists, and athletes. From mostly economically comfortable classes, urban and educated, feminists did not represent the majority of women. The workers' movement challenged their right to speak for working women and suffrage as a bourgeois demand. In 1907 the Second International, while recognizing the political equality of the sexes as legitimate (including it in its program as early as 1893), insisted on the priority of class struggle and condemned autonomous action by feminists (Gruber 1998).

As with the workers' movement, the feminist movement organized on an international basis. The United States played a key role as the feminist movement—stimulated by the engagement of many women in the struggles for the abolition of slavery, in the Temperance Movement, in moral reform societies, and in philanthropic associations—became entrenched earlier than in Europe. It was in Washington DC in 1888 that the International Council of Women was created. The National Council of French Women was founded only in 1901, and the International Association for Women's Suffrage was founded in Berlin in 1904. English women, with unequalled boldness, called the most attention to themselves. They defied the authorities by practicing *direct action* and by taking over the streets through spec-

tacular demonstrations. Galvanized by their mystical fervor, the *suffragettes*—a belittling label in contrast to *suffragist*—captivated public opinion, at first hostile then sympathetic when the conflict hardened and more than 1,000 women were jailed, went on hunger strike, and were fed by force.

Feminists demanded suffrage at once on the basis of the universalism of natural right and the recognition of feminine specificity. This polarity marked their demands since the Revolution and crossed all tendencies, from the most radical to the most moderate. Most suffragists inscribed themselves in the discourse of sexual difference, valorizing the *natural qualities* and the opinions attributed to women or the roles they played, drawing up an ideal of complementarity of the sexes in governing the public sphere. This latter argument became dominant over the years and was sometimes associated with a true mystique, idealizing the mothering, pacifist, and altruistic nature of women. In part it overlapped with the dominant discourse on gender. It was also typical of the suffragist associations that were the most influenced by religion, in particular in North America (Basch 1994). In the United States, where the echoes of Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) were not negligible, the morality of evangelical Protestantism also inspired the majority of activists who wanted to fight with modern means—citizenship—against *sin* (prostitution, slavery, alcoholism, male profligacy).

A third line of argumentation arose strongly during World War I (1914–1919) (Bard 1995). The majority of feminists, renouncing vague pacifism, joined the war effort, a reaction comparable to that of the workers' movement. In both cases only a minority resisted the lure of nationalism and the Sacred Union. As war heroines, nurses, godmothers, munitions workers, workers and volunteers of all types, wives, and mothers, women experienced an exceptional moment when their social usefulness and patriotic sentiments were being recognized. They were then clearly included in the nation. And feminists saw in this a decisive step towards suffrage. This female patriotism, expressing the desire of citizenship, endured between the two world wars (Thalman 1990) and was exemplified by the natalist and familist engagement of many moderate feminists. Motherhood, the *patriotism of women*, was sometimes compared with military service: exercising citizens' duties, women deserved the rights of citizens. The presence of women in all political parties was also a manifestation of a push for political integration.

Women's suffrage tended to become a means of realizing a program at once specific (the extension of the rights of women) and general (social progress and

the construction of a durable peace). In the 1930s the fight against fascism was added but did not necessarily imply renouncing pacifism. More than suffragist/feminist political action, it was women's involvement in political formations, from the left to the right, including the far right, that marked the period before World War II (1939–1945) (Kandel 1997) in those countries that had implemented universal suffrage, as well as in those that were delaying it, such as France.

OPPOSITIONS, DIVERSIONS, HALF-MEASURES, RESTRICTIONS, AND CONDITIONS

At the end of the nineteenth century, antifeminist discourse masked the defense of masculine privileges by invoking the superior interests of the family, institutions, and the nation. It justified inequality in the name of *nature*, unequal herself, which has made women physically weak and psychologically fragile beings, yet *protected* by the existence of the patriarchal family and of a social order in which each must keep her or his place. To these arguments, imbued with a scientific weight, accrued fantasmic fears of the *devirilisation* of men and the excessive power of women, fantasies that were not the monopoly of any political camp (Bard 1999).

Although conjectures on the suffrage of future female voters diverged, with each camp foreseeing a risk of reinforcing the opposing one, both sides at least agreed on the fear of an irrational vote that would only benefit the political extremes. The lack of political maturity of women, often invoked, was one of the justifications for voting in stages, a learning process to begin at the municipal level. This conditional suffrage was thus adopted at first in Canada (1917), in Ireland (1918), in Great Britain (1918), in Georgia (1918), in Belgium (1919), in Rumania (1929), and in Turkey (1930), sometimes with a very long delay between this limited suffrage and civil equality, as in Portugal (1931–1976). In Belgium women participated in municipal elections as early as 1919 but had to wait until 1949 to cast their first legislative ballot.

Following World War I, proposals for the *vote of the dead* were glaring proof that women were still not recognized as individuals: In 1918 Belgium instituted, at the same time as male universal suffrage, voting rights for widows who had not remarried and for mothers of combatants killed by the enemy (as well as for war heroines). In several countries voting was at first restricted to certain categories of women. In the United Kingdom the 1918 law introduced an age differential (only women over 30 could vote) that allowed men to keep the majority of the voting body until 1929, when voting majority age became the same for both sexes. In Portugal, where

Roman Catholic influence on the dictatorial regime established in 1926 was strong, voting rights were first given to graduates of secondary or higher education, then in 1946 to married women, and finally in 1968 to all women, except in municipal elections, which were reserved for male heads of families (Cova 1997).

Proposals for a *familial vote*, attributing one or several extra votes to the male head of the family, according to the number of his children, also limited women's suffrage (Talmy 1962). The Vichy government included this familial voting, put forward by the Roman Catholic right in France between the two wars, in its proposed Constitution (whose promulgation would be denied by the German occupying forces). The contemporary extreme right remains attached to this modification of suffrage (Lesselier 1997).

Is it easier, then, to envisage the access of women to governing towns and cities than their access to national representation? The nomination or, in some cases, the election of female municipal councilors with only consultative power in 1930s France was favorably received. The Vichy regime then decided to name a *qualified* woman on social issues to the municipal councils of large cities. It was easier to give in on eligibility than on suffrage proper. In March 1944, at the Algiers Assembly, eligibility alone was considered by the commission on reforming the State. In several other countries, the right to be eligible preceded the right to vote: in the United States (1788 and 1920), in Norway (1907 and 1913), in the Netherlands (1917 and 1919), in Belgium (1921 and 1948), in Spain (six months apart 1931), except in Canada (1920—with restrictions—1960 and 1918) and in Turkey (1934 and 1930).

NATIONAL DISPARITIES: DEBATES AND INTERPRETATIONS

The various analyses of national differences regarding the access of women to suffrage vary according to whether they privilege philosophical reasons, political or politically minded ones, or conjuncture. Much has been made, for instance, of the *French delay*. According to Pierre Rosanvallon (1992), the utilitarian English model allows an easier inclusion of women as a specific group, whereas French-style universalism resists this type of differentialism. This thesis is, however, lacking in nuance. Not only does France not have the monopoly of the *ideas of 1789* and of universalism, but such monocausal explanations cannot be resorted to. The comparative study of the access of women to suffrage in European and North American countries reveals other obstacles or accelerators in the process.

In Europe the gap between northern and southern countries is very clear. The Scandinavian advance is remarkable. Before 1914 women were voting in Norway

and in Finland. Such precocity suggests that a broadening of censitary suffrage and a late implementation of male suffrage facilitate the inclusion of women by giving suffragists historical moments to weigh in on the debate. On the contrary, in France, the early date of universal male suffrage in 1848 and the lessons on the dangers it posed to democracy that Republicans drew from it explain in part the long delay in granting women's suffrage. In France women became electors with greater ease when the political vote was not particularly sacralized and where other forms of voting were well established in social, professional, educational, and religious practices. In contrast the reformist method favored by Anglo-Saxons facilitated the political inclusion of women, as well as the proportional ballot list, whereas the *revolutionary* method and the uninominal ballot had the contours of a more *brutal* masculine world (Rudelle 1997).

Changes in regime also seemed to provide circumstances favorable to the political inclusion of women: in Russia (1917), in Germany (1918), or in Spain (1931), nascent republics marked the authenticity of their democracy with the suffrage of women .

Another favorable circumstance was the participation of women in the constitution or defense of a nation, as in Finland or in Norway, that allowed "them to transgress the traditional separation of roles but also to acquire a collective identity and a place in that imaginary community constituted by the nation" (Rochefort 1998, p. 39). Later, the examples of Ireland and Poland show that "the political freedom of women is tied into the freedom of nations" (Rudelle 1997, p. 577). In Europe after World War I women in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, and Lithuania obtained the right to vote. In Turkey the young secular republic recognized the equality of political rights. But Romania and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes remained indifferent to suffragist demands.

Spain was the first Latin country to implement universal suffrage in 1931. It would be tempting to invoke a contrast with Protestant cultures to explain that lateness were it not that Catholic countries such as Ireland (1928) or Poland (1918) also granted the right to vote to women relatively early. The fact that Pope Benedict XV (1845–1922) approved women's suffrage in 1919 removed obstacles: Catholic suffragist movements developed, and conservative parties rallied to their side, among other reasons because they saw in it a useful rampart against bolshevism. In 1924 Italian and Spanish women obtained a partial right to vote: These authoritarian regimes allowed no more than a moderate suffrage. In Italy, Spain, and Portugal the era of truly universal suffrage only opened with the end of dictatorship.

Finally, one has to take into account the rapport between the sexes. The *sex ratio* is one such element:

women's access to the vote was faster in immigrant countries where women are a minority in the electoral body, as in New Zealand, in Australia (where Aborigines of both sexes remain deprived of citizenship until 1967), and in certain states of the American West, such as Wyoming where (white) men and women had the same political rights since 1869. Finland and Norway, pioneering countries in Europe, were also little affected by demographical unbalances linked to male emigration. In contrast there was strong reticence in Great Britain where women were a majority (1.5 million more than men among a population of 45 million). In France, during the last debate of March 1944 on this very question, many anxieties were still voiced concerning an electorate *dominated* by women and even more so due to the absence of prisoners of war.

The judicial status of women is another important element. Wherever the Napoleonic Civil Code persists, women reach citizenship more slowly, which is not the case in *common law* countries where the rights of married women were recognized already in the nineteenth century. In France this emancipation was late: A law of 1938 gave wives certain civil rights, but the need to secure the husband's authorization to exercise a profession was only abolished in 1965, and parental equality did not come to pass before 1970.

Finally, the relation between the emancipation of women and the emancipation of populations deprived of civil rights (ethnic minorities and colonized people) would call for further study. For instance, some French women suffragists found it illogical that a minority of Senegalese would have the right to vote at the end of the nineteenth century. The question of priorities reappeared in 1936 regarding the civil rights of Algerians. The law of 7 May 1946 that confirmed citizenship within personal status in Algeria only concerned men, and women had to await the law of 29 September 1947 to obtain identical rights (article 4), which only became effective in 1958 in the midst of the Algerian war.

Thus, in half of the countries in world women only acquired the right to vote in the second half of the twentieth century. In non-European and non-North American countries, the suffrage of women has a recent history, linked to national independence and to the nature of the ruling regimes (Seager 1998). Universal suffrage, for that matter, still does not exist everywhere.

SEE ALSO *Hierarchy; Sex, Race, and Power: An Intersectional Study.*

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Christine Bard

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SUICIDE BOMBERS

SEE *Terrorism*.

SUPERHEROES

Superheroes developed in newspapers, comic books, radio and television programs, and films of the early twentieth century and have clustered in two traditions in competing comic book companies: DC Comics' traditional costumed crusaders and Marvel Entertainment's more psychologically complex heroes. Further deconstruction followed a landmark pair of graphic novels from 1986, Frank Miller's *The Dark Knight Returns* and Alan Moore and Dave Gibbon's *The Watchmen*, which ushered in an age of superheroes who reflect a postmodern condition of cultural dislocation and even antiheroism. Despite these modifications the superhero continues to affirm the fantasy of a masculine universe.

GENDER IMPLICATIONS OF THE SECRET IDENTITY

The gender template for the superhero was forged by Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster's Superman in the first issue of *Action Comics* (1938). The "man of steel" embodied power, invulnerability, and extraterrestrial mobility for an age of technological advancement. Moreover, as Umberto Eco argued in his 1979 essay on Superman, he reinforced masculine values of individualism, moral superiority, mastery over his environment, and a resistance to domestic demands. Replaying the plot dynamics of the typical Western hero who opts for the rugged frontier rather than settling down with a female admirer, Superman repeatedly rebuffs Lois Lane in order to protect his secret identity as Clark Kent, a bashful reporter. In this way, the hero reinforces a gender ideology popularized in the nineteenth century in which men were permitted to inhabit opposing realms, both the private and public spheres, whereas women were relegated only to the private. Though Lois

Lane is a workingwoman and thus occupies a public space, the superhero's split identity recodes gender divisions according to a new form of privilege. Only the male hero can move fluidly between two identities; Lois Lane and others remain rooted in one.

The duality of Superman's hero-wimp identity presents an allegory of Western middle-class masculinity of the mid-twentieth century. For example, Gary Engle (1987) reads Superman as a metaphor of the ideal immigrant, who uses normally hidden alien characteristics for the betterment of his foster community and whose rapid shifts between normally fixed social categories enacts a fantasy of mobility rooted in American frontier mythologies. Alternatively, for Eco, Clark Kent incarnates a mythic chastity, or "parsifalism": "the bashful embarrassment of an average young man in a matriarchal society" (1979, p. 115). To most critics, the superhero's dualism represents identity as a conflict between internal and social constructions of the self. While the powerful public self is masked and rendered theatrical in a flamboyant costume, the unmasked, private self must be kept just as secret. What distinguishes Superman from most subsequent superheroes is that his "normal" identity as Clark Kent is the costume; as Superman, he is free to be the alien he is. Subsequent superheroes exhibit a reversal of this role so that the superhero identity symbolizes a fantasy projection of the original ordinary self.

The secret identity and its gender implications endure in television superheroes who nuance Superman's hero-wimp paradigm, such as the African American teen Static Shock or the various members of the Justice League and Teen Titans. Notably, Spider-Man, like Captain Marvel or Shazam, represents a fantasy of identity split between extremes of age and maturity. Spider-Man's alter ego, troubled teen Peter Parker, transforms into a crime-fighting adult. Some heroes such as the Hulk or the Fantastic Four reflect the dual model of identity but dispense with the secrecy. For Batman, duality hinges on social location and temper: a carefree luminary of the wealthy as Bruce Wayne, but an obsessive, shadowy vigilante in superhero form.

THE SEXUALITY OF BATMAN

Notwithstanding Batman's unquestioned iconic status as a superhero since his first appearance in *Detective Comics* in 1939, certain representations of the character's sexuality have been the subject of questioning by critics and fans. Early comic books showed the "caped crusader" as a brutal vigilante epitomizing the moody, selectively lawless, and obsessive behavior of the film noir detective. But after teaming up with Robin, who first appeared in 1940, and causing a surge of hero-sidekick spin-offs in the 1950s, Batman became the target of a homophobic censorship campaign launched by the psychoanalyst Fredric

Wertham, who, in 1954, famously accused DC Comics of portraying Batman and Robin as a gay couple (especially in repeated scenes of mutual rescue) and of inciting young readers to homosexuality. As Andy Medhurst (1991) notes, the campy 1960s television show of Batman satirically added to the claim that the hero as well as the accoutrements of superhero mythology—tight costume, boyish sidekick, secret lifestyle—suggested queer sexuality. Claims about the sexuality of the hero, then as now, have less to do with the details of the superhero's fictional universe than with America's penchant for arguing over sexuality and gender normativity through such symbolic figures as the superhero.

SUPERHEROINES AND GENDER DIFFERENCES

Since Wonder Woman's early acclaim as the first and sometimes only female in the pantheon of superheroes, superheroines have experienced a recent boom influenced by such television warriors as Xena (aired 1995–2001) and Buffy the Vampire Slayer (1997–2003). As with *Daredevil's* introduction of the assassin Elektra (1981), *X-Men* revolutionized the superhero genre beginning in 1975 with its multicultural team equally supported by heroines such as Rogue, later incarnations of Jean Grey, and Storm, and spawned other female heroes who occupied more central and aggressive roles than the defensive positions allotted to the Fantastic Four's Invisible Girl or the Avenger's Scarlet Witch. But whereas television and film audiences of female superheroinics may be more varied in age and gender, comic book readers for the two largest companies (DC and Marvel) still tend to be adolescent males between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. Some critics point to this readership as shaping the continued objectification and marginalization of female characters even with the trend toward incorporating formerly excluded gender identities such as stronger women and gay characters such as Alpha Flight's Northstar, the Authority's couple Midnighter and Apollo, and Ultimate X-Men's Colossus. Male homosexuality in Marvel teams may be seen as a continuation of a tradition established by the Fantastic Four in organizing superheroes around dysfunctional families that galvanize disparate outcast figures according to a principle of tolerance.

Nevertheless, as Norma Pecora argues (1992), even in such familial dynamics the masculine universe of Batman and Superman prevails, championing male dominance and mastery alongside concomitant representations of "civilian" women as either victim or vixen. Nor do superheroines exhibit great variation in appearance. Though superpowered, most are reduced to voluptuously buxom objects of visual consumption, unlike the male heroes who show a greater range of body types.

Regardless, then, of a relative trend toward power sharing in the superhero universe as more women fight alongside or against Spider-Man, Wolverine, and Batman, the regulatory sexualization of the female body reduces these would-be wonder women to stereotypes that fall short of the proto-feminist agenda some critics, such as Lillian Robinson (2004), read in the earliest *Wonder Woman* comic books. The psychologist and gender theorist William Moulton Marston (pen name, Charles Moulton) created Wonder Woman in 1941 to provide young female readers with an archetype who combined valued feminine qualities of peace loving and tenderness with underrepresented qualities of strength, force, and power. Nevertheless, as a site of male gender disciplining, the objectifying conventions of superhero illustration disrupt the very forays into progressive gender politics (cyborg sexuality, transgender, nongender, etc.) that superhero stories increasingly undertake.

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Michael A. Chaney

SURROGATES, SEXUAL

Sexual surrogate partners are women and men with professional training who function in place of an individual's nonexistent sexual partner in the course of sex therapy using a short-duration, delimited-boundaries, psychosocial/behavioral therapy model. As specified in the code of ethics of the International Professional Surrogates Association (IPSA), typically a surrogate partner will work with a client who is simultaneously being seen by a therapist, who directs the therapy as one member of the therapeutic triad of the client, therapist, and surrogate. As such, the therapist and surrogate consult prior to the surrogate's work with the client, and again later, as the surrogate is able to bring insights to the therapist for processing with the client following their social and/or sexual interaction. Those surrogates who work with clients without the supervision of a therapist are generally

considered disreputable and outside contemporary professional standards for this type of therapy. Typically, also, for legal, ethical, or therapeutic reasons, therapists will not use sex surrogate therapy with clients who are married or have a regular sexual partner. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, sexual surrogacy remains a controversial practice in the United States, with complex legal, moral, ethical, professional, and clinical implications. Yet it continues to be of interest to many potential surrogate practitioners and clients.

Therapists and surrogates will work with clients of any sexual orientation for a variety of sexual dysfunctions or other sex-related emotional and social problems. Some surrogates specialize in working with persons specially challenged by various physical or psychosocial limitations; in some environments, these persons are prevented from having social interactions in which to meet potential partners, which sometimes limits their social or sexual skills. Vena Blanchard, president of the IPSA, highlights some of the populations found to benefit from this type of therapy:

The most common client referred to [surrogate partner therapy] is a heterosexual male with a combination of sexual and emotional inhibitions or dysfunctions that have delayed or inhibited his entry or re-entry into physically and emotionally intimate relationships—this includes mid-life virgins, men abused as children, and men troubled by rapid ejaculation, inhibited ejaculation, and erection difficulties. Female clients are referred to [surrogate partner therapy] to resolve debilitating negative body image, anorgasmia, vaginismus, mid-life virginity, sexual shyness, and sequelae of childhood abuse.

(Personal communication, June 5, 2006)

Although surrogate partner therapy has been found to be a highly effective adjunctive therapy model for resolving such issues, the use of this type of therapy appears to have been steadily declining since its introduction by William Masters and Virginia Johnson in 1970 (following a decade of experience developing it) and its peak in the early 1980s. Some of this decline, which began in the mid-1980s and persisted for about a decade, can be attributed to the fears surrounding AIDS that began to surface at the time, as noted by Raymond J. Noonan (1995, 2004). Despite signs that this decline was reversing by the close of the millennium, the introduction of Viagra, and the concomitant "medicalization" of sex therapy with various other drugs designed to enhance sexual performance for both women and men, have since accelerated the decline. This reflects, in part, the simultaneous decline in the use of traditional forms of sex therapy overall in favor of pharmaceutical solutions. Julian Slowinski, William R. Stayton, and Robert W. Hatfield (2004) note the

criticism of these quick-fix solutions and the discovery by many couples and individuals that mere sexual functioning often does not address the complex emotional and interpersonal problems that can disrupt and destroy intimate relationships—the very issues on which sexual surrogate therapy tends to focus. Many surrogates and therapists believe that the healing process inherent in surrogacy is because of two factors: on the emotional level, the psychological processes of transference and counter-transference provide experiential material that the therapist can address, while the teaching and learning of sexual and relationship skills provide the behavioral component.

Both prospective clients and the general public often ask the question, what do sex surrogates actually do? Within the context of surrogate therapy, Noonan (1995, 2004) found in a 1984 survey of sex surrogates that they provided more than just sexual service for their clients, spending about 87 percent of their professional time doing nonsexual activities. In addition to functioning as a sexual intimate—which, in its various manifestations, involved only about 13 percent of their therapy time—the surrogate functioned as educator, counselor, and cotherapist, providing sex education, sex counseling, social-skills education, coping-skills counseling, emotional support, sensuality and relaxation education and coaching, and self-awareness education. The results indicated that most of the surrogate-client interaction was spent outside of the sexual realm, suggesting further that surrogate therapy employs a more holistic methodological approach than previous writings, both professional and lay, would seem to indicate. Clearly, the sex surrogate functions far beyond the realm of the prostitute, a common misconception among some members of the public—and some professionals and politicians—that still persists.

In 1988 Dean C. Dauw noted that little in-depth research had been conducted about surrogates, their effectiveness, or their appropriateness in working with specific sexual dysfunctions, a situation that has persisted into the twenty-first century. A number of other research questions exist that also need to be answered about surrogate practice in light of the various changes that have occurred with respect to sexual health issues in the four decades since surrogacy's inception. The reasons for this lack of research are unclear. Perhaps it has as much to do with the general antisexualism that remains a part of American culture as it has to do with the litigiousness that has become a predominant focus of American life, and the reach of managed healthcare provisions that tend to foster simplistic pharmacological remedies for what are often larger biopsychosocial sexual problems. Further, the fact that sexual partner surrogates are themselves a relatively small group of individuals, with many not affiliated with established professional sexuality organizations or networks or possibly trained in idiosyncratic therapeutic

protocols, may also serve as an impediment to such research. Although anecdotal reports exist for heterosexual male clients' work with surrogates, little is known about heterosexual female clients' or both female and male gay clients' experience with surrogates.

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Raymond J. Noonan

SUSANNA AT HER BATH

The apocryphal story of Susanna and the elders, dated circa sixth century BCE, became a favorite subject of painters of the early modern period. Although it is not in the Hebrew text of the book of Daniel, it was transmitted through the Greek Bible and in versions that derive from it. The Latin and Greek Orthodox Church have always considered this story as part of the book of Daniel, and it is cited as a canonical text as early as Irenaeus and Tertullian, and by Origen in the Epistle to Julius Africanus.

In the story Susanna (in Hebrew, "lily"), a most virtuous and beautiful woman, wife of Joakim, a rich and respected member of the Jewish community in Babylon, decides on a hot day to take a cool bath in the garden. Overhearing this, two elders or judges who had been visiting her house, after pretending to leave, return with illicit desires. Spying on the naked Susanna, they tell her that they will accuse her of adultery with a



Susanna and the Elders by *Joseph-Marie Vien*. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEE DES BEAUX ARTS NANTES/DAGLI ORTI.

young man if she does not satisfy their lust. This would bring the death penalty upon her, according to the law.

In this dire predicament, Susanna cries out in despair. As the alarmed maids arrive, the elders accuse Susanna of coupling with a young lover. The following day everyone is assembled for the judgment, as the two elders pronounce their false accusation against Susanna. They claim that Susanna sent away the maids and lay with the young man who was hiding and got away when the two elders unsuccessfully tried to capture him, and that Susanna would not reveal his name to them. They solemnly testify to this accusation. Everyone believes them because of their reputation and prestige. Susanna is condemned to die based on this false charge, but she prays fervently to the Lord, being a woman of faith and virtue, asking God to come to her rescue. Her prayer is heard and the Lord fills with holy spirit a youth named Daniel, who cries out loudly that this woman is innocent: "I am clear of the blood of this woman." Daniel interrogates the two elders separately and proves that they are

lying because they contradict one another. One states that they saw the two copulating under a mastic tree, the other under an oak. The two elders are unmasked and sentenced to death, and Susanna's virtue and reputation are reestablished. Daniel's wisdom is acclaimed by the people, and his prophetic spirit praised.

The story of Susanna has been of great interest to painters and other visual artists because of the inspirational character of Susanna's beauty and virtue, as well as her perseverance and faith in her God. Some painters have portrayed the episode in an erotic and sensuous vein, whereas others have placed emphasis on her virtue. Feminist scholarship has interpreted Susanna as an example of male violence, patriarchal hegemony, and abuse. Indeed, the portrayal of the scene by Artemisia Gentileschi (c. 1597–c. 1651) projects pain and modesty, the objectification of the woman, her fright and shame, while also showing the beauty and shapeliness of her naked body, as well as the wicked pose of the two elders. It is interesting to compare Gentileschi's version with that of her

contemporary Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641), as well as with renditions by other artists, such as Jacopo da Empoli (1554–1640); Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619), the Bolognese painter who rejects the erotic and focuses on the virtues; Il Guercino (1591–1666); Rembrandt (1606–1669); Tintoretto (c. 1518–1594); and a contemporary artist such as Vasili Ryabchenko (1991). Van Dyck's painting appears in the film *Psycho* (1960) by Alfred Hitchcock, suggesting male violence and a parallel with the movie's plot. Gus Van Sant's 1998 remake of *Psycho* substitutes another painting (possibly, according to Donato Totaro, a Titian, *Venus with a Mirror*), which would change the narrative intention.

Because of the multiple allegorical dimensions of the episode, the story of Susanna and the elders is of considerable interest to feminists, artists, biblical scholars, and also film critics.

SEE ALSO *Art; Erotic Art; Gaze; Nude in Visual Arts.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

SVENGALI

The term *Svengali* refers to a person who attempts to control another person using hypnosis, suggestion, or personal charm, often with evil intent. A Svengali is usually a male who influences a female to do his bidding, which often consists of performances, such as singing, and deeds, which may be everything from murder to sexual favors, that profit the Svengali and are not remembered by his victim. The term is archaic in contemporary culture, hypnosis and other such mind-control techniques having lost their mysterious appeal.

The term comes from the name of the evil villain in the English author George Du Maurier's 1894 novel *Trilby*. In the novel a cruel, brutal, unsuccessful middle-aged musician named Svengali, who is described as an "Oriental Israelite Hebrew Jew," uses his hypnotic powers to control a beautiful young woman named Trilby. Through hypnotic suggestion, Svengali commands that Trilby sing, which she does so successfully that Svengali is able to live off her concert fees in luxury. When not under a posthypnotic command to perform, Trilby is tone-deaf; Svengali's bullying and control of her behavior dominates her life and exploits her being. Through the course of the novel Trilby remains completely unaware that she has been hypnotized. Immediately before what will be her last performance, Svengali has a heart attack and is unable to command that Trilby sing. She tries to fulfill her concert demands but is unable to carry a tune. As a result of the abuse she receives for her failed performance, Trilby has a nervous breakdown and dies the next day.

The character Svengali is singularly unattractive and unsavory. He represents not only nineteenth-century anxieties about mind-control techniques, which were a subject of interest, but also connections made between the occult and orientalism that exist today. Curiosity about mind-control techniques began in the eighteenth century with the work of Franz (or Friedrich) Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), a German doctor who developed a technique that came to be called "mesmerism," which put his patients into a trancelike state. Mesmer believed that the technique depended on his ability to align the magnetic elements of the body, but he never understood the extent to which his technique was really a form of hypnosis.

Hypnosis is a state of consciousness in which the hypnotized person focuses attention on sensory experiences and ignores the outside world. Hypnosis was practiced by ancient Egyptians and Greeks who understood how to produce trances through a subject's fascination with a moving point. A hypnotist can also induce hypnotic trances by hypnotizing a patient through the repetition of monotonous words and phrases. While in a hypnotic trance, subjects may remember details they have forgotten in conscious life, or overcome chronic pain, anxieties, depression, eating disorders, and addictions to nicotine. As no one can be hypnotized against his or her will, the kind of situation represented in *Trilby* is highly unlikely; the exploitative and gendered power relation between a cruel hypnotist and his suggestible subject is more an allegory of gender exploitation than a feature of actual psychoanalytic treatment.

In the nineteenth century, techniques such as Mesmer's were employed to help cure women of hysteria,

believed to be caused by a wandering womb and to produce symptoms such as nervous tics, loss of speech, coughs, and anxiety disorders. Psychoanalysis, which was only beginning to develop ways to cure women afflicted with hysterical symptoms, eventually adapted some of Mesmer's techniques, especially his way of touching patients, or laying on hands. The renowned French doctors Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893) and Pierre Janet (1859–1947) sometimes deployed hypnotism on hysterical patients, while surgeons began performing operations with patients under hypnosis. Charcot's charisma and control over his patients as well as the general sway of hypnosis used as a mode of treatment became the topic of several contemporaneous fictional works, including Léon Daudet's 1894 novel *Les Morticoles*, several novels by Alexandre Dumas père in the "Marie Antoinette" series, and Guy de Maupassant's 1887 short story "Horla." Both E. T. A. Hoffmann and Thomas Mann also wrote stories about the powerful interpersonal forces of hypnotism.

The hypnotic treatments performed by Charcot and other medical doctors stimulated a genre of stage hypnoses performed by nonmedical hypnotists and charlatans. Subjects, usually attractive young females who were conditioned to hypnotic suggestion, were commanded to perform various feats on stage at the behest of their controllers. Famous stage hypnotists included Charles Lafontaine, Auguste Lassaing, and the more disreputable Ceslav Lubicz-Czynski and Franz Neukomm, who reputedly hypnotically suggested his subject's death.

The Svengali form of abusive hypnosis also became the subject of cinema, most famously in the 1931 film *Svengali*, an adaptation of Du Maurier's book, starring John Barrymore as Svengali and Marian Marsh as his hapless singing subject. Many versions of Du Maurier's novel were made into films, beginning with *Trilby and Svengali* in 1911, and appearing again in 1914, 1927, 1955, 1978, 1983 (starring Peter O'Toole and Jodie Foster), and 2004. In 1946 there was even an animated film titled *Svengali's Cat*. Other films about mind control include the innovative German expressionist film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1919), which features a somnambulist, Cesare, who is made to murder victims under the control of a magician, Dr. Caligari.

The idea of controlling innocent, often delicately balanced women was a fascination of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that seems to have faded. The mystical quality of hypnotism gave way to the sense of deception and trickery fostered by stage charlatans. Hypnosis itself, though used as a treatment for eating disorders and nicotine addiction as well as some memory recovery, is no longer taken seriously as a mode of exploitation and interpersonal control. Hypnosis is more

often referred to jokingly, while the character type represented by Svengali and linked with such other evil controlling figures as vampires has disappeared or been transformed into the emblems of other cultural anxieties, such as greedy self-help gurus who milk their victims for money while promising self-improvement.

SEE ALSO *Seduction*.

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Judith Roof

SWINGING

Swinging consists of sexual activity between one married or committed couple and other couples or individuals. Because it most often involves trading partners for an evening or a short period, it also has been called wife swapping and mate swapping. Less commonly, couples engage in sexual activity with individuals rather than other couples, generally preferring single women to single men. Swingers are typically heterosexual couples; gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals and couples participate in this lifestyle to a much lesser degree.

Typically, swingers are educated professionals who are socially conservative in most other aspects of their lives. They feel that swinging adds excitement, stability, and longevity to a marriage. It relieves the monotony of sex with a single partner while avoiding the problems associated with secret affairs. Some swingers also enjoy the deviant aspect of the activity and seem more willing to experiment with nontraditional sex acts with unfamiliar swinging partners than with their own spouses. Although some swingers retreat to separate rooms for private sessions, others remain in a common room where they can enjoy watching their spouses with other lovers or being watched by their spouses. Such practices add elements of exhibitionism and voyeurism.

Swinging became more popular and more visible in Great Britain and the United States beginning in the 1960s, a decade marked by increased sexual freedom and tolerance. Beginning in the 1990s, new groups of swingers formed that were limited to attractive young adults under age forty. These groups usually are in urban locations in European cities such as London.

A swing is a sex toy used by individuals and couples of all sexual orientations during sexual play or intercourse

that suspends one person in a small hammocklike harness hung from the ceiling or a sturdy stand. It has several adjustable straps that support the occupant's back, buttocks, and feet or legs so that the occupant can lie or sit comfortably at many different angles. Once in the swing, the occupant has a great degree of mobility both from side to side and, because of a spring component, up and down. Some swings also rotate 360 degrees, allowing for a spinning movement. The swing makes the rider seem weightless, eliminating the typical top-bottom arrangement in which one partner's weight is pressing on the other. It therefore allows for longer periods of sexual activity and a greater number of sexual positions for intercourse, oral sex, and masturbation. Using a swing aids oral sex, since the giver can remain largely stationary while the receiver is swung back and forth. Additional benefits for intercourse include ease of movement so that the back-and-forth movement of the receiver's body replaces the thrusting movement of the giver. Many feel that it allows easier access to the G-spot in women for both a penis and a dildo.

Because the person in the swing is supported and held in place by straps of leather or other materials, participants may feel heightened pleasure from the association with bondage play. Although sex swings are distinctly less restricting than the slings and harnesses used for bondage play, a similar dynamic is created as a result of the imposed passiveness or submissiveness of the rider and the active or dominant role played by the other partner.

SEE ALSO *Adultery*.

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Michelle Veenstra

SWITCHHITTER

The term *switchhitter* is slang for bisexual. It is an epithet to describe an individual who is attracted to both sexes and implies that the individual is either indecisive in his or her sexual orientation or self-serving in his or her sexual behavior. Among users of American English, base-

ball is a metaphor affirming sexual prowess: the act of running each base suggests increased sexual activity between individuals in a relationship. *Switchhitter* as a metaphor, however, is not affirming. Whereas in baseball a switchhitter is a batter who can hit from both the right and left sides of the plate—a skill of versatility that is an asset to a team because the batter can strategize against both left- and right-handed pitchers—switchhitter as a metaphor has a negative connotation regardless of the community in which it is used. When employed by members of the gay community, it often describes an individual who treats same-sex relationships as temporary. Within heterosexual communities, switchhitter often describes an individual who deviates from heterosexuality either experimentally or temporarily. Both uses suggest a switchhitter will assert his or her heterosexual privilege eventually. As such, the epithet reinforces binary categories of sexual identity and reveals a social anxiety with bisexuality.

Other epithets used interchangeably with switchhitter include *swings both ways* and *AC/DC* (a metaphor based on electricity). The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites the year 1956 as the earliest published use of *switchhitter* in literature, and the word first appeared in the *Dictionary of American Slang* in 1960.

SEE ALSO *Bisexuality*.

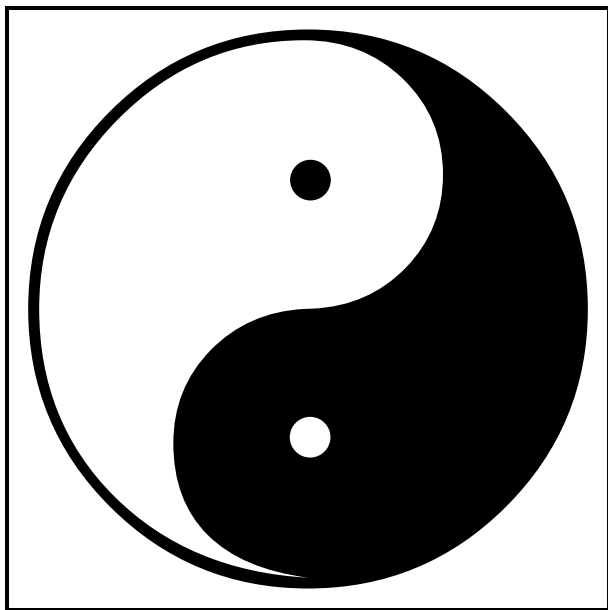
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Jobanna Frank

SYMBOLISM

Gender as a structure of binary opposites has been the most potent of all symbols of differentiation. Since the earliest beginnings of civilization, since the most ancient and simplest cultural elaboration, difference has been symbolized in compliance with the tenets of gender difference. Gender therefore may be defined as the symbolic elaboration of biological difference.



Yin-Yang. *The two fundamental principles, one negative, dark, passive, cold, wet, and feminine (yin) and the other (yang) positive, bright, active, dry, hot and masculine.* THOMSON GALE.

SYMBOLIST THEORY

Symbols signify what something is and what it is not, for it is the function of a symbol to express a polysemy, to contain and to convey ambiguity. Therefore a symbolist approach to gender is particularly able to grasp the ambiguity of gender relations.

The invention of the symbol is a creative act that rests on the ability to see a thing as what it is not (Castoriadis 1987). Symbolic understanding is therefore generated on the borders of ambiguity, where being and nonbeing merge, where the indeterminate is about to transform itself into the determinate, and where possibilities are latent or emergent.

For example, in Chinese culture the yang-yin symbol represents the dualistic distribution of forces between the active, masculine principle (“yang”) and the passive, feminine one (“yin”). This distribution is symbolized by a circle divided by a sigmoid line indicating the dynamic interpenetration of the two principles. The light half of the figure is the “yang” force and the dark one the “yin” force, but each half contains a small circle of the opposite shade symbolizing that each principle contains the germ of the other. This symbol is a cross-section of a helicoid structure that links opposites and generates constant movement—a metamorphosis through contrary positions and situations. The vertical axis at its center constitutes the “mystical center” where

there is neither turbulence, nor impulse, nor suffering. The three levels of signification are therefore present in this symbol, just as they are in other Hindu or Hebrew symbols that elaborate sexual difference as separation and inseparability.

As set forth by Juan Eduardo Cirlot (1971), symbolist theory is based on the following principles:

1. There is nothing that does not matter. Everything expresses something and everything is meaningful.
2. No form of reality is independent. Everything stands in relation to something else.
3. The quantitative is transformed into the qualitative at certain essential points which constitute the signification of quantity.
4. Everything is serial. Seriality includes both the physical world (the spectrum of colors, sounds, shapes, landscapes) and the spiritual world (virtues, vices, sentiments).
5. There are correlations of situation among different series, and of meaning among series and their constitutive elements.

Take, for example, the symbol of the sword. First there is the object in itself, stripped of every relation; next is the object in its instrumental function; finally is the object in its symbolic function to denote a general meaning, one which is often ambivalent and allusive. The multiplicity of meanings is never chaotic, however, because it moves to a shared rhythm. Thus the sword, iron, fire, the color red, the god Mars, the Rocky Mountains, are interconnected and meet in a symbolic direction of equal significance: the desire for psychic determination and for physical destruction. These symbols unite with each other; they call upon each other because of the inner affinity—the shared rhythm that enables connections to be established among the diverse levels of reality.

Rationality and emotionality clearly belong to that continuum of symbolic values that delineates gender: the male, the rational, the public, activity, separation, thought, the mind, hardness, coldness, and the vertical, as opposed to the female, the emotional, the private, receptivity, connection, sentiment, the body, softness, warmth, and the horizontal.

In contemporary society the symbolic fabric is much more fragmentary, complex, and chaotic than it was in traditional societies. Bureaucracy has exalted legal-rational thought. As Barry Turner argues, it has institutionalized an organizational society and a “rational, linear, denotative style of thought which thins out the symbolic density of cultural meaning arrays, which are then further fragmented by the prolific and sometimes

incestuous transformations which we daily inflict upon all kinds of symbolic representations” (Turner 1992, p. 63). The difficulty in understanding symbolic representations stems from the nature of the symbol, which is so much the *significans* as to be indeterminate and constantly to defer its *significandum*, and which requires an indirect language, one that establishes relations and conserves transformative power.

For example, two symbols of gender relations—the sexual contract and the alchemic wedding—can denote, respectively, the opposition and the transformation that the gender relation may bring about as the male and female reciprocally define each other. The image of the contract and that of the wedding are symbolic representations of the separation and inseparability of the genders. It is the dialectic between these two images that produces the symbolic order of gender that sustains a specific cultural form.

THE SYMBOLIC ORDER OF GENDER

The symbolic order of gender that separates the symbolic universes of the female and the male sanctions a difference whereby what is affirmed by the One is denied by the Other. As the literary theorist Jacques Derrida (1978) observes, the One and the Other draw meaning from this binary opposition, which forms a contrast created ad hoc that maintains a hierarchical interdependence. The interdependence-based symbolic order is a relational order that rests upon difference and the impossibility of its definition. Male and female are undecidable; their meaning is indeterminate and constantly deferred.

The origins of the widely used concept of *difference* warrant examination. *Difference*, as defined by Robert Cooper and Gibson Burrell, means a form of self-reference “in which terms contain their own opposites and thus refuse any singular grasp of their meanings” (Cooper and Burrell 1988, p. 95). In order to stress the processual nature of difference, Jacques Derrida (1978) coined the term *différance*, which in French is pronounced the same as *différence* and incorporates the two meanings of the verb *différer*: defer in time and differ in space. Male and female are not only different from each other (static difference) but they also constantly defer each other (processual difference), in the sense that the latter, the momentarily deferred term, is waiting to return because, at a profound level, it is united with the former. The difference separates, but it also unites because it represents the unity of the process of division. Therefore the symbolic order of gender accommodates two ways of conceiving gender difference: as two separate terms—male and female—and as a process of reciprocal deferral in which the presence of one term depends on the absence of the other.

Like the mystical center of the yang–yin symbol, the situated meaning of gender stays at the point of intersection between the voice of static difference and the voice of processual difference. Because of their multi-individual dimension and supra-individual duration, male and female as symbolic systems possess a static aspect, which creates a social perception of immutability, of social structure and institution. But male and female is also a social relation dynamic whereby meaning is processually set out within society and individual and collective phenomena. As Silvia Gherardi (1995) notes, the symbolic order of gender is static difference and processual difference. It is the product of their interdependence: The impossibility of fixing meaning once and for all sanctions the transitoriness of every interpretation and exposes the political nature of every discourse on gender.

Gender symbolism is an approach that does not seek to posit a subjectivity of women or men in oppositional terms. It instead reflects the essential indeterminacy of the symbolic order of gender, governed as it is by the endless process of the difference and deferral of the meaning of male and female. It introduces a concept of subjectivity in which the subject is open-ended and indeterminate except when it is fixed in place by the culturally constituted symbolic order of gender.

Symbolist researchers in gender relations have the following distinctive features:

- They are qualitative researchers who prefer to see things through the eyes of the subject.
- They are interested in gender meanings, in the process of their attribution, in how they are sustained, and in the way that some gender representations prevail whereas others disappear.
- They are participative researchers, who know that they are part of the production of meaning and of the narration of stories, as both the narrating and the narrated subject.
- They are the products of contextual understanding of actions and symbols, not only because they are inseparable but also because all symbols are value-laden and meaningful only in terms of their relationship to other symbols.
- They are wanderers among the realms of knowledge seeking to reconstruct the links among the various levels of reality created by a symbol through individual symbolic production, the collective unconscious, and artistic production: the immanent with the transcendent, the mental with the physical, with action, with transformation.

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Silvia Gherardi

SYPHILIS

Syphilis is a bacterial infection caused by the *Treponema pallidum* spirochete (a spirochete is a type of bacterium that is thin, long, and coiled in shape). Called the *great pretender* or *great imitator*, syphilis has a number of signs and symptoms that may mimic those of other conditions.

Syphilis is a sexually transmitted disease/sexually transmitted infection that most commonly occurs in people aged twenty to twenty-nine. Women aged twenty to twenty-four and men aged thirty-five to thirty-nine are the most likely groups to be diagnosed with syphilis. In the early years of the twenty-first century, the majority of syphilis cases have occurred in men who have sex with men.

T. pallidum uses minor cuts or abrasions to enter the body, and the infection is typically contracted by direct contact with a syphilis sore, which is called a chancre. Infection can occur with oral, vaginal, or anal sex. In addition, women who are pregnant can transmit the disease to their fetuses (called congenital syphilis). Sores are most commonly found on the external sex organs, vagina, rectum, or anus; they can occur, however, in other places (e.g., in the mouth, on the lips).

Less likely means of transmission include transfusions of infected blood, direct intimate contact with an infected partner's chancre (e.g., through kissing), or a transfer to a health-care provider during an examination or procedure. Transmission via blood transfusion is extremely unlikely because the spirochetes cannot survive long in stored blood and the blood supply is screened for syphilis. Syphilis is not spread through casual contact (e.g., commodes, pools, clothing, kitchen utensils), likely because *T. pallidum* is highly sensitive to light, air, and temperature fluctuations.

STAGES

Infections of syphilis may progress through four stages. The infection may be spread during the primary, secondary, and early latent stages as well as from a pregnant woman to a fetus. In the primary stage the infection is usually evidenced by one sore, although there may be more than one, at the site where syphilis entered the person's body. Most often the point of entry is the penis, vagina, or vulva, but it could be another spot (e.g., lips, tongue, cervix). Typically, there is an average of twenty-one days (range ten to ninety days) between infection and evidence of a sore.

Chancres are normally small, hard, painless, and round. Chancres are usually present for three to six weeks and then heal. In approximately two-thirds of cases, lymph glands in the area will be swollen. Because chancres are often small, painless, and inside the body, they can easily be overlooked. Without satisfactory treatment, however, syphilis continues into the secondary stage.

In the secondary stage, common symptoms are rashes on the skin and lesions in mucous membranes. This stage usually begins with a skin rash, often one without itching, which may appear red or reddish brown in color. The rash typically emerges two to ten weeks after the chancre, following or during the healing of this sore. Although the rash may appear on one or more places on the body, frequently, such rashes appear on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet. Rashes may be light, challenging to see, and mimic those associated with other conditions. Other symptoms may occur during this stage of syphilis, including sore throat, fever, fatigue, aches, hair or weight loss, swollen lymph glands, and headaches. Regardless of whether treatment is administered, these symptoms will fade; without satisfactory treatment, however, disease progression may continue.

A third stage of the disease is the latent stage, which begins with the end of the symptoms of secondary syphilis. Early in the latent stage an individual may have no symptoms; however, one can infect others. When in late latent syphilis the risk of infecting others diminishes; without treatment, however, progression to the tertiary stage, a relapse into secondary-stage symptoms, or transmission of the disease to a fetus by a pregnant woman can occur. It is also possible that the signs and symptoms of syphilis may disappear and never return.

The final stage of syphilis is the tertiary stage, which is sometimes referred to as late syphilis. In this stage a subset of people receiving no treatment will develop serious health complications. After entering the body syphilis moves through the bloodstream, attaching to cells and damaging internal organs as time passes. By this late stage of the infection, damage to the body's internal organs (e.g., brain, heart, eyes, liver, joints) may have

occurred. Although this damage takes place over time, it may not be evident for several years. In fact, individuals may have syphilis and not exhibit symptoms for a considerable period of time; nevertheless, they may still be subject to late-stage complications. Symptoms of this stage include coordination difficulties, blindness, and dementia. The damage incurred may even cause death.

CONGENITAL SYPHILIS

Syphilis can be transmitted to a fetus at any stage of pregnancy. Estimates suggest that more than half of pregnant women with untreated syphilis may infect their fetuses, and that nearly half of babies with congenital syphilis will die. Passing syphilis to a fetus increases the likelihood of miscarriage, premature birth, stillbirth, and newborn death. Babies who are infected with syphilis may not exhibit any signs of the disease, but prompt medical treatment is needed or health conditions may worsen. If untreated, babies with syphilis may experience slower development, seizures, or death. Other health conditions in babies born with syphilis include sight and hearing problems, bone irregularities, joint swelling, and misshapen teeth (i.e., screwdriver-shaped teeth, called Hutchinson's teeth).

DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT

Because it shares symptoms with so many other diseases, may have no symptoms, or may have symptoms that disappear, syphilis can be challenging to diagnose. In the early twenty-first century, there are two methods for diagnosing syphilis—examination of material from a chancre under a dark-field microscope, which can detect syphilis bacteria, or via a blood test, which will detect syphilis antibodies. All pregnant women should have this blood test to avoid the complications of infecting the fetus. If diagnosed with syphilis pregnant women should be treated immediately. During the second and third trimesters of pregnancy, infected fetuses may be cured by treatment.

If treated during the initial stages, syphilis is easy to cure. A penicillin injection is the typical treatment for individuals who have had syphilis for less than one year. For those who have been infected for more than a year, additional doses are needed. For individuals with penicillin allergies, other antibiotics (such as doxycycline and tetracycline) can be used. Penicillin treatment is more effective when used early rather than as the infection progresses. It is important to note that treatment stops the infection but does not repair previous damage. Also, persons can be reinfected. Although no effective alternative treatments exist for syphilis, rest, reduction of stress, and appropriate exercise can aid the results of taking antibiotics.

The availability of penicillin in the 1940s led to a dramatic decline in syphilis. Prior to penicillin arsenic- or bismuth-based treatments yielded some effectiveness. Early ineffective treatments included guaiacum (a wood

gum) and mercury, which was inhaled, swallowed, or rubbed into the skin. Even malaria was used as a treatment, especially for tertiary syphilis, because some individuals with high fevers seemed to recover from syphilis, and then the malaria could be treated with quinine.

In the early twenty-first century, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) recommends screenings for individuals at risk. Further, individuals treated for syphilis should refrain from sexual contact until sores have healed and inform sexual partners so that they can be tested. The majority of syphilis transmission occurs from people who are undiagnosed. Because sores can be hidden (e.g., in the mouth, vagina, or rectum) and symptoms absent or difficult to diagnosis, one may not know a partner is infected. Also, chancres increase the likelihood of contracting and transmitting HIV.

ORIGINS

The origin of syphilis has been debated for several centuries. Three hypotheses now predominate. One hypothesis suggests that syphilis began in the New World and was taken back to Europe by sailors traveling with explorers, such as Christopher Columbus (1451–1506). This theory is also referred to as the Columbian explanation or



Incan Clay Figure of a Man with Syphilis. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Columbian exchange perspective. A second is that syphilis existed in the Old World but was confused with leprosy until medical diagnosis allowed practitioners to distinguish between the two illnesses. This perspective is also called the pre-Columbian view. The third suggests that syphilis emerged on both continents evolving from yaws and bejel, diseases caused by other bacteria in the genus with *T. pallidum*. Recent work in paleopathology favors the New World as the source.

SEE ALSO *Sexually Transmitted Diseases*.

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Joy L. Hart

T

TANTRA

Tantra refers to a variety of religious paths that developed mainly in northern India perhaps as early as the third century CE among Buddhists, Hindus, and Jains, although it took several centuries to achieve widespread influence. Its practitioners seek divine or magical powers, and one of its essential features is an abundance of female symbolism. These include divine females such as Śakti, Kālī, Tārā, Vajrayoginī, and various *ḍākinīs* and *yoginīs*, usually depicted in their fierce forms, as well as an emphasis on the *pīṭhas* (centers of goddess worship) created when pieces of the goddess Śakti's dead body fell off as her husband, the god Śiva, dancing madly in his grief, carried her on his head (Sircar 1973). Additionally, there is the symbolic or actual use of menstrual blood (and semen) in rituals and the valorization of female-identified substances such as Primal Matter (*prakṛti*), attributes such as wisdom (*prajñā*), and the energy of the universe (*śakti*). These last two are also the terms used for goddesses who are worshiped as the consort (Hindu: *śakti*; Buddhist: *prajñā*) of a male god or of celestial Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

In the early twenty-first century, Tantra survives among Buddhists in the Himalayan countries of Tibet, Nepal, and Bhutan; in Japan in the Shingon and Tendai schools of Buddhism; among exiled Tibetans everywhere; and among Hindu groups especially in the Indian states of West Bengal, Orissa, and Kerala, as well as in Indonesia. In the Hindu context there are three main Tantric sects, those who worship Viṣṇu/Kriṣṇa (Vaiṣṇavas) as the supreme deity, those who worship Śiva (Śaivites), and those who worship the Goddess (Śaktas, from *Śakti*). The last two are

sometimes hard to distinguish because they are perceived as being inseparable. The Tantric Bāuls of India and Bangladesh respectively emphasize Hindu and Muslim forms of devotion. Both Buddhist and Hindu Tantric practices are also flourishing in North America and Europe.

The Tantric ideal type is the *siddha* (from the word *siddhi*, supernatural power) or *sādhu* (holy man), wandering yogis who are also wonder-workers, and both are also referred to as *tāntrikas*. Tantric practices (*sādhana*s) often take place at night and in cemeteries in order to avoid the prying eyes of the noninitiated and to conquer the fear of death. The behavior of *tāntrikas* is often designed to shock people, to break social taboos that keep people from seeing Ultimate Reality in which there is no right or wrong. There were and are women *tāntrikas*, but most often the tradition is oriented toward and described from the male point of view.

PRACTICES

One of the unique elements of tantric ritual are the “five m’s” (*pañcamakāra*): wine, meat, fish, parched grain, and sexual union (respectively, in Sanskrit, *madya*, *māṃsa*, *mat-sya*, *mudrā*, and *maithuna*). The first four are described as aphrodisiacs and lead up to the fifth, actual or symbolical sexual union. Theoretically, there are two forms of practice: the right-handed path (*dakṣiṇāmārga*), which uses substitutes for the first four and visualizes the fifth, sexual union, and the left-handed path (*vāmāmārga*), which imbibes these substances and involves ritual sexual intercourse. In point of fact though, left-handed practice also frequently uses substitutes and visualization. Generally, Indian left-handed practitioners were wandering yogis, while right-handed

practitioners were traditional Hindu priests (brahmins). A similar situation arose in Tibet where freewheeling Tantric practices were fairly widespread among nonmonastics, both householders and wandering yogis, while a more rationalized Tantra flourished in the monasteries. There were, however, exchanges between the two groups.

The five m's are forbidden to orthodox Hindus because they are polluting, but the Tantric practitioner, Buddhist or Hindu, ritually uses these forbidden substances to get beyond the concepts of good and evil, forbidden and allowed, and to achieve an experience of the ultimate union of all opposites, even of female and male. In both Hindu and Buddhist Tantra reality is one, but it is understood through a process of conceptual and intuitive polarization, or duality, symbolized in terms of gender. For instance, in Hinduism śiva is conceptualized as passive Intelligence while śakti (energy) is active Primal Matter; from these two everything else in the universe arises, yet they are really one. In Buddhism the gender is reversed into passive *prajñā* (or insight), which is feminine, and active *upāya* (skillful means), which is male. In both traditions, though, these poles merge philosophically through the doctrine of the oneness of the universe, experientially through ritual practices, and visually through representations of divine sexual union. Through visualization practices during rituals or meditation the adept seeks to merge with the deities, or the Buddhas, and their consorts. So Tantric practice can be theistic and nondualistic, and it stresses the essential divinity of humanity.

Historically, the vast majority of Tantric practitioners were and remain men, while Tantric texts (*tantras*) specifically address men as the active ritual participants and refer to women solely as consorts to men. Ritually, women participants are often only passive partners for male adepts, when not actually excluded from parts of the ritual (Bharati 1975), or completely absent as in many right-handed practices where the female is only visualized. In many texts, when ritual sex does occur, the man is instructed not to ejaculate; instead the goal is to reverse the flow of semen and in some cases to absorb the female's sexual fluids, thus enhancing the male's spiritual powers and denying the female any share of the spiritual power thought to be contained in his semen (Hayes 1995). In other words, ritually speaking, *actual* women are frequently passive, secondary, and/or absent, while *symbolic* women (e.g., goddesses and other divine women) may temporarily be active but finally they, too, will be absorbed back into the Absolute. Tantra is essentially a *theoretical* valorization of the *feminine*, and as such has had very little impact on the lives of the vast majority of Buddhist and Hindu women.

Sexual union, whether enacted or visualized, involves the belief that women inherently possess something men

do not. In the Buddhist tradition it is *prajñā* that advanced male practitioners can access and appropriate through sexual yoga. For female practitioners, men are the source of *upāya*, which women can access and appropriate through sexual yoga. From the male point of view, which is the dominant view, during sexual union the adept, who will lose any spiritual benefit if he ejaculates, absorbs his consort's red drops (uterine fluids), mixing them with his white drops (semen), which he then absorbs through his penis up through his body to the top of his head (White 1996, Marglin 1986 [1982]). The female's red drops are not necessarily red, as they are also referred to as the vaginal secretion a woman is believed to ejaculate during intercourse—in other words, the female equivalent of semen.

THE SUBTLE BODY

Tantra uses the body as the means to salvation, and human beings are said to have both a physical body and a subtle body. *Cakras* (meaning wheel or a circle) are mystical points or centers in the subtle body, and while they can be experienced during meditation, they have no actual physical reality. Most essentially they are both symbols for and stages of spiritual experience that are perceived in physical, mental, and cosmic terms. Five or seven *cakras*, depending on the system, are aligned along the spine of the subtle body. The verticality of this arrangement describes the understanding that one first activates the *cakra* at the root in the torso and then gradually ascends up through each one in turn. In Hinduism, activation is brought about by awakening the Kuṇḍalinī, the female serpent power lying coiled and dormant around the first *cakra*, which is the goddess herself. This is accomplished through esoteric forms of yogic meditation and body postures, especially those that teach breath control and thus control of energy or the life force of the subtle body. Kuṇḍalinī is the energy (*Śakti*) that enlivens each *cakra* in order to awaken its powers. As the Kuṇḍalinī rises, the practitioner's consciousness is raised. When it reaches the highest *cakra* at the top of the head all dualities fall away, and there is only the divine oneness. (Feuerstein 1998).

DĀKINĪS AND YOGINĪS

Because visualization is another important part of Tantric practice, there is a rich legacy of Tantric art, including the geometrical designs of mandalas and yantras; major sites such as Khajuraho in India, well known for its highly erotic elements; and goddesses and other divine women. In Buddhist art *dākinīs* represent both the immanence and transcendence of enlightenment as well as the dangers that must be overcome. They can be beautiful, voluptuous, seminude women or terrifying, wrathful animal-headed

females. In their most ancient form *dākinīs* were known as malevolent and dangerous demonesses or human witches who fed on human flesh and could inflict all kinds of suffering on humanity. To a large extent, they continue in this guise in Hinduism where they are members of Śiva's retinue in his fierce form known as Bhairava. In Buddhism *dākinīs* were converted into initiation goddesses and guardians of Buddhism. They continue to have an important place in Indo-Tibetan texts, iconography, and rituals. They remain, however, highly ambivalent and therefore dangerous beings. Being initiatory goddesses, they have important salvational roles and they also represent wisdom (*prajñā*), which they can bestow along with *siddhis* (supernormal powers). They do this through dreams, visions, or sudden appearances in various forms, such as old, disgusting women; dogs (a despised animal in India); or young, beautiful women. They make frequent appearances in the biographies of Tibetan saints.

Yoginīs are most compellingly depicted in Hindu iconography and temple architecture, where they too represent immanence and transcendence in their ability to cross over between the divine and human realms (Dehejia 1986). *Yoginī* is the feminine form of the masculine noun *yogi*, and thus can refer to human women who do non-Tantric yoga or who practice Tantra as well to divine female beings. Sometimes *yoginīs* appeared as wild, devouring females who would consume the sexual fluids and/or fetuses of their human victims, while at other times they are described as bestowing blessings and powers. As they are absorbed into Tantric practices, the emphasis shifts from women preying on men to men controlling these divine women in order to gain power (*siddhi*) from them.

Initiates sought worldly powers, such as sovereignty and bodily immortality (*jīvanmukti*), through direct sexual encounters with the *yoginīs*. Rituals were established to draw semidivine *yoginīs* down from the sky into human *yoginīs*, the Tantric consorts of the male adepts, and roofless, circular temples were constructed to enable their easy descent. Just as female practitioners were believed to be possessed by the semidivine *yoginīs*, the male adepts were similarly believed to be possessed by semidivine *siddhas*. In contrast to non-ejaculatory practices, the male adepts would ritually offer the *yoginīs* their semen, for which the *yoginīs* exchanged their own sexual discharge. The sexual discharge of the *yoginī* was understood to be the divine fluid of the universe, and receiving it was the point of the ritual. The male partner was able, following ejaculation, to draw up into himself the sexual discharge of his female partner (White 1996). For their part, the female consorts also gained powers from the exchange; the basic idea is that men fed the *yoginīs* the bodily constituents they craved, for which the *yoginīs* bestowed *siddhis*. The *yoginī* cult is all about obtaining magical power here and now,

not liberation in the hereafter. Varieties of the *yoginī* cult flourished from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, and in some places it continued into the early sixteenth century, after which the cult and its temples were for the most part abandoned.

Although worshipers of the *yoginīs* believed in the supremacy of Śakti, the divine energy of the universe personified as the Great Goddess (*devī*), at the center of their temples there is or was an open shrine dedicated to Śiva, usually in his fierce form as Bhairava. Śiva is the consort of Śakti and has his own powerful cult. The central presence of his shrine, however, is further evidence for the containment of these originally wild, independent goddesses within a male-dominated cult.

IMAGES

The *yab yum* couple is one of the most ubiquitous images of Tantric Buddhist art. Representing the sexual union of divine beings with their consorts, these images strive to express the oneness of the two necessary elements for the generation of enlightenment—wisdom (Skt: *prajñā*; Tib: *shes rab*), a passive female principle, and skillful means (*upāya*; *thabs*), an active male principle—joined together on the plane of ultimate reality. The bliss they experience arises from their apprehension of the essential emptiness (*sūnyatā*; *stong nyid*) of all existent beings and objects. In Tantric Buddhism the couple is imaged either standing or seated, never lying down. This is in contrast to Hindu images that sometimes depict the goddess Kālī straddling the prone and dead body of Śiva. In the Buddhist tradition, these images are created only for initiates and are meant to be seen only by initiates; they function as supports for meditation and as objects of worship.

Theoretically, the female Buddhist practitioner can mix her partner's semen with the uterine fluids within her body, absorbing and carrying them up to the top of her head, but this requires that he shed a few drops during coitus, or ejaculate, in which case he loses any spiritual benefit for himself. Alternatively, visualization practices allow a woman to visualize herself as a man, and men can visualize themselves as women.

TANTRA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The academic study of Tantra began under colonial rule by British administrators and by nineteenth-century Indian reformers who were deeply influenced by Western values. Thus Tantra was filtered through the disapproving lens of Christianity (Urban 2003, p. 179).

A great deal of the Western understanding of Hindu Tantra centered on the dark and fearsome goddess Kālī. Kālī is usually depicted in a dynamic pose that suggests continual movement, with black skin, a bright red tongue

sticking out of her mouth, four arms, a voluptuous, nude body ornamented by a necklace of decapitated heads, and a short skirt of severed arms. She is destructive, sexual, and redeeming—an all-powerful goddess who slays demons, resides in cremation grounds, and gets drunk on the blood of her victims. In India she accepts blood offerings, meaning animals are sacrificed to her, yet she is familiarly and lovingly referred to as Ma (mother) by her devotees. The early-twentieth-century nationalist movement reclaimed her ancient image as a war goddess and reinterpreted her preference for receiving the sacrifice of a white goat to mean a white person. Other Hindu groups have denied or reinterpreted the confrontational aspects of Kālī, especially her fierceness, sexuality, and martial nature. For example, in Bengal, in northeastern India, her image has been softened and beautified, she is thought of as the cosmic mother, and animal sacrifice to her has been somewhat marginalized. Further south in Orissa Kālī has been reinterpreted to encourage female self-control and self-restraint, an interpretive move that enables men to maintain their sense of male superiority and their social power over women while acknowledging female power as the supreme force in the universe, but only when encapsulated by self-restraint.

Recent Western feminist interpretations of Tantra, especially those of Miranda Shaw (1994) and Rita Gross (1993), suggest it is a liberating spiritual path for Western women, which indeed it may very well be, especially for women who are comfortable with vivid heterosexual imagery. Part of the appeal of Tantra for feminists is its emphasis on practices that use and thereby seem to affirm, the body—often the locus of negative views about women in other traditions, including Hinduism and Buddhism—and on desire as a spiritually liberating force. Not all women converts are feminist, however, and some are quite hostile to the goals of feminism, which they see as conflicting with their spiritual goals (Klein 1995). At the same time, a broader spectrum of Westerners has appropriated Tantra as a spiritual path that affirms sexuality or as a depository of sexual expertise that can be exploited for personal pleasure.

SEE ALSO *Buddhism; Hinduism; Kama and the Kama Sutra; Sexuality.*

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Serinity Young

TATTOOING

Tattooing is the permanent marking of the body by means of ink or other dye inserted under the skin with a needle or other sharp object. Tattooing has been a common practice in many cultures throughout human history. In North America, for much of the twentieth century, tattooing was considered a particularly male activity, engaged in by sailors, gangs, and motorcycle clubs. In the late twentieth century, however, tattooing moved increasingly into the mainstream, and it has become quite common for both men and women to get tattoos. For many people, the decision to be tattooed is deeply personal and significant; tattoos often mark special events, rites of passage, or choices in an individual's life. For women in particular, tattooing is often conceived as a reclamation of one's body and a declaration of one's independence. Similarly, the prevalence of tattooing in gay and lesbian culture is often understood as a



Tattoo Artist at Work. AP IMAGES.

means of rejecting or negotiating a heterosexually normative culture. Tattooing is also common in certain sexual subcultures—most notably among those practicing bondage and discipline, domination and submission, and sadomasochism (BDSM). Although the erotic implications of tattooing are oddly underexplored, many have noted the sensuality of decorated skin, the eroticism of the penetration of the skin by another, the “curious marriage of pleasure and pain” brought on by tattooing (Parry 1933), and the intense rush of adrenaline and endorphins that accompany and follow the procedure.

HISTORY

Evidence suggests that tattooing is almost as old as human culture. The oldest known tattooed human body is that of Ötzi the Iceman, a prehistoric man estimated to have died some 5,300 years ago. Tattooed mummies have been found in Siberia and in Egypt, and archaeological evidence suggests that cultures in the Pacific, Europe, Asia, and North and South America practiced tattooing. Maori tribes in New Zealand practiced

extensive tattooing, particularly on their men, which served as marks of rank and achievement. Tattooing in Samoan cultures, for both men and women, served as a rite of passage, marking the transition into adulthood.

In the eighteenth century, Captain James Cook and the crew of the HMS *Bounty* reintroduced tattooing to Europe. Cook’s expedition to the South Pacific had exposed him and his crew to the practice of tattooing among natives of the South Pacific. Upon their return, Cook’s crew introduced tattooing to port communities throughout England, where tattooing established its long association with both sailors and the lower classes. Cook’s science officer and expedition botanist Joseph Banks, however, had also received a tattoo in the South Pacific, and he instigated a rage for tattooing among the upper classes that lasted until the turn of the twentieth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century, numerous European kings had tattoos and even upper-class ladies—including Winston Churchill’s mother—were often tattooed.

In the United States, tattooing in the early twentieth century was primarily associated with the lower classes; it was commonly practiced by immigrants and sailors. Tattooing retained its association with lower-class, male activity for much of the century. Tattooing, done on men by men, was used as a mark of membership in street gangs, motorcycle clubs, and in the military, and in the mind of the general public was often associated with criminality. The eroticism of tattooing has long gone unacknowledged among such groups, although erotic tattoos—tattoos of nude or semi-nude women, tattoos of sexual slogans or activity, or tattoos on or near genitalia—were common. Heavily tattooed women, though rare, were displayed and popularized as erotic objects in carnivals and freak shows in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Captivity narratives that depicted the women being abducted and involuntarily tattooed by a “savage” usually accompanied these displays.

Beginning with the counterculture movement of the 1960s, tattooing has become increasingly mainstream. It has been popularized by celebrities, including actors, musicians, and athletes, who openly wear their sometimes numerous tattoos. A 2003 study estimated that 16 percent of the U.S. population had one or more tattoos, while rates of tattooing among young adults and in the gay and lesbian community were around 30 percent. In contrast to the earlier predominance of male tattooing, men and women appeared to receive tattoos in roughly equal numbers (Harris Poll). In spite of this move to the mainstream, however, tattooing can still incur a social stigma. Most employers discourage visible tattoos, and very heavily tattooed individuals remain outside mainstream culture.

TATTOOING AND SEXUALITY

In his 1933 study of tattooing, Albert Parry suggested that “[t]attooing is mostly the recording of dreams, whether or not the tattooed are aware of it” (p. 2). As such, Parry argued, tattooing had inherent links to human sexuality, as the tattooed designs were necessarily reflective of a person’s innermost, often unconscious, desires. Parry’s study remains the most comprehensive treatment of the sexual nature of tattooing. Though some tattoo enthusiasts have suggested that Parry has somewhat overstated the connections between sex and tattooing, many agree that tattoos and tattooing do have sexual connotations. Serious studies of this connection, however, have largely been stymied by the unconscious nature of the desire that Parry identifies and, as Samuel Steward (1990) notes, are further compromised by the reluctance or inability of many tattooed subjects to articulate the erotic implications of their tattoos.

Tattooing has long been used to enhance sexual attractiveness, however. Archaeological evidence suggests that tattooing in ancient Egypt was confined to female dancers, singers, and concubines. In Japan, tattoo shops were at one time typically housed in brothels, and prostitutes commonly sported tattoos designed to be alluring or sexually provocative. Certain tribes of Borneo and Papua use tattooing as a means of enhancing the beauty and sexual attractiveness of their girls and women (Scutt and Gotch 1974). In the United States, women in particular are likely to believe that their tattoos render them more sexually attractive, and studies of North American tattooing practice suggest that even where getting a tattoo is conceived as a declaration of ownership of one’s body, women often choose its size, design, and location in response to perceived notions about sexual attractiveness and availability.

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Maureen Lauder

TELEVISION

SEE *Media*.

TEMPTATION OF SAINT ANTHONY (IMAGE)

Saint Anthony the Great, born in Central Egypt about 251 CE (died c. 356), followed the call of the Gospel to abandon all riches and, in imitation of established local ascetics, went to live in the deep desert, the *Panerēmos*, around 285. In about 305 he emerged as a spiritual guide to disciples in the cenobitic community at Scetis (modern Wadi Natrūn), returning to the eastern desert near the Red Sea five years later. He went to nearby Alexandria once during the persecution of the Christians and once to support Bishop Athanasius (c. 296–373) against the Arian heresy.

The prototypical eremitic saint, living for God alone through contemplation and total abstinence, Anthony is one of the holy men of the desert, *abba*, or *apa* (father), venerated in both Eastern and Latin Christianity. Abba Hilarion (291–371) refers to him as “pillar of light, giving light to the world,” (*The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* 1975, p. 111).

His vita, written by Athanasius, served to direct the early monastic movement, also expressing platonic and stoic views. It details the saint’s struggles, first against worldly thoughts (his sister, the honors of the world), then “impure thoughts,” stirred up by the Devil impersonating a tantalizing woman, or appearing as a “black child” representing “the spirit of fornication” (Munnich 1996, p. 98–99). There follows full-fledged combat against armies of demons, their teeming multitude pitted against the obdurate solitude of the saint, as they beat and flail him fiercely and then try to terrorize him through nightly shape-shifting visions. Deeply gendered, the saint’s vita opposes the “manliness” of his fight against the demons, commended by Christ after Christ watched him fight (Voragine 1993, pp. 93–96), to the mollifying effect of seductive women, agents of destructive lust. The *Sayings* thus underscore the power of sexual temptation, stating: “He who wishes to live in solitude in the desert is delivered from three conflicts: hearing,



Temptation of Saint Anthony. By *Hieronymus Bosch*.
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speech, and sight; there is only one conflict with him and that is with fornication” (1975, p. 3).

Whereas “The myth of the desert was one of the most abiding creations of late antiquity . . .” (Brown 1988, p. 216), Anthony’s proximity to demons was particularly arresting to the European imagination. Following a passage in St. Jerome’s *Life of Paulus the First Hermit*—as medieval texts retold, and manuscripts illustrated—a centaur, a satyr, and a wolf steered Anthony’s search for Paul (Voragine 1993, Walter 1996). It is to be noted that these three creatures were symbolically marked as aggressively male. The combination of demons and the habitual melancholic pose of the saint in iconography suggested to Maxime Préaud that Anthony is a demonic figure himself, connected to Saturn, Wotan, and the Devil. The saint’s association with a dreaded devastating disease, a form of erysipelas called Saint Anthony’s fire that he could inflict as well as cure and was perhaps metaphorically linked to burning

temptation, may have reinforced his ambiguity in popular religion.

The implied struggle with sexual drive and seduction and the visual potential of a fantasy and visionary world filled with demons contributed to articulate the Temptation of Saint Anthony as a distinctive and prolific pictorial theme, especially among Flemish artists from the fifteenth century well into the seventeenth. The Temptation also inspired Gustave Flaubert’s nineteenth-century short decadentist tale, *Tentation de Saint Antoine* [The temptation of Saint Anthony]. Among the many versions of the theme are two Temptations by Hieronymus Bosch (1450–c. 1516; Madrid, Lisbon), two by Jan Mandyn (1500–c. 1560; Haarlem and Rome), three by Pieter Huys (c. 1519–c. 1581; Paris, Antwerp, and New York), one attributed to Joachim Patinir (c. 1485–1524) or Quentin Matsys (c. 1465–1530; Madrid), plus drawings by Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (1484–1530), Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525–1569), and Jacques Callot (1592–1635).

Temptation iconography seized upon the encounter with demons and developed it from separate instances of lures and snares into a single, multifaceted onslaught on the saint’s serenity, carried out by a motley cohort of demonic creatures. The enticing woman was increasingly foregrounded in this iconographic theme. One of her earliest representations is on the fourth of eight predella panels by the Siennese Master of the Osservanza (active 1425–1450; Yale, University Art Gallery) in which Anthony encounters a winged but modestly attired woman en route back to his cell. In another, (Venice, Correr Museum) that has been attributed to the enigmatic Henry (Herri) Patenier, perhaps a relative of Joachim Patinir; or Herri Met De Bles, also known as Il Civetta, *Little Owl* (c. 1510–1550), two young women with large breasts and heavy necklaces are presented by a female purveyor with deer’s antlers. Huys (Paris, Louvre) depicts the scene with a naked courtesan, her thighs and belly painted or tattooed, in the lower middle of the composition, and by her side a veiled woman and a hunchbacked hag with owl and distaff. In the work attributed to Patinir or Matsys, women offer an apple to the saint; among them, a wrinkled old woman exposing her breasts. All in all, a hagiographical legend that exiled and erased women from the narrative itself gave rise to a pictorial tradition that reinserted them on the basis of unflinching sexual power.

SEE ALSO *Art; Catholicism; Folk Healers and Healing; Symbolism.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

TERRORISM

As with other forms of violent conflict, terrorism intersects with questions of sex and gender. Terrorism is the systematic and preferential targeting of civilians not directly involved in war work for essentially psychological and political effect. As such it is distinct from war crimes, government repression, and guerrilla warfare, although groups that engage in terrorism often also engage in guerrilla warfare, especially in urban areas. Although some terrorists act for social or class issues, beginning in the final decades of the twentieth century, the overwhelming majority of terrorists have acted in national, ethnic, or sectarian and/or religious causes.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN TERRORISM

Most terrorists, as with other perpetrators of organized violence, historically have tended to be young men. The individual or small-group nature of terrorism, as well as the requirement to operate in a civilian environment, creates special opportunities or even advantages for females. During the French–Algerian War (1954–1962)

the Algerian Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) used women (called fire carriers) to smuggle bombs out of the Kasbah. Those women exploited the gender rules of both sides of the conflict. Sometimes they hid their bombs under the flowing robes of Islamic modesty; at other times they wore fashionable European garb and distracted young French soldiers by flirting with them. One female terrorist, Jamila Bouhired (b. 1935), was lauded as the Algerian Joan of Arc after her capture. In the Palestinian struggle against Israel, Leila Khaled (b. 1944) was an early terrorist heroine.

The development of the technique of suicide bombing by the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka in the 1980s and 1990s gave greater visibility to women in an organization that systematically recruited both male and female adolescents as well as female young adults, such as the "belt-bomb girl" who assassinated Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi" in 1991 (Hudson 1999, p. 139). Female suicide bombers also became a standard part of the second, or *al-Aqsa, intifada* of Palestinians against Israel after November 2000. Originally the bombers were men, but after the attack by suicide bomber Wafa Idris (b. 1975) in January 2002, there were increasing numbers of women suicide bombers. The use of female suicide bombers had a number of advantages, some general and some specific, to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Female bombers are harder for the Israelis to search and identify. The use of women also shames men, including male Arab governments, for their less aggressive attitude toward the state of Israel. Finally, such female fighters appear to contradict the European and North American image of Arab and Muslim women as oppressed creatures who need Israeli or Europe's and North America's help to liberate themselves.

TERRORISM AND GENDER ROLES

The entry of women into a previously male domain can threaten gender categories, especially in a symbolically fraught activity such as terrorism. Because terrorism was employed so frequently by revolutionary organizations that regardless of their specific causes also defined themselves in global-leftist terms, the participation of women could be defended as part of the universal emancipatory project. Frantz Fanon (1965) for example, argued that the involvement of women in the Algerian revolution (including their manipulation of traditional Islamic clothing) would spell the end of traditional patriarchal values and traditions.

With the Islamic revival increasingly replacing secular leftist nationalism as the chief ideological underpinning of Palestinian resistance, gender politics became more complicated. When Idris opened the path to female suicide bombers, some of her admirers were quick to compare her

self-sacrifice to the superficial, beauty-oriented, and consumer-driven lives of liberated women in Europe and the North America. Most female suicide bombers have acted on behalf of the relatively more secular and Fatah-connected al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade and its offshoots.

The Islamic (and Islamist) resistance organization, Hamas, has taken a more nuanced view. It accepts women's participation in all aspects of clandestine activities, including the transport of explosives, but considers the actual act of purposefully blowing oneself up to be inappropriate. Sheik Yassin (c. 1937–2004), the spiritual and political head of the Hamas movement until his death at Israeli hands, first took the position that women could act in that capacity but only when accompanied by a chaperone, that is, the *mahram* (male relative) who protects a woman's virtue and reputation when she goes out into the world. Subsequently, the sheik decided that women could venture out alone if they did not expect to return but that the movement had no need for female suicide bombers for the foreseeable future.

Female suicide bombing interacts with traditional gender roles in complex ways. There is considerable evidence that many female suicide bombers, especially the earlier ones, were socially marginalized—in a sense, disposable—women. Idris, for example, was a childless divorced woman whose prospects for remarriage were limited. Other women appear to have been persuaded to sacrifice themselves to buy off shame associated with their or other family members' sexual or national improprieties, such as having family members who worked with the Israelis. Thus, at least in some cases, female suicide bombing can double as a form of honor killing, the practice in which a woman is killed so that her blood can wash away the shame to the family associated with the commission of or even the reputation for of sexual impropriety.

A lesser form of gender involvement seems to operate with the Chechen Black Widows, whose suicide terrorism has mixed explicit vengeance for their dead husbands with the national and religious cause. Both Tamil *Black Tigresses* and Kurdish women of the anti-Turkish Partiya Karker Kurdistan (Kurdistan Worker's Party, or PKK) have alleged that their actions were revenge for rape at the hands of government authorities.

SEXUAL ASSOCIATIONS OF TERRORISM

Although neo-Freudians, especially Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957), long have argued that political violence is a result of sexual repression, there are specific reasons to connect sex with the Islamic cult of suicide bombing of the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. It is probably not accidental that the would-be male martyrs

are promised, and appear to look forward to, sexual congress with the seventy-two virgins in Paradise (taken literally by the main Islamic backers of suicide terror). Further, martyrs and their handlers often speak of suicide operations as weddings. The resulting ritualized invocations seem to operate as a cult that brings together sex, suicide, murder, and blood (there are many references to the blood of the martyrs and that of the Jewish victims). The blood of defloration is associated with marriage in the Arab tradition as it is in other Mediterranean traditions. In the Arab mentality there is a preexisting association of the blood of the consummated marriage with that of political violence.

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Allen Douglas
Fedwa Malti-Douglas

TESTOSTERONE

SEE *Hormones: II. Sex Hormones*.

THIRD SEX

The term *third sex* originated in the late nineteenth century among sexologists as a way to describe homosexual men and lesbians. It did not carry the moral or legal stigma of *sodomite*, and suggested an innate or biological factor existed in behaviors that fell outside traditional categories of male and female. However, it also conflated same-sex desire with gender variance. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs used the word *Urning* in the 1860s to describe a third sex male being who desired other men; Richard von Krafft-Ebing used the term *sexual invert* to describe a similar being in his 1886 *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds followed suit in their 1896 study, *Sexual Inversion*, and Edward Carpenter followed the third-sex model in his 1908

work, *The Intermediate Sex*. The notion of sexual inversion insisted on a two-gender system, regarding homosexual men as women trapped in men's bodies and homosexual women as men trapped in women's bodies. The notion of an intermediate sex offered possibilities beyond two genders, allowing for three or more genders, with at least one of these being neither male nor female.

The ascendancy of psychoanalysis in twentieth-century Europe and North America, with its interest in sexual desire, spelled the demise of the third sex model. *Homosexual*, coined in the 1860s, eventually replaced such terms as *urning*, *invert*, *intermediate type*, *third sex*, and *psychic hermaphrodite* to describe subjects with same-sex desires. *Female homosexual* became interchangeable with *lesbian*, a term Ellis helped popularize, referring to the same-sex desires of the women of Lesbos. Radclyffe Hall returned to the idea of sexual inversion in her 1928 lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* because it offered her heroine a way to desire other women that was honorable; if one's inner self was really male, then desiring a woman would be normal rather than perverse. However, the third-sex model largely disappeared. Missing was the notion of gender variance, which might or might not be included in homosexual or lesbian. *Gay* eventually replaced homosexual as a less medicalized term, and was sometimes extended to women as well. Sometimes the term third sex occurred in pulp novels to sensationalize homosexuality, and to make gay men and lesbians seem freakish and less than human.

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw a resurgence of interest in gender among urban sex radicals, feminists, lesbians, gay men, intersex activists, and people who felt increasingly alienated from sexual categories that erased gender variety. The word *queer* began to circulate as an umbrella term for those who disavowed normal gender and sexual categories, and more and more people began to experiment with alternative gender expression through hormone therapy, surgery, dress, and gesture. As queer and transgender people began to question sexual taxonomies, the idea of three or more genders caught on once more. Sex researchers uncovered the normative assumptions of medical professionals who routinely forced parents to impose one sex or another on their intersex infants. Some queer and transgender activists and theorists argued that being public about one's queer gender, intersex body, or transgender status made alternatives to the two-gender system more visible, subverting the fiction that human beings are naturally dimorphic. Others argued that transitioning from one gender to another upheld the notion that there are only two genders.

Queer, intersex, and transgender visibility has resulted in the return of the third sex as an alternative to normal heterosexual male and female bodies and desires. Anne

Fausto-Sterling (2000) has argued that there are at least five sexes that occur naturally in human beings, and that medical intervention can rob an intersex child of what might otherwise be a healthy gender identity and sexual and reproductive life. Leslie Feinberg (1997) has traced the presence of transgender people back thousands of years in cultures around the world. In the early twenty-first century, the *hijras* of India, *kathoys* of Thailand, two-spirit Native Americans, *travestis* of Brazil, intersex people among the nomadic Bugis of the Sulawesi, *xanith* of Oman, *fa'afafine* of Polynesia, sworn virgins in the Balkans, *ashtime* of Ethiopia, *mashoga* of Kenya, and the drag queens, butch lesbians, transgender activists, and intersex people of North America and Europe, all constitute an alternative to the two-sex system, although they do not necessarily see themselves as members of a "third" sex. Regardless of how they view themselves, however, the presence of so many alternatively gendered people cannot help but expand traditional ideas of what it means to be embodied, gendered, and human in the early-twenty-first-century world.

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Jaime Hovey

THROAT

The throat has been eroticized for its role in both oral sex and in BDSM activity. In the former case, the practice of "deep throating"—made famous by the film *Deep Throat* (1972)—is a fellatio technique in which the "bottom" (or receiving/penetrated partner) takes the entire length of the penis into her or his mouth and throat by suppressing the gag reflex and drawing down the vocal muscles. Viewed, on one hand, as a more pleasurable approach to oral sex and, on the other hand, as a way of swallowing semen without having it in the mouth (and thus avoiding its taste and texture), deep throating is practiced by both hetero- and homosexual couples.

The film *Deep Throat* is often regarded as having introduced pornography and oral sex into the main-

stream social conscience. Highly controversial upon its release, *Deep Throat* was played in many traditional American movie theaters as opposed to just in adult theaters. While the film's director Gerard Damiano himself admitted that it wasn't a great film, *Deep Throat* nevertheless paved the way for bolder and more open sexual practices, politics, and beliefs to be depicted and discussed (Keough 2005). In fact, the film is credited as starting the "porn chic" movement of the 1970s, wherein seeing pornographic films was considered to be a hip thing to do with polite company. More importantly, however, *Deep Throat* introduced the practice of deep throating to large groups of people who may have otherwise never attempted such practice. *Deep Throat* also began a genre of pornography that focused specifically on deep throat oral sex—a genre in which videos and images of men and women alike performing deep throat fellatio on men presents the throat as an erotic site of sexual pleasure.

In the case of the BDSM community, the throat is often cast as a site for enacting a dominant partner's power over the submissive partner. Exemplified by the practice of "collaring," the bondage and discipline (BD) eroticization of the throat involves placing collars around the submissive's throat for both sexual practices and metaphorical ownership. Collars can be constructed from leather, chain, metal, fabric, and so on, and they can be worn as chokers or used in conjunction with leashes. Collars and leashes enable the dominant partner to enact physical control over the submissive partner by giving the dominant partner the power to manipulate and control the submissive partner's position. This practice may also be used to signify a master/slave relationship in which the collar is an indicator of ownership.

Rendered explicit by the practice of collaring, the connection between power and sex has its axis at the throat. In a BDSM master/slave relationship, a process of increasing ownership and corresponding collars ensures that the throat and neck remain a site for enacting dominance. In this process, a slave or submissive partner is first given a "collar of consideration," which is analogous to a courting or dating stage. This is followed by a more elaborate collar, called the "training collar," that signifies increasing ownership and autonomous devotion. Finally, a "formal" or "slave collar" signifies a complete, autonomous and committed relationship between the master and slave, or dominant and submissive partner.

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Jeremy Justus

TIAMAT

The Babylonian goddess Tiamat appears as one of the primal female forces in the cosmogony of the creation epic *Enuma Elish* (c. 1100 BCE). Tiamat, the primordial salt-water, commingles with the male Apsu, the freshwater ocean, to form new generations of gods. After her consort Apsu is murdered by the new generations of gods, angry Tiamat turns to revenge. *Enuma Elish* represents Tiamat's revenge as the source of disorder and chaos that needs to be subdued by powerful male gods. Specifically, Tiamat is personified as a monster who resorts to lies, black magic, and animal speech. She "illegally" creates several monsters to assist her in her fight, including giant snakes full of venom and sharp teeth, great lions, mad dogs, furious dragons, bison, and the hydra, scorpion-man, and merman. These terrible beings are clothed in the divine splendor in Tiamat's effort to lift them to the status of gods. Tiamat revolts still further in taking on a chief monster, Kingu, as her new husband. All these actions are viewed as illegal because they did not result from a consensus with other gods. Thus, Tiamat transgresses the divine order and introduces chaos into the world.

Tiamat is severely punished for her "disorderly" behavior by a powerful male god, Marduk, and by his supporters. In contrast to Tiamat's illegitimate ways of warring, Marduk resorts to the rightful means that are appropriate for noble deities: thunder, lightning, subduing the winds and floods, and a bow and arrow. Not only is Tiamat killed, but the very means of capturing her symbolize punishment for her actions. She is caught in a net, which suggests that she no longer deserves to be perceived as a goddess who is a primordial mother. Instead, she is portrayed as a savage female being who deserves to be hunted, caught in a net, and killed in a manner reserved for wild animals. The gruesome detail of the cutting of Tiamat's body communicates further the outrage at the goddess's transgression. Her skull is split, her veins cut open, she is disemboweled, her bones crushed. After cutting open her stomach, Marduk stands on her dead body as a sign of final victory. The "disorderly" body of Tiamat becomes a source of order only in her death; the female chaos can be conquered only with the final silencing of death. To this end, Tiamat's corpse is divided, piece by piece, to form the new universe: sky and earth.

While Tiamat is conquered, Marduk is elevated to a supreme role of a sovereign god. He assigns roles to gods, divides heaven and earth, and fixes the universe according to his will.

The story suggests that the primordial female goddess was deservedly punished for introducing chaos into the universe. Only by eliminating the disorderly female passion (or chaos) can the male rational order return. The vanquished body of Tiamat gives rise to the new hierarchy: heaven over earth and male power over female power.

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Wioleta Polinska

TILL, EMMETT LOUIS

1941–1955

Emmett Louis Till, born in Chicago, Illinois, was the fourteen-year-old victim of a lynching in Mississippi that became a catalyst for the burgeoning civil rights movement in the United States. The two white men who beat and murdered Till were hastily acquitted by a jury of local white males. People across the United States and in Europe were horrified by the brutal crime and this instance of condoned killing in the South. The circumstances of the case address the sexual mythologies that bolster racist ideology, the interlocking social mechanisms of racism and sexism, and the social threat of physical violence for minorities.

THE CRIME AND TRIALS

Till traveled from Chicago to the small delta town of Money, Mississippi, to visit relatives during his summer vacation. One week into his visit, he accompanied a group of black teenagers to the Bryant Grocery and Meat Market, a white-owned store that largely catered to black field hands in the region. Congregating with other teens outside the store, Till flaunted a picture of a white girl that he claimed was his girlfriend. His bragging, and his unfamiliarity with the South's racial codes and deep-seated bigotry, led to a dare to flirt with the store owner's twenty-one-year-old wife, Carolyn Bryant. Although there are conflicting accounts of what actually



Emmett Till. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

went on inside the store, Till allegedly wolf-whistled at Bryant on his way outside.

Bryant and her sister-in-law decided to keep the events of that night a secret from their husbands, who were away, but gossip quickly spread through the local black community. When Roy Bryant, Carolyn's husband, heard the rumors four days later, he enlisted his half brother and brother-in-law, J.W. Milam, and at 2:00 a.m. on August 28 they took Milam's truck and a pistol to the house of Moses "Preacher" Wright, Till's great-uncle. Bryant and Milam kidnapped Till at gunpoint, planning to "teach him a lesson." When their ruthless beating of Till failed to elicit either apology or cry, Milam and Bryant's plan changed course. They drove to a nearby cotton gin, where they ordered Till to move a seventy-five pound fan into the truck. From there, they drove to the Tallahatchie River near Glendora, Mississippi. Till was ordered to strip, and the two men continued to harass and beat him before Milam fired one shot into his head. They dumped Till's body into the river with the fan tied around his neck.

Three days later, the body rose to the surface. The mutilated corpse was chiefly identified by a ring Till wore that had belonged to his father. Bryant and Milam were quickly apprehended and indicted on kidnapping and murder charges. Disregarding edicts by Mississippi authorities for immediate burial, Till's mother, Mamie

Till Bradley, ordered the body back to Chicago. Bradley breached further orders that the casket remain closed. After witnessing the severity of the injuries, she defiantly declared an open-casket funeral. Some 50,000 mourners viewed the body at a church in Chicago's south side. Photographs of Till's body that showed an eye out of its socket, a fractured skull, and a swollen face that resembled a child's clay sculpture were printed in *Jet* magazine.

A high-profile trial ensued but lasted just five days. The town swarmed with reporters, many of whom helped the short-staffed prosecution search for witnesses, while the hefty pro bono defense team argued for exoneration on the thin claim that the body could not rightly be identified. The most dramatic moment of the trial occurred when Wright extended his arm to point out the murderers in front of the all-white court. With just two words, "Thar he," he overtly challenged an entire system of black silence and subjugation in the South. The jury deliberated for sixty-seven minutes, stopping for soda to stretch out the time, and acquitted the men on September 23, 1955. Protests erupted in cities across the United States, including Chicago, Los Angeles, and Baltimore.

LYNCH LAW, SEXUALITY, AND SEXISM

With the injustices of slavery still rife in Southern consciousness and on the heels of the recent decision against segregation in *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, the events of the Till case struck a raw nerve with Southern whites and blacks. It confirmed that Jim Crow etiquette was still the order and that Southern white vigilante violence against blacks persisted in the face of social change. Predicated on the protection of chaste, white women, lynch law was fueled by racist stereotypes about black male sexuality and sexist beliefs about women. It insisted on white male supremacy by deeming women possessions and black men sexual predators. Obsessively monitoring interactions between black men and white women in the South also served to reinforce myths of black men's hypersexuality and to insist on normative white heterosexuality and its correlative objectification of women. As such, lynching maintained the social order (strict segregation) and all of its mythologies when the law no longer would. Many scholars and writers have explored the combined racial and sexual complications of the case, for example, James Baldwin's 1964 *Blues for Mister Charlie* and Toni Morrison's 1986 *Dreaming Emmett*.

AFTERMATH OF EMMETT TILL

In 1956, *Look* magazine published interviews conducted by journalist William Bradford Huie with Milam and Bryant. The men were paid \$4,000 for the interview and confessed to the murder. Suspicion that others were

involved in Till's murder persist but have never been confirmed. Till's body was exhumed and autopsied in 2005 as part of a renewed effort by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to re-examine civil rights era crimes. The case was closed in 2006.

The events united the experiences of Northern and Southern African-Americans and laid the foundation for organized resistance against racial oppression. Just 100 days after the lynching and four days after attending a lecture on the Till case, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to white passengers on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus. Both figures laid explosive groundwork for the civil rights movement and for federal legislation like the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

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Emma Crandall

TIRESIAS

The blind prophet of Greek myth, Tiresias appears in all of the Greek tragedies that take place in Thebes—*Oedipus Rex*, *Antigone*, and *The Phoenician Women*—as well as in Euripides' *The Bacchae* and in Homer's *The Odyssey*. Tiresias's insight comes not only from his blindness, but also from his having been transformed into a woman for seven years, and hence being able to see life from all perspectives. His role is to predict the future, unearth the true past, and give correct advice, all of which he does. In addition, he has been granted a long life by Zeus, so his life spans Theban history from Cadmus to Oedipus's children.

Tiresias was born in Thebes, son of Eueres and Chariclo, who was himself descended from Udaeus, one of the Sparti. There are several different accounts of how Tiresias became blind. One is that he came upon the goddess Athena in her bath. Angry, she threw water on him and blinded him. His mother then begged Athena to give him his sight, but unable to do so, Athena instead gave him a walking staff that enabled him to walk as if he could see and also enabled him to understand what birds say.

Another legend, recorded by Ovid in *The Metamorphosis*, was that both Tiresias's blindness and his sojourn as a woman came from his involvement with copulating snakes and the gods Hera and Zeus. One day coming upon two snakes in the throes of passion, Tiresias hit them with his staff. This angered Hera, who was a sensuous woman,

and she punished him by transforming him into a woman. After a substantial period, the female Tiresias again came upon copulating snakes, only this time he/she left them alone and Hera returned her/him to masculinity. But Tiresias was then asked to arbitrate an argument between Hera and Zeus about which partner, the man or the woman, enjoyed sex more. Because Tiresias had lived as both, they presumed he might be able to settle the dispute, even though Hera, who had been fooling Zeus into believing that he had the best time, did not want her pleasure exposed. Tiresias honestly answered that the female gets the most pleasure, and an angry Hera struck him blind. Zeus, who could not stop the blinding, gave Tiresias the gift of prophecy and insight.

As a blind seer, Tiresias advised Theban leaders during Thebes crises, telling Oedipus a truth he did not want to hear, in *Oedipus Rex*; advising Creon to unbury the living before burying the dead, in *Antigone*; and telling Creon that Thebes can withstand its attackers only if he sacrifices his son, in the *Phoenician Women*. Only in Euripides' *The Bacchae* does Tiresias appear as a fool along with Cadmus.

Tiresias lived 175 years. Near the end of his life, he and his daughter Manto were captured and put in the service of Apollo at Delphi. At his death, Persephone permitted Tiresias to keep his memory and mind, which Tiresias used from the underworld to advise Odysseus about how to get back home in *The Odyssey*.

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Judith Roof

TOILETS, PUBLIC

Public toilets are cultural artifacts whose design embodies the biological, sexual, and gender values and tensions within society. Municipal public toilets were introduced in the latter part of the nineteenth century in response to growing urban population needs; for example, under the 1875 Public Health Act in Britain. Public toilets were built as manifestations of civic pride, reform, and modernity, but women's needs were given a lower priority

than men's. In London, the Leicester Square toilets, built in 1900, provided twenty-seven urinals and thirteen cubicles (stalls) for men, but only seven cubicles for women (Robinson 2001, p. 5). Male street urinals were extensively installed across Paris, but little provision was made for women, for "only males are privileged to overflow on the public highway" (Chevalier 1993, p. 97). Lack of female toilet provision controlled women and resulted in their exclusion from the public realm (Gershenson and Penner 2007). Public toilets were often located down steps, preventing access for those with baby carriages (Cavanagh and Ware 2001). One objective of the suffrage movement was to improve toilet provision for women, as promoted by the Ladies Sanitary Association (LSA) (Greed 2003). A century later, men still had twice as many places to relieve themselves as women. Even if there were equal numbers of cubicles (stalls), men had urinal provision too. While women are the majority of public toilet users, men are the providers, designers, and managers of toilets, although they possess little understanding of women's toilet needs (Anthony 2001). Many women consider unisex toilets, especially automatic public toilets, impractical and dangerous installations.

Toilets are sexually contested spaces. Because of anti-social behavior in the men's toilets (cruising or cottaging), local authorities may close down both the women's and the men's toilets leaving women with nothing. Alternatively, fortress-like public toilets may be installed, with barriers and surveillance to deter misuse. While many men imagine toilets to be places of dirt, sex, and danger, many women see toilets as sociable and caring refuges that should be based on the principles of inclusive and accessible design (women chat while they urinate: men remain silent). In spite of years of feminism and equality, one may measure the true position of women by the length of the line for the toilets (Asano 2002). Demands for women's public toilets are generally seen as a joke by policy makers. If governments want to create sustainable, equal, and accessible cities, to get people out of their cars and back on to public transport, then public toilets are the missing link. People's freedom to travel, shop, and work is constrained by the bladder's leash (Bichard et al. 2004). In contrast, public toilet provision is recognized as an important component of city planning in China (Xu 2005). Ratios of 2:1 or even 3:1 female/male toilet provision exist in Japan (Miyaniishi 1996). Moves towards "potty parity" in Europe and North America must be treated with caution, as the standards mainly relate to rare new toilet construction, while closures continue (Kwon 2005).

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Clara H. Greed

TOKLAS, ALICE

SEE *Stein, Gertrude and Alice B. Toklas*.

TOMBOY

The word *tomboy* originated in the mid-sixteenth century and referred both to a boisterous boy or girl and to an unchaste or immodest woman. From the seventeenth century on, the term has referred solely to girls whose behavior is considered boylike, being especially active, spirited, outspoken, and indelicate. In all applications, it has been used to censure a person considered deviant. As a stage of sexual and psychological development, tomboyism occurs between childhood and puberty and is an explicitly temporary stage during which it is more or less socially acceptable for a girl to behave contrary to the norms of stereotypical femininity. Tomboys often wear



Tomboy Playing Football. A girl playing football with two boys. Girls who enjoy traditionally male activities, such as sports, are often stereotyped as tomboys. © ARIEL SKELLEY/CORBIS.

boys' clothes, prefer boys' games (such as sports instead of dolls), prefer boys as playmates, have a stronger relationship with their fathers than mothers, and may also identify themselves as boys. Tomboys also typically desire to be outside as much as possible, where they can run about, explore, and meet people instead of remaining in an isolated and passive domestic space typically reserved for women.

Many sociological studies and fictional representations of tomboys portray these girls as experiencing a typical and temporary period of gender disidentification, assuming that the onset of puberty will bring with it an awareness of adult responsibility and conformance to typical feminine traits and attitudes. This view, however, ignores the fact that many childhood tomboys possess genders and sexual identities that fall outside the heterosexual norm and which will remain fundamental to the grown women's identities. Although prepubescent children are sexually active psychically, if not physically, most representations of children fail to acknowledge their complex sexual identification and desires. Thus, tomboys may not only act like boys, they may also identify with boys and feel sexual attraction for girls. The traditional understanding of tomboys assumes they will be feminine and heterosexual adults, whereas the alternative acknowledges active masculinity and queerness in both girls and the women they will become.

According to several surveys in the 1970s and 1980s, as many as 50 percent of adult women identified themselves as childhood tomboys. Although it is quite common for young girls to be physically active and opinionated, the act of labeling such girls as tomboys makes them seem hyper-masculine and abnormal in relation to heterosexual gender norms. Likewise, the assumed temporariness of this phase of development indicates that girls may play at creating an

identity relatively free from gender stereotypes, but women must leave such play behind them. Because tomboys appropriate traits of masculinity that are generally reserved for men, they represent a potential threat to patriarchal societies that depend on fixed and binary definitions of gender and sexuality that privilege masculinity over femininity. By refusing to allow tomboyism to continue past adolescence, society perpetuates the illusion of gender binaries. Cultural representations and explanations of tomboys thus represent both the potential freedom from stereotypical genders and sexualities that girls can enact as well as the limitations of such subversive identities.

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme*.

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Michelle Veenstra

TONGUE

The tongue is the strongest muscle in the human body for its size. It is used in open-mouthed kissing, in which one person places the tongue in the mouth of another. The level of penetration indicates the level of sexual intensity of the kiss. Tongue kissing is also called deep kissing or French kissing. Some cultures, such as those of the South Pacific, consider kissing in general and deep kissing in particular to be European practices.

When sex researcher Alfred Kinsey (1894–1956) surveyed male sexual behavior in the United States in the 1940s, he noted that French kissing was more common among upper-class men than among men of the lower-classes, and that it was not uncommon for upper-class men to have French-kissed many women but not necessarily have had sex with them; while lower-class men might have had sex with many women but kissed relatively few of them. Kinsey attributed this to a fear of germs and disease among lower-class men. French kissing and the use of the tongue in sexual behavior was more widespread after the sexual revolution of the 1960s, and in the early twenty-first century intimate encounters commonly include French kissing. Prostitutes, however, often refuse to kiss customers during transactional sex, reserving French kissing for the emotional intimacy of other and more genuine relationships.

Other kinds of tongue kissing include French-kissing the ear, and licking and biting the throat and shoulders. If the ear becomes too wet from saliva, people often find the kiss to be annoying rather than erotic, and sometimes refer to it as a *wet willy*.

People also kiss and lick other parts of the bodies of their sex partners. Kinsey found that it was common for men to kiss and lick female breasts; conversely he found that women seldom kissed or licked male breasts. As with French kissing, he found the highest incidence of tongue contact with breasts to be among men from the upper social, educational, and economic levels of U. S. society. In the early twenty-first century women do not kiss the male breast with anything approaching the frequency of male attention to the female breast and nipple, although this behavior is increasing as more couples explore a wider range of sexual activity.

Gay men lick and suck their partners' nipples with much greater frequency than women do their male partners; lesbians also engage in this practice. Body piercing, especially nipple and genital piercing, visually accentuates these regions and makes them more sensitive to biting, licking, and tugging, and encourages oral activity. Tongue jewelry gives the wearer the ability to massage larger areas of the body, creating a more pleasurable sensation for both men and women during oral sex and promoting more licking and kissing behaviors.

The tongue is vital during oral sex, where people caress and stimulate the genitals of their partners. During fellatio, stimulating the penis by licking the shaft, head, and scrotum is considered as important as sucking or stroking. During cunnilingus, the tongue stimulates the clitoris and labia, and may also penetrate the vagina. The tongue is central to the practice of *rimming*, in which one person uses the tongue to lick and penetrate the anus of another.

Indeed the tongue is so central to kissing and to all types of sexual behavior that many people consider it to be a symbol of lasciviousness more generally. In *Ladies Almanack* (1928) by Djuna Barnes, a renowned lesbian named Dame Musset dies and is cremated, but her tongue remains both present and active, signifying that her sexual prowess is immortal. In the 1960s Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones often stuck his tongue out and simulated the rapid movements of cunnilingus during concerts—an act considered shocking at the time. In 1971 the Rolling Stones used the cartoon logo of a pair of lips and protruding tongue on their *Sticky Fingers* album to suggest the sex part of sex, drugs, and rock and roll, and the tongue image has been associated with the band ever since. Gene Simmons of Kiss—a 1970s rock band—was famous for the bizarre impression he created by sticking his unusually long tongue out of his

mouth and wagging it suggestively at audience members while wearing full kabuki-style face makeup. In the early twenty-first century, wagging one's tongue, or sticking it out of the mouth and moving it quickly back and forth, is generally understood to signify cunnilingus, and is therefore considered a lewd and comic gesture.

SEE ALSO *Kiss, Modern; Oral Sex.*

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Jaime Hovey

TOP/BOTTOM

The terms *top* and *bottom* emerged as descriptors of a sexual binary in the gay leather culture of the 1950s and the bondage and sadomasochism (BDSM) culture of the 1960s. Originally, the top-bottom binary signified both sexual positions and power relationships in which a top was a sexual aggressor and penetrator who often acted as the more forceful and dominant partner; the bottom represented the more submissive, typically penetrated, and often “punished” partner.

DEFINITION AND USE OF THE TERMS

In the BDSM community the term *top* indicates the dominant partner who inflicts pain on, enacts control over, or otherwise subjects his or her partner to acts associated with bondage, discipline, and sadomasochism. The term *bottom* indicates the receiver of such treatment. In these cases the terms are not gender-specific: A male or a female may act as a top or a bottom. Although the top is the dominant partner, the bottom often still has control. For example, a top who takes direction from the bottom's explicitly expressed wishes often is called a service top.

These terms evolved in the 1970s and 1980s as they were adapted by the gay community. In that community they are used most often among gay men as indicators of preferences for sexual position; however, the terms also have been adapted by the lesbian community. A top acts as a sexual penetrator, or the inserter during sexual (vaginal or anal) intercourse, and a bottom acts as the penetrated partner, or the receiver. The term *versatile* is used commonly to indicate a preference to act as either top or bottom.

During the 1970s and 1980s various methods of signifying top and bottom preferences emerged, ranging from tattoos to body piercing to color-coded handkerchiefs. A visual signifier of sexual practice, whether a tattoo, piercing, or another signifier, denotes the top-bottom or dominant-submissive preference through its placement on either side of the body. In this bilateral signification system a tattoo or piercing on the left side of the body indicates that the wearer identifies as a top, whereas a visual cue worn on the right side of the body indicates that the wearer prefers to act as a bottom. For example, a gay man with a tattooed armband on his left arm or a piercing in his left ear or nipple visually signifies his preference to act as a sexual penetrator or top, whereas a man wearing similar visual cues on the right side signifies a preference to be sexually penetrated, or to bottom.

The terms *top* and *bottom* still are used among both gay and straight men and women, particularly as transitive verbs that indicate the performance of sexual penetration or dominance-submission. A homosexual male who prefers to penetrate his partner during anal intercourse “tops” his partner. In the case of a heterosexual couple in which the male partner acts as the submissive partner the male “bottoms” during sexual activity. Common slang terms that are used primarily among gay men are *pitcher* (top), *catcher* (bottom), and *switch hitter* (versatile).

RECENT VARIATIONS

The top-bottom binary has been criticized for imitating the heterosexual binary. Although there continue to be large factions of gay men who identify as either top or bottom, more and more are starting to claim a more versatile status. Moreover, phrases such as *versatile top* and *versatile bottom* are being used to indicate a greater range of sexual adaptability. On the surface the top-bottom dynamic would seem to indicate a power relationship that spills over into a couple's extrasexual relationship; however, this is not always the case. New York City, for example, often is cited as a bottom city, and the popular assumption is that because most New Yorkers lead fast paced, high-stress lives, they prefer to balance their aggressive public life with a more submissive sexual one. Whether or not this is the case, it is becoming evident that the top-bottom binary parallels neither a masculine-feminine binary nor an aggressive-submissive binary.

Even among heterosexual couples the top-bottom dynamic is being destabilized. The practice of “pegging,” for example, exemplifies the ways in which that dynamic is being challenged. Pegging often is viewed as a heterosexual activity (although it may occur between two

women) in which a woman anally penetrates a male partner by using a strap-on dildo, a double-ended dildo (for simultaneous anal and vaginal penetration), or some form of penile prosthetic. This practice is becoming increasingly common.

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Jeremy C. Justus

TOYS

The role of toys in the construction of gender ideals and identities is best understood within the context of cultural notions about childhood (girlhood and boyhood) as well as the social realities of children as girls and boys. Though the meanings and uses of toys are commonly assumed to be unchangeable, their social meanings and the roles toys have played in children's lives are historically contingent. While toys have ancient origins, the more recent historical forces that gave rise to the notion that toys had masculine-making or feminine-formulating potential include:

1. the decline of orthodox Christian precepts that associated play with sin;
2. the shift from a subsistence economy to an industrializing one;
3. the spread of Enlightenment notions about children among the emergent middle class;
4. increasing social equality for women and girls;
5. egalitarianism within the family; and
6. the development of a global consumer culture.

Though it is not clear which of the toylike artifacts archaeologists have unearthed at ancient sites figured in rituals and which were meant for recreation, adults have long produced and promoted toys encoded with dominant ideals that fostered normative gender roles in children. Since at least the eighteenth century, when toys entered the domain of children in the West, play with particular kinds of toys has been assumed to promote socially specific

gender characteristics. "Boys' toys"—those that emphasize technology, science, transportation, combat, construction, and hunting—have been understood to foster such "masculine" attributes as assertiveness, dominance, heroism, and competition. "Girls' toys"—centered on homemaking and child rearing—have been thought to instill such "feminine" qualities as compassion, affection, adornment, and nurturance. The expectations of adults, however, have been known to conflict with the activities of children, who sometimes play in less socially prescribed and more "gender-inappropriate" ways.

METHODS OF GENDER CODING

For centuries, adults have used a variety of prescriptive, proscriptive, and punitive methods of transmitting information to children about which toys were gender appropriate and which were not. But since the emergence of toy advertisements during the early twentieth century and the advent of TV commercials aimed at children in the 1950s, the preferences of young consumers have been shaped by the prevalence of coded images of girls or boys at play with gender-specific toys. While the color pink signified boys at various times in the past (blood = bravery), color-coded toys and packaging since the 1950s have served to inform youngsters—too young to read but old enough to link color with gender—that pink (and pastel-colored) toys are for girls. This categorizing of merchandise by color has led to the gendering of toy store spaces, where color-coded layouts attract girls to eye-catching pink-colored aisles that repel boys fearing contamination and recrimination. While pink has long predominated as a girls' color in the West, it is a boys' color in South Korea where primary colors are associated with girls. Comparisons across time and place reveal that toys and their presentation have had very different cultural meanings. In North America, little girls of the Woodland Indians played with sticks in preparation for their role as the tribe's key agriculturalists (farmers).

TOYS FOR BOYS

Western toys designated as boys' toys: (1) contain distinctive themes drawn from the activities of men (e.g., war, transportation, construction, athleticism); (2) correlate with the skills and sensibilities associated with masculinity (e.g., aggression, courage, competition, strategy, mobility, agility); and (3) foster a wide variety of physical and intellectual developmental abilities. Though toy soldiers have been found in ancient Egypt, eighteenth-century emperors and kings bestowed upon their sons miniature armies made by high-end producers in Nuremberg, Germany, and later on in France. Toy soldiers served to instill imperial ambitions in royal and aristocratic sons and patriotic alliances in boys who played with uniformed soldiers, artillery, and

transportation during the major wars of the twentieth century. Though plastic toy soldiers were poor imitations of those that had marched off production lines before them, their affordability made infantry men far more accessible to middle-class and poor children in whom they were to cultivate masculine nationalism.

Also having ancient origins that served more practical functions in times past, toy weapons (swords and guns) lead the boy toy market as symbols of adventure and heroism in their material variety and in virtual reality. While generations of parents have given boys toy guns in an effort to build sons' manly identities, adults' distaste of war and violence in the twentieth century also exposed the powerful social forces that shape the desires of boys for toys. Prevented by his parents from playing with toy guns, one determined four-year-old used a plastic "chip clip" he found in a kitchen drawer as a substitute for the gun he preferred.

Along with war toys, toy trains assumed a unique place in the lives of boys over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries because of technological innovation, improved production, expanded market distribution, and the power of advertising. Especially after the application of electricity in the mid-1920s, these machines inspired fantasies of mobility and taught boys about other scientific principles—both beyond the scope of what was considered important for girls to acquire and imagine for themselves. Making boys into builders of civilizations led to the commercialization of construction toys. By the early twentieth century, toy pioneers marketed toy trains to boys perceived to be in need of modern engineering and construction skills during the new "machine age." In addition to other products, LEGO sets of the post-World War II period were marketed to boys in gender-coded advertisements in which little sister, bewildered by her enterprising brother the junior engineer, stood outside the LEGO metropolis he alone constructed.

Such athletic equipment as balls, bats, hoops, and nets have long been targeted at boys for the masculine attributes—the spirit of competition and the skills of achievement—they are thought to instill. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century portraits, boys from well-to-do families posed with athletic props while their sisters dressed in floor-length gowns clutching dolls, flowers, or little animals. Throughout the nineteenth century, fears that activity would precipitate sexual desire in girls led experts to discourage girls from riding hobbyhorse toys and to recommend limiting them to wand-waving callisthenic exercises as demonstrated in prescriptive manuals.

TOYS FOR GIRLS

Among the toys designated as for girls only, those playthings with obvious domestic purposes and maternal themes have enjoyed unchallenged dominance. Whether

the purposes of ancient human figures were spiritual or secular, it is certain that as symbols of fertility, dolls have had an indomitable place in the history of girls. Cultivating the fabled maternal "instinct" by instilling the skills and sensibilities of mothering (caring and grooming) and instructing girls in homemaking, dolls and symbols of domesticity have long dominated as a cultural priority over time, across periods, and from one society to another. Expected to take their place within the home and not outside of it, to adorn the body, and to cultivate the heart and not the mind, girls' toys—including dolls, dollhouses, and household utensils and technology—have been intentionally attractive, diminutive, intended for indoor passive play, and purposely unscientific, unmechanical, unintellectual, unadventurous, and unathletic.

While adults have promoted and produced girls' toys, male and female producers have not always shared the same gendered values nor used the same materials, methods, and models. In the late-nineteenth-century United States, Germany, and England, women doll producers had more in common with each other than they did with their commercial countrymen. Women doll producers across national borders were more likely to make realistic-looking, portable, pliant, and useful cloth-bodied dolls modeled after real babies for girls *and* for boys. Similarly on both sides of the Atlantic, businessmen who drew upon more masculine skills and sensibilities were more likely to make hard-bodied dolls (wood or metal) with fragile China heads and limbs that reflected prevailing Victorian feminine ideals of delicacy, domesticity, submission, purity, piety, and leisure. In the twentieth century, women doll designers and producers mounted significant challenges to gender stereotyping with dolls. Though the Barbie doll, pioneered by Ruth Handler, cofounder of Mattel, emphasized adornment and consumption as much as had Victorian French fashion dolls, the exalted femininity of the postwar teenage fashion model nevertheless embodied autonomy, empowerment, and sexual agency. Girls have received more than one billion Barbie dolls since Barbie's debut in 1959. Since the end of the twentieth century, feminist ideals have been represented as sexual agency in female dolls, while antifeminist fears have led to the embodiment of hypermasculinity in male action figures. A 1998 study (Harrison G. Pope Jr., et. al.) revealed that between the 1960s and late 1990s, G.I. Joe's bulging biceps doubled in size.

CHILDREN'S RESISTANCE TO PRESCRIPTIVE NORMS

While many children play with toys in ways that meet with adult approval, girls who ditch dolls for trucks and boys who swap whips for wigs traverse accepted boundaries of gendered play. Although many girls demonstrating domestically

useful sewing skills contented their mothers, even Catherine Beecher, the nineteenth-century architect of domesticity, detested sewing stints. Beecher was not unlike other girls in rural and small-town America who preferred active outdoor activities to sedate indoor ones and playing with toys and games that required power not propriety. While many girls loved dolls, others loathed the ones that were forced into their arms by adults committed to the dominant gender ideology. In the late-nineteenth-century United States, girls' extensive funereal play (as opposed to wedding play) generated pleasure among embryonic feminists who broke and buried dolls.

While some boys preferred dolls to soldiers and dressing up to standing down, "gender-inappropriate" behavior historically has been met with disapproval and discouragement from parents and peers. Few toys, including stuffed animals—principally the iconic teddy bear—have inhabited a "gender-neutral" terrain. As representations of domesticated nature and childhood innocence, stuffed animals have been as acceptable for baby boys as for girls, but brothers are expected to outgrow their affections and attachments long before their sisters.

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Miriam Forman-Brunell

TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN

Trafficking of women is an international commercial activity in which force, coercion, and fraud are used to transport women and children across international boundaries for economic gain. As a complex organized criminal activity, human trafficking is comparable to the trafficking of drugs and weapons, but it is more profitable and less risky because many forms of the trade appear legitimate. Within the global practice of human trafficking, 70 percent of the victims are women and 50

percent are children under age eighteen. Estimates of the number of women and children trafficked each year range from 700,000 to four million, and annual profits are estimated at \$7 billion. Demand for human trafficking is driven by a need for cheap labor in factories, households, agricultural industries, and the sex industry. Globalization has facilitated business between traders in and consumers of trafficked humans.

Trafficked women come from less wealthy countries in Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Caribbean. In some of those areas, such as the Philippines and Thailand, the sex tourism industry has increased demand for women and thus the amount of trafficking to meet the needs of men who travel from Europe, North America, and Australia. In the United States an estimated 50,000 women are trafficked in each year, coming mostly from the former Soviet Union and southeast Asia. Many women leave the Ukraine because of difficult socioeconomic conditions that predominantly affect women, who constitute 75 percent of the unemployed there. In Asia, Japan is the largest market for trafficked women. In China the one-child rule and a preference for male children have resulted in an imbalanced ratio of males to females. As of 2000 males outnumbered females born between 1980 and 2000 by 8.5 million. Those men create a demand for wives and sex industry workers that often is filled by national and international trafficking of women from nearby countries such as Vietnam.

MOTIVATIONS AND RECRUITMENT OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

Women are lured from countries that are impoverished, war-torn, strongly patriarchal, or lacking in adequate police forces. Most are disadvantaged in their home countries, where women face severe social and economic disadvantages. If they can find work in struggling economies, they often are paid much less than are men and are easily lured by promises of high-paying jobs in other countries. For instance, in Russia women's earnings are only 50 percent of men's. Because many societies still value sons more highly than daughters, some families sell their daughters to brothels or traffickers to get quick money and eliminate the need to pay a daughter's marriage dowry. Dowries are especially problematic in India, where campaigns were begun in the 1990s to inform citizens of the many problems, including trafficking, that can result from the tradition of dowry giving.

In light of the desperation many impoverished women feel, they can be swayed easily to leave their home countries with promises of better lives. Some women believe they are hiring an agency to provide them with

passports and other paperwork and help them cross international borders in the face of increasingly restrictive immigration policies. Once they are in the new country, all documentation is taken from them and they are put to work, often forced to repay the high costs of transportation in addition to lodging and other expenses. Other women are recruited in bars, cafés, or clubs, where men offer them seemingly legitimate jobs in other countries.

Women who actively seek employment in foreign countries may answer false job advertisements in magazines or newspapers for positions such as nannies or factory workers. They also may visit an agency where recruiters may marry or become engaged to them in a chivalrous gesture of protection in order to transport them out of the country more easily. Some women are sold by friends, family, or acquaintances, and others may be kidnapped. Still others may be refugees and victims of wartime violence and abduction by soldiers. In countries in Africa and in Mexico women recruiters negotiate with lower-class families to provide jobs and education for their daughters, later transporting those these girls for forced labor outside their native country.

The business of mail-order brides moves both willing and unwilling women and girls to foreign countries, where they may be forced into unpaid domestic labor, prostitution, pornography, or other work by their husbands. Many of those brides come from countries such as the Philippines, Africa, China, Russia, the Ukraine, and Latvia. Websites advertising those women emphasize that unlike Western women, they are not difficult to please and will occupy a subservient position in the household. As of 1999 approximately six thousand mail-order brides arrived in the United States each year, coming predominantly from the Philippines and Russia.

LAWS GOVERNING TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN

Because trafficking of women is an international business, individual countries are challenged to create legislation to deter and punish that trade. In 2000 the United States passed the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, which specified actions to punish traffickers and assist victims within the United States and to urge foreign countries to eliminate trafficking, address the economic conditions that lead to trafficking, and assist victims who are repatriated. The United Nations (UN) has several protocols aimed at halting human trafficking. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child from 1989 focuses particularly on guaranteeing human rights to children, and the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons from 2000 defines trafficking, outlines punishments for traffickers, and requires states that ratify it to protect and

assist trafficked persons. In 2002 the United States implemented a special "T" visa that allows victims to remain in the country if they testify against their traffickers and face likely danger in their home countries.

Many countries have no laws against trafficking; one is South Africa, a popular source and destination for trafficked persons from at least ten other countries, including Mozambique, Thailand, and China. In addition to legal action some governments and nongovernmental organizations have launched educational campaigns both to inform women from popular source countries about the dangers of trafficking and to encourage citizens of destination countries to be watchful for immigrants who may be victims of that industry.

SEE ALSO *Prostitution*.

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Michelle Veenstra

TRANNIE WHORE

Trannie whore is a slang formation that refers to a transsexual sex worker. Also popularly known as *she males*, trannie whores are most often in the preoperative stage of male to female (MTF) transsexuality, but living as women. Thus they appear to be women in most respects, but retain male genitalia.

Transsexuality, particularly in the preoperative stage, often leads to social ostracism, including employment discrimination. Additionally transsexuals (particularly MTF) are the object of sexual fantasy for many, thus making them particularly marketable in the sex industry. These factors lead many transsexuals to become sex workers. Others may choose to conceal their transsexual status and work as female prostitutes. Depending on the success

with which they can pass as women, this can be effective in circumstances where the client does not wish to engage in intercourse. Because of the social pressures on transsexuals, many postoperative individuals continue as sex workers, but function as women, not as trannie whores.

Some transsexuals choose to remain in the preoperative stage in order to retain their marketability as trannie whores. They feature prominently in the adult video industry, and some have acquired a kind of fame in that arena. In general trannie whores who appear in film appeal to an idealized hermaphrodite fantasy; they have fully developed breasts and feminine features, while retaining fully functioning male genitalia. This physical appearance is often accomplished through a series of cosmetic surgeries, most often breast and cheek implants and removal of the Adam's apple.

SEE ALSO *Prostitution*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

TRANSGENDER

Transgender is an umbrella term used to refer to a diverse group of individuals who challenge socially and culturally constructed gender norms. Historically the term was used to refer to cross-dressers or transvestites (those who desire to wear clothing associated with another sex). In contemporary context the term has broadened to include a number of gender variant groups: male-to-female transsexuals (MTF); female-to-male transsexuals (FTM); transgenderists (those who live in the gender role associated with another sex without sex reassignment surgery); *bigender* persons (those who identify as both man and woman); drag queens and kings (typically gay men and lesbian women, respectively, who dress in women's and men's clothing); and intersexed persons (those born with ambiguous genitalia). Though commonalities among these groups exist, there are several characteristics that make them distinct gender identities.

TRANSGENDER IDENTITIES

Transgender refers to an identity that does not adhere to the strict binary categories of man and woman. The term transsexual refers to persons whose physical body is considered to be incongruent with their self-perception as man or woman, and who desire or have undergone hormonal and/or surgical

interventions to alter their physical presentation (specifically secondary sex characteristics) to better align their internal (gender) with their external appearance, male or female (sex). In contrast, individuals who identify or associate as transgender often do not seek such interventions; however, they may make suggestive changes in presentation to express their internal perception of self.

Transgender identity differs from biological conditions that produce ambiguous physical characteristics often associated with gender. The terms *hermaphrodite* and *pseudohermaphrodite* were first introduced in the nineteenth century to describe individuals with ambiguous genitalia or secondary sex characteristics. In the early twenty-first century the term *intersexed* is used to describe people born with congenital conditions (e.g., chromosomal, gonadal) that result in ambiguous genitalia. Through genetic and chromosomal testing (karyotyping), typically an individual's biological sex is determined to be either female or male. A differentiation between sex and gender must be understood to grasp the complexity of these variations.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Though the term transgender as defined in the contemporary context is a predominately European and North American concept, the idea of a liminal category that lies outside of the binary of male/man and female/woman has existed since ancient times. However, descriptions and interpretations differ by culture and historical period. Some of the earliest references to a third gender category derive from Native American culture and are set in a spiritual framework that is not bound to the physical body. For example, in Navajo culture the term *nádleeh* is used to describe persons thought to have a masculine and feminine spirit living in the same body. *Winkte*, a Lakota word, is a name given to an individual who is thought to have two-spirits or two-souls, one man and one woman. Often the term is used to describe homosexual men, but it also is used to describe a person who is transgender. Within the Native American culture, two-spirited people are valued members of society and are considered to fill social roles that others cannot.

References to a third gender can also be found in Asian and Middle Eastern cultures. In Thai culture, the word *kathoey* has a similar definition to the word transgender; however, it is applied in a broader context that can include effeminate gay men. In some Southeast Asian cultures, the term *hijra*, or the traditional term *kinnar*, is used to describe intersexed individuals or those who have been assigned a male sex at birth but later choose to live a religious life dedicated to Bahuchara Mata (the Hindu mother goddess), singing and dancing at birth ceremonies and weddings. Though these traditional roles have

had great cultural significance, the influence of European and North American ideologies has greatly decreased cultural reverence.

THEORY

Since the early twentieth century a number of theories have been proposed in an effort to understand and explain gender variant identities. Early theories proposed by John Money, Harry Benjamin, and Richard Green tended to view gender identity as resulting from pathology deeply rooted in the psyche. However, the introduction of feminist and queer theories, which challenged the traditional gender binary, created an interest in understanding alternative gender identities, including transgender.

The term transgender derives from relatively new concepts surrounding gender identity theory. Though there is no specific author cited for the original use of the term, Virginia Prince was one of the first researchers to use the term in an academic context in the early 1960s. Later, transgender gained use among the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transsexual community as a distinct identity category independent of sex/gender role and sexual orientation. This identity category served as a contrast to transsexual, differentiating between individuals who sought surgical and hormonal interventions and those who did not.

Conventionally, gender identity theories view gender development as a process that begins at conception and ends at death. Though each theory differentiates between the influence of biological maturation, psychological development, the progression through socially defined stages (e.g., childhood, adolescence, and adulthood), and the individual's interactions with others, researchers agree that these forces collectively shape an individual's gender identity.

ETIOLOGY AND TREATMENT

A number of biological and psychological theories have been proposed in an attempt to explain the cause of transgender identity and behavior; however, none of these has been widely agreed upon. Although medical and psychological efforts to treat and cure transgendered feelings and behaviors date back to the mid-nineteenth century, there is no evidence that treatments or cures are ethical or efficacious. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV* (1994), published by the American Psychiatric Association (APA), is the most widely used set of diagnostic criteria for mental disorders in the United States. The *DSM-IV* has two diagnostic categories relating to gender: *Gender Identity Disorder* and *Gender Identity Disorder Not Otherwise Specified (NOS)*. A diagnosis of Gender Identity Disorder is applied to a person when they meet the following five criteria: (1) evidence of strong and persistent cross-gender identification; (2) this cross-gender

identification must not merely be a desire for any perceived cultural advantages of being the other sex; (3) evidence of persistent discomfort about one's assigned sex or a sense of inappropriateness in the gender role of that sex; (4) the individual must not have a concurrent physical intersex; and (5) evidence of clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning. Gender Identity NOS can be applied to intersex conditions, transient cross-dressing behavior that results from stress, or a persistent preoccupation with castration or penectomy (removal of the penis) that is not accompanied by the desire to change one's secondary sex characteristics.

There is a great deal of controversy surrounding the notion of transgender as a psychological disorder. Many people argue that the DSM-IV classification system is merely an attempt to pathologize and marginalize individuals who do not adhere to the stereotypical gender norms dictated by society and reject the idea that any form of psychological treatment is necessary. Indeed, some psychological interventions are potentially harmful and are not supported by the majority of mainstream medical and psychological organizations. A controversial but well-known psychological approach to treating gender nonconformists, including gay men and lesbian women, is conversion therapy. Conversion therapy includes a number of techniques aimed at altering gender identity or sexual orientation. Other types of psychological treatment include individual and group therapy aimed at diminishing distress that may be associated with living as a transgendered person.

CONTEMPORARY TRANSGENDER

With the availability of information via the Internet, a number of Web sites for people identifying as transgender have emerged. The function of such sites ranges from providing broad educational information about the meaning of transgender to very specific and targeted information, such as techniques for vocal feminization. There are also a number of chat rooms and online support groups that provide peer education and encouragement.

Since the mid-1980s there has been a noticeable rise in activism by transgender communities both at the social and political level. In 2006 the State of New Jersey passed a bill that extended civil rights protection to transgender individuals and nondiscrimination laws protecting gender identity and expression have been enacted in several states. The increased visibility and activism of transgender communities has challenged traditional constructions of gender and created a space for alternative gender identities within society.

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TRANSSEXUAL F TO M

Female-to-male (F2M, F-M, or FTM) transsexuals (sometimes called "female-toward-male" or "male-to-male") are female-born persons who suffer from intense, often painful feelings that their assigned sex does not match their actual gender (a condition called gender dysphoria and clinically diagnosed as gender identity disorder). As opposed to transvestites who habitually cross-dress, transsexuals live full-time as men or women and may undergo sex-reassignment surgery (SRS) in order to transition from one sex to another. Transsexuals may also identify as transgender (an umbrella term coined in the 1970s to refer to multiple

gender-bending identities). Some reserve the term *transsexual* for those who have had hormone therapy or some form of SRS.

FTM is an expansive category that encompasses a range of experiences, identities, and gender expressions. FTMs identify along a spectrum of masculinity and may describe themselves as men, transmen, butch trans-masculine, genderqueer, or transgender. Some FTMs may self-consciously differentiate themselves from non-transsexual members of the male sex, or "biomen" (biological men). Once their transition is complete, other FTMs discard their trans status and are "stealth"—living as men without reference to their former identity. The acronym *MTM* (male-to-male) is used by those who have always identified as males and who disagree with the "sex change" implied by *FTM*.

Because of the social and economic marginalization of transsexual people, the instability of trans support services, and discrepancies in research, the prevalence as well as the origin of transsexuality are unknown. There are likely as many FTM transsexuals as there are male-to-female (MTF), although in the past it was generally assumed that there were fewer FTMs than MTFs. With data that spans four decades in a country accepting of trans people, a 1997 study from the Amsterdam Gender Dysphoria Clinic puts the prevalence of MTFs at 1 in 10,000 and FTMs at 1 in 30,000. Available reports, however, do not account for the political and cultural biases that taint these numbers, or for the dramatic rise in FTMs at the start of the twenty-first century.

As assigned women, FTMs may have less recourse or resources to seek help for their problem. As many scholars have noted, assigned men who identify as women are immediately viewed as deviant and ill in patriarchal cultures that privilege maleness and manliness above all else. In stark contrast, the motivations of assigned women who identify as men have been explained away as feminist strategies against female oppression. Assigned women who identify as men, rather than being recognized as trans, may be wrongly classified as failed heterosexual women or as butch lesbians who are uncomfortable with their homosexuality.

HISTORY OF MALE IDENTIFICATION IN "WOMEN"

The history of female-to-male transsexuals overlaps with histories of lesbianism, the pathologizing classification of early sexology, and the mapping of deviant female genders across place and time. Some of these overlaps are produced through similarities in terminology, mirroring physical presentations, and aesthetics and affects culled from a shared masculine/butch cultural iconography

(Rubin 2006). On the other hand, these overlaps may also be blamed on cultural assumptions and oversights.

For example, in his *Dialogue of the Courtesans*, the Greek satirist and rhetorician Lucian (c. 120–after 180 CE) describes a woman named Megilla who renames herself Megillus, seduces women, uses dildos, and has a “face like a man.” Megilla has traditionally been claimed in lesbian histories, although arguments can be made for her as an early FTM figure. The seventeenth-century case of Catalina de Erauso (c. 1592–c. 1650), a Basque sailor who escaped from a convent at a young age and sailed for the Americas dressed as a man, has likewise confounded scholars.

Similar cases abound in ages that predate the current terms used to describe sexuality and gender and appear to increase in the West after 1850. The historian Jason Cromwell (1999) has written of three major motivations for “women” who lived their lives as men: (1) economic necessity or for adventure; (2) to explore their desire for and love of women; and (3) to live as the men they felt themselves to be. A list of these early figures includes the Civil War soldier Loreta Janeta Velazquez (1842–1897), the New York City politician Murray Hall (c. 1831–1901), and the San Francisco writer and curiosity Babe Bean (1869–1936). Many of these women who lived as men (sometimes referred to as “passing women”) were not discovered to have female anatomy until they died.

Instances such as these reveal the extent to which lesbian history has appropriated trans figures of the past. As soldiers, pirates, doctors, authors, musicians, and laborers, these figures have provided examples of support and pride to more contemporary FTMs. Yet, there are significant factors that differentiate contemporary FTMs from these ancestors—namely, that of technology. The lack of the very technologies that currently define FTM experience—testosterone hormones and surgical operations—make women who had gender dysphoria or strong “male identifications” in the past clash with their current cultural manifestation. Nevertheless, many FTMs of the past devised tools to accent their manhoods. In fact, as Cromwell notes, the Irish sailor Christian Davies (1667–1739) inherited a urinary device from an older female-bodied soldier who was a friend of his father. Erauso was said to have found a remedy that reduced the size of the breasts. The first FTM transition was completed sometime around 1917 on Dr. Alan Hart.

More modern FTMs include the American jazz pianist and saxophonist Billy Tipton (1914–1989); the millionaire entrepreneur and philanthropist Reed Erickson (1917–1992); the author and activist Leslie Feinberg (b. 1949); the author, activist, and FTM International founding president Lou Sullivan (1951–1991); and the author Patrick Califia (b. 1954). Erickson’s philanthropy

offers an inspiring case of gay/trans activism. In the 1960s and 1970s, through his Erickson Educational Foundation, Erickson donated millions of dollars to homophile and trans organizations, including ONE, Inc., the Johns Hopkins Gender Identity Clinic, and the Harry Benjamin Foundation.

In 1977 an FTM teacher in northern California named Steve Dain received national media attention when he lost his job as a result of his outing. This blip of media exposure and visibility for FTMs is remembered as instrumental to many FTMs coming-of-age in the era—especially because of Bain’s composure and strength and his successful fight to retain his teaching credentials. Nearly twenty years later, a young Nebraskan named Brandon Teena (1971–1993) was raped and murdered by two friends who had discovered his trans status. Widespread media reports, the documentary *The Brandon Teena Story* (1998), and the award-winning film *Boys Don’t Cry* (1999), starring Hilary Swank, brought FTM trans issues to greater visibility.

The feminist movement of the 1970s was a galvanizing force in the formation of contemporary FTM identity. As women discussed their identities and realities in gendered terms and lesbians critiqued butch and femme genders, fierce arguments about masculinity and male identification in women erupted, resulting in the marginalization of butches, FTMs, and their lovers within the feminist movement. Despite transsexuality’s evidence for feminism’s thesis about the social construction of gender, FTMs have been ruthlessly stereotyped and degraded within women’s communities. Understood as “not lesbians” and “not women,” FTMs and trans butches continue to endure a queer backlash that claims FTMs “steal their women” and encroach on lesbian butch territory. Nevertheless, lesbians, tomboys, and FTMs share similar histories in terms of childhood play, resenting the limitations put on girls in a male-dominated world, or fantasizing about escaping the femininity one was born into, even if these similarities have yet to serve as platforms for solidarity. Henry Rubin (2003) posits the invert as the original deviant identity that developed—through sexological, feminist, and other twentieth-century discourses—into multiple deviant identities, including the lesbian, the butch, the tomboy, the FTM transsexual, and the gay male FTM—as FTM identity evolves, no doubt the boundaries of “appropriate” FTM transgenderism will continue to shift.

FTMs across the globe face varying, and in some case more critical, circumstances. Nevertheless, many countries have made surgeries more accessible to FTMs. For instance, despite the stigma attached to homosexuality and transsexuality (which are conflated in this case), in Iran fatwas have been issued by clerics of multiple levels

(including Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini) that insist on the rights of transsexuals—both male and female—to access sex-reassignment surgery. Although a strident homophobia seems to be the motivation for this type of national recognition, the state actually helps to finance these surgeries.

FTM TRANSITIONS

Most FTMs report experiencing gender dysphoria from a young age, or at the onset of puberty when bodily changes make the dissonance between their felt gender (male) and their assigned sex (female) all the more apparent. Transitions for FTMs begin with the individual coming out to herself, and later to others, about her status. Upon recognizing this imperative for transsexual self-realization, FTMs will begin to alter their physical presentations as they begin to live as men. Strategies include binding the breasts, packing a dildo, using the men's restroom, and adopting a new name. A critical step for many FTMs is hormone replacement therapy—taking injections of testosterone (known as “T”) to produce “male” secondary sex characteristics (such as body hair and a deeper voice). FTMs experience side effects with the administration of testosterone, including the cessation of menstruation, increased libido, acne, mood swings, and increased aggressiveness.

From here, many FTMs seek further medical attention, but the next phase of transition varies depending on the individual's financial situation. If an FTM is affluent enough, he will progress through the accepted medical route for the “correction” of his problem (i.e., be diagnosed with gender identity disorder and be treated accordingly). Although many transsexuals do not think they need psychological counseling and therapy, they must submit to this treatment in order to have their FTM status authenticated by a medical authority for legal recognition, name changes on government identification, and access to the next steps of transition (including hormones as well as surgery). This system of “certification” has been heavily criticized for requiring trans people to enact and confess their “abnormality,” self-loathing, and pathology to a paternalistic medical power. Other scholars, such as Judith Butler (2004), argue that this process is not necessarily an obstruction to transsexual and transgender self-determination and agency.

Whereas some FTMs will not take hormones or desire any physical changes, others will proceed with sex-reassignment surgery. For FTMs, this may include “top” or chest surgery (removal of the breasts and reconstruction of the chest) and/or “bottom” surgery, which may consist of a hysterectomy and/or any number of genital-focused surgeries (including phalloplasty, metoidioplasty, genitoplasty, and scrotoplasty).

Many men in the trans community consider genital surgeries rudimentary and unsatisfactory and are waiting for technological advances in these surgeries before they will have them. Genital surgeries are also very expensive, ranging from \$15,000 to \$85,000 depending on their complexity, as opposed to the cost of chest surgery, which may cost up to \$9,000. Because insurance companies, as yet, do not typically cover sex-reassignment surgery, FTMs, especially those in urban communities who are connected to supportive queer networks, may host benefit events to raise money for their surgeries.

Other transsexuals do not identify with the queer community. Some FTMs transition outside of the queer community or, upon transitioning, leave the queer community and are not “out” about their trans status. A report on FTMs of color (FTMOCs) commissioned by FTM International suggests that this is more common in communities of color—in part because FTMOCs feel alienated from the mostly white organized FTM communities (such as FTM International).

SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND GENDERED MEMORY

The category FTM represents a diversity of experience. In terms of race, class, ethnicity, and genders, FTMs come in every shape and size. Like people of any gender, FTMs may be heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, queer, or pansexual, or may express their sexualities in shifting terms.

Years of suffering from body dysphoria may have damaged if not demolished the sex lives of FTMs prior to their transition. Many FTMs may not have had satisfactory or comfortable sex prior to their coming out and/or transitioning. New bodies and identifications, sometimes coupled with an increased sex drive triggered by testosterone injections, may liberate FTMs to explore new sexualities. In fact, studies have shown that some FTMs change their sexual orientation or develop new sexual interests (such as sadomasochism) as they transition. Many FTMs identify as gay men and sleep with non-transsexual as well as transsexual men.

Most FTMs were socialized as females (even if this socialization was rejected or undesired), but FTMs relate to their gendered pasts with a range of styles. Although FTMs may not have ever identified as girls or women, they likely have intimate knowledge of the struggles, values, and pressures specific to women in their cultures. FTMs may believe that this prior knowledge differentiates them from sexist men in a patriarchal culture, whereas others view such notions as pretentious or irrelevant and focus instead on being “normal” guys. Within such debates, the academic Jean Bobby Noble (2006) has argued adamantly against FTMs adopting hegemonic

masculinities, while the activist and educator Jamison Green (1999) has written on the politics of outing and FTM/trans visibility.

CLASS, RACE, AND EXCLUSION

Class distinctions within the FTM community often spark conflict in a world in which gendered authenticity relies on an expensive transition. Aggressive territorial disputes and cliquish behavior occur within communities where a hierarchy of maleness often determines which transmen are accepted as “real men” (hormones and top surgery represent the standard). The meaning of “gendered passing” differs across class backgrounds as do the strategies of passing within different class contexts. There have been contentious rifts between FTM/butch transgenders and FTM transsexuals largely because of class conflict that is euphemized, for instance, in stereotypes that FTM transsexuals are “old-fashioned” and FTM butch-trans are overprivileged and self-absorbed. There are many more intersectional axes that have yet to be analyzed alongside FTM identity, including disability, fatness, and age.

Arguments about male privilege between FTMs hinge on race, class, and sexual orientation and further reveal how transitioning or passing as a man can have an array of cultural meanings. For example, many white FTMs are self-conscious about transitioning into their new life as white men. For an FTMOC, however, settling into life as a black or brown man represents a completely different association to male privilege. The white transitioning FTM may be seen as a “gender traitor” who will benefit from male privilege, whereas the FTMOC will actually experience a decline in social status, as he becomes more suspect and more dangerous in the eyes of white, Western culture. Unfortunately, discourse around FTM issues such as these is dominated by the white perspective, resulting in FTMOCs feeling that their voices and struggles are not heard or attended to in FTM groups or beyond. Narrow definitions of FTM (especially those that fetishize expensive surgeries and trajectories of self-realization that value sameness over difference) exclude transmen of color and working-class transmen and deny the huge range of powerful differences that actually define and shape FTM experience.

SEE ALSO *Transgender*; *Transsexual M to F*.

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Emma Crandall

TRANSSEXUAL M TO F

Male-to-female (MTF) *transsexual* refers to biologically born males who identify as female or as a woman and who may seek to undergo or have undergone hormonal and/or surgical intervention(s) to align their external physical sex with their internal female gender identity. Conversely, *female-to-male* (FTM) *transsexual* refers to biologically born females who identify as males or as a man and seek to undergo or have undergone hormonal and/or surgical interventions to align their physical characteristics with their male gender identity. According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV*, the prevalence of MTF is approximately 1 in 30,000 whereas the prevalence of FTM is reported to be 1 in 100,000.

Whereas transsexuals may identify as transgender, not all transgendered individuals are transsexual, the distinguishing characteristics being that the individual’s gender identity does not align with the gender assigned at birth and that medical intervention(s) may be sought to alter external physical presentation to match internal gender identity. Common interventions for MTF transsexuals include feminizing hormones (e.g., estradiol, antiandrogens, gonadotropin suppressors) that modify

secondary sex characteristics, cosmetic surgery (e.g., facial feminization, electrolysis, breast augmentation), and *sex reassignment surgery* (altering sex genitalia).

THEORY AND ETIOLOGY (CAUSES)

Though a number of theories have been proposed in attempts to understand and explain the developmental processes that relate to transsexuality, the etiology remains under debate. Historically, models have conceptualized transsexuality as a psychological disease or disorder that contradicts typical development. A large body of psychological literature exists around the notion that transsexuality can be defined as *gender identity disorder* or *gender dysphoria*. The *DSM-IV* lists five criteria that must be met in order for a diagnosis of gender identity disorder to be applied: (1) there must be evidence of a strong and persistent cross-gender identification, (2) this cross-gender identification must not merely be a desire for any perceived cultural advantages of being the other sex, (3) there must also be evidence of persistent discomfort about one's assigned sex or a sense of inappropriateness in the gender role of that sex, (4) the individual must not have a concurrent physical intersex condition (e.g., androgen insensitivity syndrome or congenital adrenal hyperplasia), and (5) there must be evidence of clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.

A number of researchers (i.e., Kurt Freund, Gunter Dörner, J. Michael Bailey, Ray Blanchard, Anne Lawrence) have proposed biological explanations for transsexuality, including that it represents a neurological form of intersexuality. In these theories transsexuality is thought to result from prenatal exposure to hormones that alter the brain in ways that affect the formation of gender identity. However, the majority of evidence for such assertions comes from behavioral research conducted with animals that have been exposed to varied hormonal levels during neonatal development. Even within these studies the results are inconsistent at best. Although further research may one day establish a link between prenatal hormonal exposure and transsexuality, in the early twenty-first century, such explanations should be viewed with caution.

DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESSES

Though the majority of transsexual individuals do not begin to live in the social role that represents their internal gender identity or seek medical intervention until they reach adulthood, some may begin to express their desire to live in the opposite gender role in childhood or adolescence. However, it is not uncommon for individuals to acknowledge, retrospectively, feeling that their internal gender identity and external biological sex were

discrepant from an early age. Regardless of when an individual begins to identify as transsexual, most suffer from emotional and psychological distress due to the inconsistencies of internal gender identity and external anatomy coupled with social disapproval.

The process of *transitioning* refers to the period of time when the individual moves from living in one gender role to living in the other. Often this period begins with subtle changes in appearance, such as changes in hair style and clothing, and ends after the individual has fully moved into the desired gender role (with or without hormonal and/or surgical intervention), living full time as that gender. The process of transitioning may include hormonal and/or surgical intervention to bring external physical characteristics in line with gender identity. Transitioning may be a time of significant psychological and emotional distress as the individual seeks acceptance in his or her new role.

SEX REASSIGNMENT

Not all transsexuals seek or undergo sex reassignment therapies. Such interventions can be extremely costly and are usually not covered by standard health insurance. For those who do, sex reassignment interventions can include hormone therapies aimed at altering the appearance of the secondary sex characteristics and sex reassignment surgery that alters the primary sex characteristics (e.g., genitalia).

HORMONES

The requirements for hormonal and surgical interventions vary widely. Some physicians require that patients live in their desired gender role for a specific period of time, perhaps up to one year, prior to beginning hormonal treatment. This period is usually referred to as the real-life test (RLT) or real-life experience (RLE). However, this is not always possible for some individuals because they require hormone treatments in order to adequately *pass* (be perceived as the opposite gender by others) in society. Many MTFs require facial hair removal, facial feminization surgery, and vocal training or surgery in addition to hormonal treatments in order to pass as women. As a result the most recent version of the Standards of Care (SOC) set forth by the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (formerly the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association) suggests that a person may also be approved for hormonal treatment after a period of psychotherapeutic assessment and diagnosis.

Though some physicians are willing to prescribe hormones to patients upon request, many are hesitant to do so without the RLT or proof of psychological treatment because hormonally induced changes can

become quickly irreversible, particularly in men. Some transsexual individuals choose to bypass the requirements of the medical community by purchasing their hormones on the black market, often via the Internet. However, substances purchased through the black market may not be safe or effective.

SURGERY

Sex reassignment surgery, also referred to as genital reassignment surgery, is performed to align an individual's external genitals with their internal gender identity. Specific types of genital surgery include vaginoplasty (constructing female genitalia) and phalloplasty (constructing male genitalia). These surgeries can be very risky and do not always result in the desired outcomes. Potential side effects can include problems with urinary and bowel functioning, loss of orgasmic ability, postoperative infections, and persistent genital pain.

Because sex reassignment surgery is permanent and risky, most physicians in North America and Europe require that the individual live as the desired gender for a specified period of time (RLE), usually one year, and undergo psychological evaluation prior to being approved for surgery. However, requirements are often less stringent and less costly in other countries, particularly in Asia; therefore, some individuals bypass requirements by traveling for surgery.

CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

Transsexuality has been observed across cultures and is accepted to varying degrees. The first MTF transsexual to gain notoriety in the United States was Christine Jorgensen (formerly George William Jorgensen, Jr.), a U.S. citizen and World War II veteran who underwent hormonal treatments and sex reassignment surgery in Copenhagen, Denmark in 1952. Whereas Jorgensen is responsible for the early visibility of transsexuality in the United States, transsexuals have played an important role in non-European and non-North American cultures for centuries. For example, in India *hijras* undergo sex and gender change, adopting feminine styles of appearance and dress. *Hijras* serve an important role in Indian culture, performing at various ceremonies that celebrate the life cycle (e.g., weddings and the celebration of male births). In Thailand the *kathoey* are considered an intermediate or third sex/gender category that exists alongside the male/man and female/woman categories of gender. *Kathoey* are highly visible and many perform in transvestite revues and theaters and participate in beauty contests. *Kathoey* are often viewed as entertaining and humorous, making them popular among men and women. The Philippines also has a long tradition of transgendered roles that are highly valued. Depending



Christine Jorgensen. Christine Jorgensen underwent surgery to become a woman in 1952. She was one of the first people to undergo sex reassignment surgery. AP IMAGES.

on the region these individuals may be referred to as *bakla*, *bantut*, or *bayot*. *Bakla* are biological males believed to have a feminine heart. The largely positive social attitudes that surround *bakla* are primarily based on their ability to transform themselves into glamorous women, often competing in beauty pageants or contests that earn them a great deal of social prestige.

CONTEMPORARY TRANSEXUAL MOVEMENT

Since the mid-1990s there has been a notable rise in activism among a number of gender variant groups, including transsexuals. The Internet has provided a forum for transsexuals to share experiences and provide support and advice. Further, many European and North American societies in the early twenty-first century have policies and procedures that allow transsexuals to change birth records and other documents to reflect their gender identity. Though many countries are enacting laws to protect transsexuals from discrimination in the workplace and elsewhere, these laws are not always fully enforced.

SEE ALSO *Transgender; Transsexual F to M.*

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TRANSVESTISM

Magnus Hirschfeld, the early twentieth-century German sex researcher and homosexual rights advocate, coined the term transvestite—as well as the term transsexual—in his book *Die Transvestiten* (The Transvestites), published in 1910. As its Latin roots suggest, a transvestite is a cross-dresser, or someone who wears the clothes of the other gender. Transvestism is mainly associated with men who dress as women, in large part because clothing standards for women have become so relaxed as to make male attire on women hardly worth a second glance. Women from previous eras who dressed as men and were taken

for men are usually termed *passing women* rather than *transvestites*.

Confusion about the sexual categories *transvestite*, *transsexual*, and *homosexual* in the popular media began in the late nineteenth century and continued through the late twentieth century. Even in the twenty-first century, few people realize that many transvestites are heterosexual men with no sexual interest in other men and no desire to become women. Differences between sex, gender, and sexuality must be clear and unambiguous in order to make distinctions between categories such as *homosexuality*, which is understood as choosing a person of the same biological sex for one's sexual partners; *transsexuality*, also known as *transgender identification*, which has nothing to do with object choice but is understood rather as the desire to transform one's own body into that of the other sex; and *transvestism*, which has nothing to do with either object choice or body modification but only concerns cross-dressing.

Even Hirschfeld conflated transvestites with transsexuals, believing that cross-dressers wanted to change their sex. Published accounts from the 1950s of America's first celebrity transsexual, Christine Jorgensen (1926–1989), described her as a transvestite. Films such as *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991) collapse transvestite, transsexual, and woman-hating behaviors together in one murderous serial killer; a 2004 British reality television show, "There's Something About Miriam," similarly collapsed cultural notions of transsexuality, transvestism, and homosexuality together in the person of Miriam, a twenty-two-year-old male-to-female pre-operative transsexual who wooed six male contestants, none of whom were aware she had been born a man and still had male genitals. The contestants sued to have the show cancelled, but clearly the show's creators were hoping to create shock value by presenting all these problematic sexual and gender categories together in the figure of one ambiguously-gendered woman.

Hirschfeld, a transvestite, believed in three genders: male, female, and the "third sex." The last encompassed subjects who were neither heterosexual nor normatively gendered, including homosexuals, transvestites, and transsexuals. The Nazis destroyed Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Research in 1933, and after World War II the notion of a third sex disappeared. Transvestism was seen until the 1960s as a sign of homosexuality, but in the 1960s cross-dressing became a sign of transsexual tendencies. Many in the gay and lesbian rights movement disassociated themselves from transvestism, except in the self-consciously theatrical spectacle of drag, or female impersonation. Drag, which was always a performance of gender meant to be read as theater, separated itself from the kind of transvestism associated with sexual

arousal, which gradually became known as *transvestic fetishism*, and which is listed as a paraphilia in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*, Fourth Edition (*DSM IV*, 1994).

Gradually, many heterosexual males who liked to dress as women distanced themselves from the pathology of transvestic fetishism, as well as from homosexuals and transsexuals. These men are known mostly as cross-dressers, but when the term transvestite is used to describe them, it is understood to be something quite different from transvestic fetishism, something that is not necessarily about sexual arousal or mental distress.

HISTORY OF TRANSVESTISM

Transvestism as an expression of religious devotion and sexual and gender variance has been present all over the world for thousands of years. Castrated and cross-dressed priestesses of the Great Mother may date back to the Stone Age, have been recorded in Mesopotamian temple records as early as 3000 BCE, and are also present in the records of Babylonia, Assyria, and Akkadia. Astarte, Dea Syria, Artemis, Atargatis, Ashtoreth or Ishtar, Cybele, Hecate, and Diana at Ephesus were all served by transsexual priestesses. The Egyptian ruler Hatshepsut (1540–1481 BCE) made herself pharaoh of Upper and Lower Egypt and ruled for twenty years wearing a ceremonial beard, male headdress, and male kilt. Cross-dressing and transsexualism were part of ancient religious ceremonies in China and Japan. Ashurbanipal (r. 668–c. 627 BCE), the last Assyrian king, dressed in women's clothing some 2700 years ago. The biblical books of Deuteronomy and Leviticus prohibit cross-dressing, probably in part to distinguish the Hebrews from their goddess-worshipping contemporaries. In ancient Greece, the cult of Dionysus had both male and female cross-dressed followers.

In North America, the Crow, Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, Lakota, and nations from the western Great Lakes and Canada to the Pacific Northwest, Louisiana, and Florida honored “two-spirit” people who cross-dressed and lived as a gender other than the one in which they were born. The Europeans who colonized North America enacted and encouraged the persecution of two-spirit people in their own communities, and coined the derogatory term *berdache*, from the French word for male prostitute, to describe them. Two-spirit people were most often males living as females, perhaps because downward gender mobility was easier to achieve than upward transformation, though some tribes reported women who hunted and fought as men, such as the Crow warrior and chief Barcheampe. Native American women who became warrior men were known as “manly-hearts,” though sometimes they, too, were known as berdache. Cross-dressing

and gendered work were both crucial to cross-gender male-to-female identity, whereas fewer examples of female-to-male cross-dressing are available. Two-spirit male-to-female people usually married, served as powerful and respected religious figures, and were accepted as women. They performed certain ceremonial functions such as handling the dead, tending to the sick, cutting ritual lodgepoles, and carrying provisions for war parties. Manly-heartedness was most common among postmenopausal women, as the combination of menstrual blood and reproductive fertility among younger women seems to have linked them more forcefully to female status than males were linked to male gender identity and roles through male biology.

Medieval and Renaissance sumptuary laws restricted the wearing of certain fabrics, furs, and clothing styles to members of particular genders, classes, and ranks. Sumptuary legislation in England during the reign of the Tudor kings enforced legibility and hierarchy, and Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) appears to have issued more proclamations having to do with dress than in any time in English history. Jacobean England prohibited excessiveness in dress, and James I (r. 1603–1625) instructed the clergy to express disapproval at women wearing clothing resembling male attire. In France, Joan of Arc was burned at the stake in 1431 for refusing to stop dressing as a man. Cross-dressing was a vital part of carnival celebrations throughout Europe into the sixteenth century, and peasant rebellions such as the 1631 anti-enclosure riots in England seemed to favor cross-dressing as well. On the other end of the social scale, the French Chevalier d'Eon (1728–1810) became the eighteenth century's most celebrated and well-known male-to-female cross-dresser, and the Jacobite Pretender Bonnie Prince Charlie (Charles Edward, 1720–1788) seems to have cross-dressed as well.

Though sumptuary laws prohibited cross-dressing on the street, transvestism was a theatrical convention in Europe during the Renaissance because many laws prohibited women on the stage through the seventeenth century. Shakespeare's Juliet was played by a boy actor, as were Desdemona and Ophelia. In church music, women's vocal ranges were traditionally appropriated by boys and castrati (castrated male singers), constituting a kind of auditory—and sometimes visible—theatrical transvestism. Castrati such as Farinelli (1705–1782) became superstars in their day, with their extraordinary soprano voices in demand throughout Europe. The baroque castrati and the Victorian operatic “trouser role,” where women played male characters ranging from Mozart's baroque Cherubino to Strauss's modern Octavian, carried the long-established theatrical tradition of *en travesti* into the twentieth century, and this tradition helps explain why theatrical drag, or transvestism staged as

theater, is generally more tolerated than public street transvestism.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century insurgents in Scotland, Ireland, and England featured men dressed as women. In the United States, women dressed as men fought in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, some as decorated officers. Two nightclubs in Chicago, the Roselle Club and the Twelve-thirty Club, were closed down by police in the 1930s because they contained too many women in men's clothes. Famous twentieth-century passing women include Billy Tipton, a well-known jazz pianist and saxophonist who began passing as a man in 1933 and was only revealed to be biologically female at his death in 1989.

CONTEMPORARY TRANSVESTISM

Transvestites are tolerated in liberal urban areas in most of the world, or wherever gender-variant people are allowed to express themselves. Outside of this, cross-dressers flourish where a religious or cultural tradition of cross-dressing retains a strong influence. Transvestite presence in religious ceremonies is still evident in western Africa, and cross-dressing features in religions derived from west-African religions in Brazil and Haiti. Male-to-female shamans are reported in Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Columbia, and transgendered figures still perform religious ceremonies in Indonesia, India, Korea, and Vietnam. Female-to-male crossdressers also serve as priests among the Zulu in Africa and among the native peoples of the Arctic Basin, including the Inuit, Chukchi, Kamchadal, and Koryak.

In India and Pakistan, castrated and uncastrated transvestites known as *hijras* make their living begging, dancing at weddings, serving as prostitutes, and participating in religious festivals. *Hijra* is a third sex category that collapses hermaphrodite, eunuch, impotent man, male-to-female cross-dresser, and, in some cases, homosexual, into one category. While *hijras* remain on the lowest rungs of society, their cultural intelligibility secures them a role and a measure of tolerance in both Hindu and Muslim Indian and Pakistani cultures. Not all *hijras* undergo castration, but those that do are sometimes said to enjoy greater status in *hijra* society.

In Brazil, *travestis* are males who adopt female clothing and hairstyles, names, and linguistic pronouns, sometimes from a very young age. They take black market female hormones, and inject industrial silicone into their bodies to create prominent breasts, hips, thighs, and buttocks. Despite this, virtually no travesti identifies himself as a woman, and look upon any male who does so as mentally unstable.

In the twenty-first century, films such as *Beautiful Boxer* (2003), the true story of transsexual Thai kickboxer Parinya Charoenphol (Nong Toom), have purportedly

helped create a greater tolerance for transvestism and gender variance in Thai culture. The film's tag line is "He fights like a man so he can become a woman." Nong Toom was famous for wearing makeup in the ring to enrage his opponents, and his transvestism was considered a publicity stunt until he made public his desire for a sex-change operation.

In Europe and the United States, transvestism is tolerated wherever sex-variant behavior is accepted, which usually means large urban centers. However, a lively network of private transvestite social clubs exists all over the world, which is especially advantageous to the many heterosexual transvestites who do not live near a large city. Cross-dressing conventions, outings, and holidays take place all through the year and can be accessed on the bulletin boards of many cross-dressing societies on the Internet. In the United States, drag balls have a history going back to early plantation society, and drag balls have been held in major U.S. cities for most of the twentieth century. The drag balls and voguing houses of Harlem received special attention with the distribution of Jennie Livingston's film *Paris is Burning* in 1990, but drag balls continue to be held all over the United States, Canada, and Mexico as independent productions and under the aegis of the Imperial Court System, an organization founded in San Francisco in 1965 that now has more than sixty chapters and sponsors drag ball fundraisers all over North America.

Some cross-dressers have attained lasting mainstream celebrity status, and drag events such as New York City's Wigstock have become yearly extravaganzas. The vocal performer and actor RuPaul Charles, who appears as both a man and a woman in film acting roles and television guest spots, exploits the theatrical aspect of female impersonation and is widely accepted across the country as a media star in drag in a way he might not be in person in a small town. Wigstock, a summer drag festival started in 1985 as an impromptu performance in Tompkins Square Park by several revelers from the nearby Pyramid Club, grew so big it had to be moved first to Union Square Park, then to the Christopher Street piers. Originally a drag tribute to the original Woodstock music festival, the event has gotten bigger, glitzier, and more commercial every year, with upwards of 50,000 revelers gathering for what is billed as the largest transvestite festival in the world. Wigstock was immortalized in 1987 in a film by Tom Rubnitz and again in a much bigger 1995 documentary of the same name directed by Barry Shils, and now has its own website. Its best known performers include drag personalities and performance artists Leigh Bowery, the Lady Bunny, Ethyl Eichelberger, RuPaul, Lypsinka, Boy George, Dorian Corey, and Varla Jean Merman.

SEE ALSO *Transgender*.

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Jaime Hovey

TRIBADISM, HISTORICAL

Tribadism in contemporary terminology designates female same-sex practices involving genital rubbing or penetration. The term entered English through the French *tribade*, derived from the Latin *tribas*, a direct transliteration of Greek τριβάς, from Greek τριβειν, "to rub." In a parallel development to the Greek source, the French term *fricatrice* derived from the Latin *fricatix*. Colloquial English in the Renaissance often used the term *rubster* for tribade.

Early constructions of tribadism, for example in ancient Greek society, linked the act to a masculinized woman who penetrated a woman or a man using a dildo, or who herself had an enlarged clitoris. Romans often attributed such behavior back to the Greeks, beginning a tradition that would construct the tribade as Other. In an epigram, the first-century-BCE Latin poet Martial categorizes the courtesan Philaenis as "*tribadum tribas*" (famous among all tribades) and refers to her penetrating both females and males. Later antiquity would narrow the scope and limit tribadism to female homoerotic relations.

Any attempt to understand the construction of female same-sex relations in Western culture must look closely at the Renaissance. With the revival of classical literature and discovery of lost texts during that period, the practice of tribadism became more widely known to those men who could read Latin. In his *Apologie d'Hérodote* (1566), the celebrated humanist printer Henri Estienne (1531–1598) first used the term in a contrastive paradigm: a cross-dressed woman who lived as a man and married was not the same as those "shameful

creatures" earlier known as tribades. Estienne thus establishes a model that foregrounds the distinction ultimately based on women who usurp male social roles and women who also usurp male sexual roles. The intention of simulating a male sexual role becomes linked to tribadism, distinguishing it from the neutral etymological meaning of rubbing. Thus, although Brantôme (c. 1540–1614) in his *Vie des dames galantes* (Fair and gallant ladies, 1665–1666) may exhibit some ambiguity in his definitions, his description of the *tribade* or *fricatrice* reinforces a specific gender role. Tribades are the active "male" gendered partner. The problematic, at least in terms of a French linguistic context, is that *tribade* becomes linked to a sexual practice that focuses on only one half of the female couple. Frequently sixteenth-century sources also associated tribadism with the non-Christian Other, locating the most widespread occurrences of the practice in the Middle East or Africa.

The question of the clitoris and its role in tribadism preoccupies medical texts. This is evident first through the 1573 treatise *Des monstres et prodiges* (On monsters and marvels) of French surgeon Ambroise Paré (1510–1590), and in English through, for example, Helkiah Crooke's *Microcosmographia* (1615), which stated that an enlarged clitoris would cause unnatural desires and designated those women as tribades. The anatomical feature that assimilated them to male-sexual practices (penetration), then, defined tribades. Unlike Egyptian and Ethiopian women who were cited as all having an enlarged clitoris, European women only rarely suffered from this disorder. Tribadism then became rooted in a specific anatomical attribute that engendered same-sex desire. Despite its close association with anatomy, tribadism did not exclude the use of a dildo for penetration. Thus, a parallel existed between those women whose anatomy made them tribades and those women who supplemented the "defect of their sex," to use the description of essayist Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). Tribadism, then, centered on the woman acting the sexual role of a man.

As tribadism became more widely known, the tribade became a figure signifying uncontrollable female desire and a threat to the stable order of society. Legal proceedings multiplied. The crime of female sodomy privileged the hypertrophic clitoris as the locus of presumed guilt. The discourse constructing the tribade marked her out anatomically from other women. Although linked with a specific attribute throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the term *tribade* was often also used interchangeably with other terms. Anatomical variance and gender variance were subsumed into *hermaphrodite* (which could also indicate a male with homoerotic desires). Other terms such as "female husband" highlighted an early vision of the "mannish" woman. As medical science continued to develop in the eighteenth century, the insistence on an enlarged clitoris as the source

for same-sex desire began to diminish. Further, distinctions between hermaphroditism and hypertrophy of the clitoris, built upon earlier definitions, began to be more clearly delineated. Tribadism then was categorized as a particular erotic practice—genital rubbing—and not an identity linked to an anatomical type.

Tribadism persisted as a term used in legal proceedings and medical texts, as well as pornography. In the well-known Scottish libel case of 1811, Jane Pirie and Marianne Woods were accused of tribadism. Denis Diderot (1713–1784) denounced the corruption of the Catholic Church, incarnated in the figure of the tribade mother superior in *La religieuse* (The nun, 1760). In the years preceding the French Revolution of 1789, political satire distributed in salacious pamphlets accused Marie Antoinette (1755–1793) of tribadism. By the mid-nineteenth century, partially as a result of changes brought about in society through the industrial revolution, tribadism was frequently associated with women of the lower class, prostitutes, and criminals. Colonialism also reintroduced the notion of tribadism as a non-Western practice.

In the late nineteenth century, the definition of female homoeroticism espoused by sexologists, psychologists, and criminologists drifted away from one of a woman with an enlarged clitoris toward a reconfiguration involving psychosexual sources. An earlier notion of anatomical destiny was discarded and replaced by the modern psychological discourse that constructs the clitoris as the lack of a penis. *Tribade* was supplanted by terms such as “invert,” “sapphist,” or “(mannish) lesbian.” The “mannish lesbian,” embodied by author Radclyffe Hall (1880–1943), may have shared a gender role with the tribade, but the tribade’s origin was rooted in a distinct vision of the female anatomy. The uneasy relation of the tribade to the modern lesbian points to questions of lesbian identity, raised in Judith Halberstam’s *Female Masculinity* (1998).

The linkage between anatomy and tribadism was no longer in place in twentieth- and twenty-first-century lesbian culture. Rather, *tribadism* refers to the act of genital rubbing and clitoral stimulation. A range of English colloquial terms from “scissoring” to “bumping donuts” to “making tortillas” all denote the act of tribadism.

SEE ALSO *Lesbianism*.

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TRIBADISM, MODERN

Tribadism is an archaic term for lesbianism or female homosexuality, and describes sexual activity between women. Tribade used to be a synonym for lesbian. The word comes from and is spelled the same in French, and the French word derives from the Latin *tribas*, which is a translation of a nearly identical Greek word meaning *to rub*. In ancient Greek the term described a woman using a dildo on herself or someone—anyone—else. The fact that her partner could be male or female suggests that tribadism described a phallic sexuality on the part of a woman, and that several practices could fall under this category.

In English the word appears in Ben Jonson’s poem *The Forest* (1601), and describes a type of sexual being, a tribade, that the speaker suggests can furnish new sexual experiences. The fascination with tribades included the myth that lesbians had enlarged clitorises that could penetrate other women. Tribades were often described as beings with a female *member*, thus giving them a kinship to hermaphrodites. Tribade in French eighteenth-century texts is translated for English readers as *woman-lover*, and William King defines *tribad* in his 1732 satire *The Toast* as a woman who loved women. This description is telling because it suggests that the term was doing the work of making lesbian sex intelligible by defining it as some kind of imitation of heterosexual intercourse. Marie Antoinette was accused of tribadism, among other things, with other aristocratic ladies of her circle, as a way of discrediting her. Tribadism was also sometimes referred to as female sodomy.

In the twentieth century the definition of tribadism narrowed from describing general lesbian practices not confined to penetration with clitorises or dildos to the specific practice of rubbing the clitoris against another woman’s genitals or thighs as a way of receiving, and giving, sexual stimulation. This practice was called *dyking*, *friction*, and *banging* by lesbians in the 1950s. It was once the only form of sexuality many lesbians practiced. Since 1965 tribadism has referred almost exclusively to women rubbing their genitals together, and the practice was sometimes frowned on by lesbian-feminists in the

1960s and 1970s as an imitation of heterosexuality. The popularity of oral sex among lesbians and heterosexual women from the 1960s onward, and the surge in dildo and vibrator use in the 1990s among all women, relegated tribadism to the shadows as an old-fashioned or even immature form of sexual stimulation. Tribadism in the early twenty-first century is known as *humping* or *scissoring*, and is enjoying a resurgence among lesbians and heterosexual women alike, largely because of increased interest in female sexual pleasure in the wake of the Sexual Revolution, the women's movement, and 1990s sex radicalisms. It is often mentioned in sex manuals, and is sustained as a concept in popular cultural consciousness by the success of bands such as Scissor Sisters. The term can also be used as a verb—*tribbing*—that refers to clitoral stimulation with any partner by rubbing.

SEE ALSO *Lesbianism*.

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TRICHOMONAS

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases*.

TROJAN WOMEN

The Trojan Women, in mythology, are the royal women of Troy (Hecuba/Hekabe, Andromache, Cassandra/Alexandra, Polyxena) and their female subjects—all of whom are devastated by the sack of their city and loss of their men in the Trojan War. They become innocent victims of a war fought over another woman, Menelaus's wife, Helen, who was abducted by Hecuba's son Paris/Alexandros. Homer's *Iliad* foreshadows their fate when Nestor exhorts each Greek to return home only after "he beds down with a faithful Trojan wife, payment in full for the groans and shocks of war . . . borne for Helen" (2.355–356); later, Agamemnon tells Menelaus to leave no Trojan male alive, not even the "baby boy still in his mother's belly" (Fagles's translation, 6.58–59).

During the Peloponnesian War, Euripides dramatized the enslavement of Troy's remaining population in his tragedies *Trojan Women* and *Hecuba*, which together inspired Seneca's *Trojan Women* (mid-first century CE). From victims of slaughter and rape to advocates, seers, denouncers, and enactors of revenge, the women, especially Hecuba, paint a complex picture of gender roles and scripts within the narrative of devastation and loss. Hecuba stands at the center of Euripides's *Trojan Women* (415 BCE). Troy's queen, wife of Priam, and mother of numerous ill-fated children, Hecuba not only lost her sons Hector and Paris in the ten-year siege but saw Priam butchered during Troy's capture (cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.506–558). In *Trojan Women*, she learns that her daughter Polyxena was sacrificed at Achilles's tomb; that her grandson Astyanax, Hector's child by Andromache, will be thrown from the walls of Troy; and that she herself has become slave to the despicable Odysseus. Despite her losses, however, Hecuba consoles and counsels family and subjects. Though shamed by the ravings of her daughter Cassandra, priestess and accursed prophet of Apollo, Hecuba attempts to soothe her as Cassandra correctly predicts that her enforced "marriage" to Agamemnon will ensure his death at the cost of her own (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1072–1447). Hecuba urges her daughter-in-law Andromache to win the affection of Neoptolemus, who chose her as concubine, by retaining her celebrated "wifely" virtues in hope of a brighter future. (In Euripides's *Andromache* [c. 426 BCE], Andromache later bears him a son. After Neoptolemus's death, she marries Hector's brother Helenus; then, according to Pausanias [1.11.1–2], returns to Asia Minor with Pergamus, founder of Pergamum and her son by Neoptolemus.) In front of Menelaus, Hecuba challenges her daughter-in-law Helen to debate the cause of the war. Helen blames everyone but herself, even Hecuba, who while pregnant with Paris had dreamt she would bear the firebrand igniting Troy (see Euripides's fragmentary *Alexandros*, 415 BCE). In response, Hecuba demonstrates Helen's lust and greed so successfully that Menelaus promises to execute her (but cannot). Hecuba buries Astyanax, laments as Troy is set afire, and courageously boards the Greek ships with the other Trojan women.

In Euripides's *Hecuba* (c. 424 BCE), Hecuba never reaches Ithaca. On the Thracian coast, the ghost of Hecuba's youngest son, Polydorus, informs her that he was slain by Troy's former ally, Polymestor, in whose care both he and treasure had been entrusted. After Polydorus's corpse is discovered, Agamemnon lets Hecuba meet privately with the treacherous king: she and her Trojan women murder Polymestor's sons, then blind him. Euripides ends his (apparently invented) tale of crime and revenge by predicting Hecuba's transformation into a howling bitch drowned at sea (1259–1273). Whether Euripides's innovation or not, her metamorphosis



A Fresco Painting Depicting the Rape of Cassandra. © MIMMO JODICE/CORBIS.

emphasizes both a savage defense of her young and the dehumanizing effects of war. The association between Hecuba's grave and Cynossema ("Dog's Tomb"), a sailors' landmark opposite Troy, suggests some relationship between Hecuba/Hekabe and Hekate—the dreaded Anatolian goddess linked with dogs, fish, ghosts, and the protection of children.

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UMOJA

Umoja, which means unity in Swahili, has historically inspired cultural nationalism, political protest, and local women organizing for social change. Contemporary Umoja is an all-women-run village in Samburu, a remote area in northern Kenya that was established in 1990 by fifteen women chased away by their husbands. These men claimed that their wives' rape by British soldiers stationed in nearby Archer's Post had dishonored them, their families, and their communities.

Led by the assertive Rebecca Lolosoli, the women settled on an abandoned plot of dry grassland where they built dung-and-mud plaster huts in a circle, symbolizing solidarity and empowerment. They declared their community a Violence-Against-Women-Free Zone and engaged in income-generating projects, including a traditional beadwork business, a cultural center, and a camping site for tourists visiting the adjacent Samburu National Reserve. Umoja village gradually expanded, as more women escaping patriarchal abuses found refuge there, took control of their lives, and sent their children to school. Their leader proudly notes, "We've seen so many changes in these women. They're healthier and happier. They dress well. They used to have to beg. Now, they're the ones giving out food to others" (Lacey 2004).

Since Umoja women only admit into their safe haven the select men who will follow their rules, local elders established a men-only village nearby to spy on the women and monitor their activities. The men also started a tourist center that was unsuccessful. Disgruntled, they have resorted to physical attacks and violent attempts to steal the women's cows, filed a court case seeking to shut

down Umoja village, and even sent death threats to the female leader. The male village chief charged: "She's questioning our very culture. . . . The man is the head; the lady is the neck. A man cannot take let's call it advice, from his neck" (Wax 2005).

The Umoja story highlights the persistent and pervasive violence against women, from local cultural patriarchy to global militarism. Faced with an inaccessible state legal system, the multiply abused women mobilized to reclaim their right to a life free of poverty, discrimination, and violence. They have relentlessly fought back for their dignity and integrity, bringing a case against the British military for raping more than 1,400 Samburu women during the 1980s and 1990s. Umoja leaders offer human rights education to combat HIV/AIDS; female circumcision; forced marriage; and sexual, domestic, and other forms of violence. The Umoja Uaso Women's Group, a member of the Indigenous Information Network in Kenya, is part of a national movement working towards women's human rights. Draft legislation introduced in Parliament would grant women the right to refuse forced marriage proposals, to fight sexual harassment, to reject genital cuttings, and to prosecute rape. The Umoja women's innovative model is being replicated in other communities and has resonated beyond the continent.

The Umoja institution is rooted in traditions of indigenous African women organizing for collective action, such as woman-woman marriage (Njambi and O'Brien 2005), women's secret societies (Steady 2006), the Igbo *Inyom Nnobi* (the collective of all adult Nnobi women and also the name for the women's council)(Amadiume 1987), and the Basaa *Yum* (indigenous women mobilizing

and organizing rooted in ancestral cultures of solidarity) (Ngo-Ngijol Banoum 2005). Women-centered grassroots organizations that fought local patriarchy became vehicles for nationalist struggles against colonial powers, as illustrated by the Igbo Women's War in 1929, the Kom women's rebellion of 1958–1961 (Van Allen 1976), the Basaa women's uprising in 1958, and others.

Umoja women have transformed female consciousness through their survival spirit, resourcefulness, and networking, thereby creating new avenues for public expression, political participation, and feminist leadership. They reclaim indigenous feminist cultures and global feminist practice grounded in the specificities of rural and other localized women. Umoja offers a feminist model that connects local knowledge bases, grassroots-global networking, national and international laws, to effectively protect women's human rights.

SEE ALSO *Africa: I. History; Colonialism; Feminism: I. African (Sub-Saharan); Rape; Violence.*

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Bertrade Ngo-Ngijol Banoum

URANIANS

Uranian refers to those who belong to an intermediate or "third sex," a gender somewhere between male and female. *Uranism* means homosexuality. Coined by the German lawyer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in 1862, these terms referred to nearly all of those groups considered

gay or queer in the early twenty-first century: male homosexuals, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered persons. The root of the word refers to Aphrodite Urania, a Greek goddess who, in Plato's *Symposium*, is argued to inspire a more heavenly love in which men are attracted to one another. Ulrichs thought that gayness was natural and that homosexuality was therefore neither pathological nor criminal. His ideas formed the basis for Magnus Hirschfeld's later attempts to establish that homosexuality is an innate predisposition. The term was also borrowed by a contemporaneous school of poets writing about idealized homosexual love.

Ulrichs was likely the first modern-day defender of homosexuality. Forced out of the German civil service for his open homosexuality, he began to write and publicly argue for the social acceptance of homosexuals in German culture. Ulrichs came out to his family in a letter, and in the early 1860s, he published several volumes under the pseudonym Numa Numantius, including *Vindex* (Vindicator) and *Vindicta* (Rod of freedom), that treated homosexuality openly and positively. His books were banned, first in Saxony, where a temporary lifting of the ban was seen by Ulrichs as the first gay victory, then in all of Prussia. Ulrichs got into increasing difficulties as the Prussian government took over; he was imprisoned several times and finally left Prussia altogether.

Hirschfeld, a German Jewish homosexual medical doctor, took up Ulrichs's idea of the Uranian third sex, trying, through his writings and research, to depathologize homosexuality, which was then considered a mental disease, and to make it an acceptable part of mainstream society. Hirschfeld was most interested in respectability. To that end, then, he wanted to show to the public at large how homosexual citizens were very much like everyone else—moral, patriotic, and industrious. Describing homosexual culture in Berlin, Hirschfeld's *Berlins drittes Geschlecht* (1904; Berlin's third sex), written for the general public, tries to show that homosexuals, like everyone else, enjoy triumphs, weather sorrows, and have committed relationships. Hirschfeld also published case studies of transvestites. Contemporary theorists Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Sigmund Freud both read and generally agreed with Hirschfeld's ideas, though others thought that Hirschfeld's psychologizing of homosexuals was only a first step in a larger liberation as fully normal.

The name "Uranian" was also adopted by a group of late-Victorian British and American poets, including John Barford, Edwin Bradford, John Nicholson, William Alexander Percy, and Charles Sayle, whose work celebrated the love of men for boys. Platonic and restrained, the love celebrated by this poetry was less erotic than idealized.

The term Uranian came to stand for the ideas both of homosexuals as differently gendered than others and of

the condition of homosexuality as congenital. Later gay rights activists sometimes saw these characterizations as irrelevant or even demeaning. The term fell out of use with the coming of more aggressive forms of gay activism after the Stonewall riots of 1969.

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Judith Roof

UTERUS

The uterus, or womb, is situated in the female pelvic cavity in front of the colon and behind the bladder. It is a pear-shaped organ that is linked to the vagina by the cervix. Its upper part has a tube on each side, the Fallopian tubes, through which eggs released from the ovaries travel to the uterus. The function of the uterus is to provide a place within which a fertilized egg (zygote) can develop safely into a child.

A hollow but muscular structure about three to four inches in length, the uterus has a lining of tissue, the endometrium, that changes in response to the monthly hormonal cycles of menstruation. These cycles have three stages. During the first part of the cycle, the proliferative stage, the uterus is affected by ovarian hormones such as estrogen, which effect an increase of blood flow to the uterus, causing the uterine lining to build up in preparation for a potential zygote. The second stage, the secretory stage, occurs during ovulation when the ovary releases its egg. During this stage the uterus is affected by secretions of the hormone progesterone, which stimulates the secretion of material that nourishes sperm and aids a potential pregnancy. If a zygote is not implanted, the third stage, the menstrual stage, begins. The ovaries cease their hormone production, blood flow lessens, and the uterine lining breaks down and is shed with the unfertilized egg as the material that constitutes a menstrual period.

If a fertilized egg becomes embedded in the uterus, a pregnancy ensues. The uterus begins to change to accommodate the growing fetus. It stretches continuously to make room for the developing child, increasing from a weight of about three ounces to two pounds. The fetus is linked to the uterus through an umbilical cord. At birth the strong musculature of the uterus contracts, forcing the infant out through the cervix and vagina. After the birth the uterus shrinks back to its normal size in about a month.

The uterus is less exposed to infection or injury than is the vagina or cervix, but inserting foreign objects into the uterus, as occasionally happens in attempts to induce an abortion, can cause serious tears, infections, and scarring. A method of birth control called an intrauterine device (IUD) consists of a piece of copper or plastic inserted into the uterus to prevent pregnancies. IUDs prevent pregnancy by interfering with the circulation of sperm.

The uterus may be affected by noncancerous growths called fibroid tumors, which grow on uterine walls, or by cysts. Occasionally the uterine lining begins to grow in places other than inside the uterus. This condition, which is called endometriosis, can cause pain, internal bleeding, and adhesions. The uterus may be affected by infections that begin in the vagina as a part of pelvic inflammatory disease.

Although the presence of the uterus has long been known, for many centuries it was believed that the womb migrates through the body, causing odd behaviors and strange symptoms. Called hysteria, based on the Greek word for womb, *hyster*, the disease, which was thought to be exclusively suffered by women, occupied psychiatrists in the nineteenth century. Hysteria was one of the conditions first addressed by psychoanalysis.

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V

VAGINA

In human beings the vagina links the external female genitals (the vulva and labia) to the internal reproductive organs. Extending approximately four inches from the vulva to the cervix, the vagina is a muscular canal that extends both upward and back toward the spine when a woman is standing. The opening of the vagina is at the back end of the vulva, behind the urethral opening and in front of the anus. The vagina is lined with mucous membranes and is wrinkled and pink. It expands to accommodate objects larger than itself, such as a penis, a tampon, or a baby. The mucous membranes that line the vagina are slippery because they are lubricated by glands called Bartholin's glands, which are near the vaginal opening and the cervix. Lubrication makes it easier for objects to move in and out of the vagina. The entrance to the vagina also has many nerve endings, which provide pleasurable sensations when touched. There is another sensitive area inside the vagina, called the G-spot or Grafenburg spot, that sometimes can be reached by fingers pressing upward inside the vagina. The vaginas of some women are partially covered by a membrane called the hymen, which can be ruptured during sexual intercourse or by medical examinations, some kinds of strenuous exercise, or the insertion of objects.

The vagina has several functions. It serves as the channel through which menstrual fluids leave the uterus each month. It is the orifice through which babies are born unless the mother has the child by means of a cesarean section (surgery that opens the uterus through the stomach). Babies born through the vagina experience

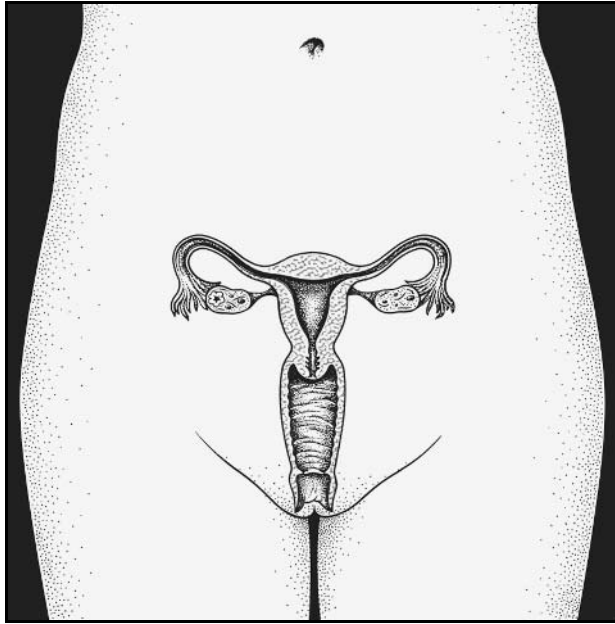
a "vaginal birth." It is a site of sexual pleasure for many women because of stimulation of the nerve endings near the vaginal opening and the G-spot. Some women experience pleasure from the sensation of having the vagina filled.

The vagina usually keeps itself clean through the balanced environment of the microorganisms that typically inhabit it. If the balance of the vagina's environment is upset, it can be infected with yeasts and other microorganisms that produce discharge, itching, and irritation called vaginitis. Doctors examine the vagina during a pelvic examination, taking a smear of cells called a Pap smear that tests for unusual cells from the cervix and other tissue that might indicate cancer.

Culturally, the term *vagina* often is used to refer to female genitalia in general even though the vagina constitutes only a part of the genitalia. Often considered merely a complement to the penis, the vagina is depicted as both desiring and unaccommodating or "frigid." Unlike the penis, the vagina rarely figures as anything more than a hole or receptacle. Jokes circulate about the desirability of small or tight vaginas. Recently, plastic surgeons have developed procedures for tightening the vagina, with the idea that such tightening will increase the pleasure of heterosexual intercourse.

In response to the denigration of the vagina, the feminist playwright Eve Ensler composed a play, *The Vagina Monologues* (1996), that features women talking about their sexual experiences and vaginal pleasures.

SEE ALSO *Genitals, Female.*



Female Reproductive Organs. An illustration of female reproductive organs. The vagina (lower center) is a muscular canal leading up to the uterus (center). JOHN BAVOSI/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

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VAGINITIS

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases*.

VAMPIRES

In encountering the vampire, we experience the fullest range of feeling expressed in any literary text or cultural production that deals with sexuality and gender. Desire, fear, denial, and criminality all are evoked. The vampire of folklore was a corpse that crawled from the grave to feed on the living, an expression of our fear of death and the dead; it could be male or female and was devoid of sexual charge.

THE LITERARY BACKGROUND

It was only when an obscure doctor named John Polidori met the famous bisexual poet Lord Byron and the two entered into a horror-story competition with Mary Shelley (the author of *Frankenstein*) in 1816 in the context of a literary tradition—the Gothic—that was saturated in sexual dread, the vampire as it is understood in the modern era came into being. Polidori's "The Vampire" (1819) initiated a nineteenth-century literary tradition that included both the subpornographic penny dreadful *Varney the Vampire* (1847) and Sheridan Le Fanu's haunting "Carmilla" (1872), a lesbian vampire love story, before reaching its peak in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897).

THE STORY

Dracula opens with the journey of the lawyer's clerk Jonathan Harker to Transylvania to handle Count Dracula's purchase of an estate near London. Trapped and terrified, Harker realizes the count's (homosexual) interest in sucking his blood and then his own "wicked desire" that Dracula's three monstrous "brides" will "kiss" him with their "red lips" (Stoker 1977, p. 42). After escaping he immediately marries his fiancée, a competent, typewriting trainee teacher named Mina, as if to wipe himself clean of sexually incriminating experience.

Shortly before these developments Mina's friend Lucy Westenra—spoiled, rich, and flirtatious—reports her own betrothal to the aristocrat Arthur Holmwood. He proposed, Lucy reveals, on the same day as two other suitors: the asylum director Dr. Seward and the Texan adventurer Quincey Morris. Mina accompanies Lucy to the seaside, where—shortly after Dracula, in the form of a wolf, leaps ashore from a derelict foreign ship—Lucy falls into an unaccountable pattern of nightly sleepwalking.

After returning home, Lucy wastes away, voluptuously. Dr. Seward sends for his old mentor, Professor Van Helsing, who orders immediate blood transfusions from Arthur, then Seward, then Morris, and finally Van Helsing himself until "the blood of four strong men" is in her veins (Stoker 1997, p. 138). Yet every night it is drained away by Dracula, who comes to her window in the form of a bat.

Lucy dies—apparently. However, shortly afterward a beautiful lady is reported abducting and biting children. It is Lucy: She is undead, a vampire. The four men track her to her tomb, where they drive "a round wooden stake, some two and a half or three inches thick and about three feet long" (Stoker 1997, p. 190) into her body and decapitate her, thus "set[ting] her free" (Stoker 1997, p. 191).

The hunt is on to save London—and civilization—from Dracula. Combining forces with Harker and Mina, the four men force the vampire to flee, but not before he enacts an obscene ritual of union with Mina that is strongly reminiscent of breast-feeding, opening a vein in his chest and forcing her to drink. They track the vampire across Europe and decapitate him just before he returns to the safety of Castle Dracula. That act of symbolic castration restores the “unclean” Mina to purity.

MODERN INTERPRETATIONS

Although Stoker disclaimed all interest in “sex impulses” (Farson 1976), his novel has rightly been described as “a vast polymorphic perverse bisexual oral-anal genital sado-masochistic timeless orgy” (Maurice Richardson, quoted in Farson 1976, p. 211). Its suggestive fecundity has spawned a proliferating family of literary, theatrical, and filmic productions that range from F. W. Murnau’s German expressionist silent film *Nosferatu* (1922), the ancestor of all horror movies, to Anne Rice’s best-selling forays into ersatz New Orleans decadence. Together these texts constitute a modern mythology of perverse, queer, and sadistic sexuality.

Dracula’s inexhaustibility has also depended on repression, both Stoker’s and his culture: It talks about sex without talking about it, depending heavily on what Freud, who was formulating his theories of sexuality as Stoker was writing, called displacement: biting teeth for penetrating penis, neck for breast, mouth for vagina, vampire contagion for incest and masturbation (the count, Harker notices, has hairy palms like the textbook Victorian self-abuser), and so on. Supernaturalism has a further sanitizing effect, but death is the greatest alibi of the story, allowing entry into the bedroom and emphasis on the body. The novel also participates in the ancient association of sexual climax and death (in French, an orgasm is termed *le petit mort*, “the little death”).

Vampiric eternal life—undead persistence—depends not only on a fatal act of (sexual) penetration but on blood, in a blasphemous parody of the Christian Eucharist. However, the vampire’s blood dependence is also animal, producing, like the count’s ability to take animal shape, a strong suggestion of bestiality. As Judith Halberstam (1995) notes, Dracula embodies a monstrous, threatening sexuality. And the blood the vampire craves is alternately figured as female and male.

In *Dracula* as in Victorian pornography generally, female sexual experience is imagined as a bitterly painful “ordeal” (Stoker 1997, p. 191): a rape and a defloration. A defloration demands blood, both as proof of the woman’s virginity (and thus of exclusive male possession) and as the visible mark of sadistic pleasure. Most disturbingly, in this novel, revealing the depth of its misogyny and sexual sad-



Interview with the Vampire. Tom Cruise as the vampire Lestat. © FRANÇOIS DUHAMEL/SYGMA/CORBIS.

ism, female blood flows most freely not when Dracula bites but when Lucy’s fiancé, Arthur, drives his three-foot stake, the monstrous penis of male fantasy, through her body, which “shook and quivered and twisted in wild contortions, . . . whilst the blood . . . spurted up around it” (Stoker 1997, p. 192) to the accompaniment of her screams.

Stoker may or may not have been inspired by lurid historical accounts of Elizabeth Bathory, a fifteenth-century countess who bathed in the blood of her female servants, though he was aware of her distant relation, the sadistic Vlad Tepes, the “Impaler,” a model for Dracula. Stoker certainly knew about a recent scandalous exposé of the London sex trade that revealed not only that a man could buy a virgin for the purposes of bloody defloration but also that he could rent a soundproofed room in which to enjoy her screams safely. Sadism is the prevailing mood and rape is the paradigmatic action of the vampire myth; both are inherited from Victorian culture. Both are also critical to the “slasher” and horror genres

generally, showing how large and dark a shadow *Dracula* has thrown over the modern sexual imagination. The twentieth-century tabloid press certainly recognized this heritage in dubbing the 1920s German serial killer Fritz Haarmann, who sometimes ate his victims, the “Hanover Vampire” and John Haigh, who admitted to drinking his victims’ blood in the 1940s, the “London Vampire.”

Blood, however, is coded male as well as female. The scene of Mina at Dracula’s breast not only stages infantile sexuality but resembles oral sex. As Freud’s disciple Ernest Jones wrote: “In the unconscious mind blood is commonly an equivalent for semen” (Barreca 1990, p. 55); Mina is being forced to swallow the vampire’s ejaculate. The transfusion of blood into Lucy’s exhausted body thus also is revealed as a sex act: “no man knows till he experiences it,” as Dr Seward says, “what it is to feel his own life-blood drawn away into the veins of the woman he loves” (Stoker 1997, p. 119).

The Lucy who is raped, the text posits, is not the real Lucy but an undead “Thing” (Stoker 1997, p. 192). Or one might say that there are two Lucys in *Dracula*: the pure virgin “Angel in the house” of Victorian gender ideology and her opposite, the whore. The novel lies about this, of course Lucy feels desire long before she encounters Dracula, and her pity for her disappointed suitors expresses itself as nymphomania: “Why can’t they let a girl marry three men?” (Stoker 1997, p. 60). The novel also is deceptive about the desirability of the dependent domestic “Angel”: Hostile images of woman as vampire, sapping man’s vitality (economic as well as sexual), abounded at the end of the nineteenth century. A bitter poem by Kipling, for example, inspired the Hollywood “vamp” of the 1910s.

In Lucy’s vampire/whore state her white gown is stained with blood, not only symbolically the blood of sexual experience but also the blood of the children on whom she has preyed. Thus, in *Dracula* murderous rape becomes necessary to social health, because, Victorians believed, sexual women are necessarily monstrous mothers. Moreover, in focusing on the feminine Lucy and the more masculine Mina, who strongly resembles the “New Woman” of the end of that century to the detriment of the supposed central character, *Dracula* both participates in the backlash that followed women’s emergence into the public sphere and admits a more primal fear of female sexuality and the female body: The vampire mouth is a *vagina dentata*, a female orifice with teeth.

FEMALE FANTASIES

The mythology Stoker and his predecessors precipitated has allowed some space for female fantasy. Some of that fantasy is lesbian and/or bisexual and intermittently liberatory: Le Fanu’s Carmilla is a desired lover as well as a feared monster. She is also, it turns out, the heroine,

Laura’s, maternal ancestor; for Le Fanu vampire contagion has an exclusively matrilineal descent. In Hammer Production’s unabashedly sapphic *Vampire Lovers* (1970) lingering shots of the nude Carmilla (alluringly embodied by Ingrid Pitt) enable her seduction not of her nubile innocent victim but of the viewer. The horror specialist Hammer had moved from a merely luridly colorful to an overtly soft-core aesthetic with *The Countess Dracula* (also 1970, with Pitt as a vampiric version of Countess Bathory). Regardless of orientation, the Hammer vampire is a welcoming threat.

Some of the fantasy is masochistic or driven by cultural repression: vamping as a rape fantasy. There were traces of the vampire as a desired male seducer in Polidori’s Lord Ruthven (based on Byron), but he was essentially the creation of Hamilton Deane, whose 1924 *Dracula: The Vampire Play* transformed Stoker’s story into a drawing-room mystery melodrama and thus created the count of Halloween tradition, swathed in his impeccable evening cape (the cape was originally a stage prop; behind its folds and upright collar the count could “disappear”). The Hungarian immigrant Bela Lugosi’s exotic good looks and stilted phonetic delivery gave the role a frisson of foreign eroticism; he repeated it in Tod Browning’s 1931 Universal film production, the overheated publicity for which flamboyantly fetishized Lugosi/Dracula’s sexually hypnotic gaze. The film unleashed a torrent of fan mail. That is one reason why, though Lugosi resented his eventual entrapment in camp self-parody, he was buried in 1956 in cape and full Dracula makeup. Frank Langella’s Dracula as seducer (stage 1977, film 1979)—sophisticated, fangless, and never seen with blood on his face—was the antithesis of Max Schreck’s Count in Murnau’s terrifying *Nosferatu* (1922): stick-thin and rat-like, an alien phallus with teeth.

HOMOSEXUAL ELEMENTS

The product of a gay director and a “decadent” culture, the German Weimar Republic, for fifty years *Nosferatu* stood alone in confronting the male homosexual implications of the original text. Although Stoker was a classic Victorian prude, he was also a man of the equally “decadent” 1890s who was well acquainted with Oscar Wilde, whose trial for “gross indecency,” it has been argued, gives *Dracula* its conflicted atmosphere of mingled homophobia and homoeroticism. Moreover, long before the Wilde scandal broke, in his working notes for the novel Stoker had written over and over the key line the count speaks to the brides who want to “kiss” Harker: “THIS MAN BELONGS TO ME” (Frayling 1991, p. 297). *Dracula* is a triangulated and displaced homosexual seduction story: By penetrating Lucy, Dracula actually drains the blood (i.e., semen) of

“four strong men.” Only homosexual panic can explain the peculiar intensity of Harker’s vision of Dracula crawling headfirst down the castle wall. The period term for a homosexual was an *invert*, that is, a man upside down.

Nosferatu also engages the disease imagery of Stoker’s novel. However, the disease Stoker had in mind as he created vampire sexuality was not plague (as in *Nosferatu*) but syphilis. That disease was epidemic in Britain at that time and was blamed on women, who were the exclusive targets of the Contagious Diseases Acts, subjected to forced examination and incarceration in “lock” hospitals. The same fury against “corrupting” women is said to have motivated Jack the Ripper’s murders of London prostitutes in that period.

This hostility against women may have had a biographical motive. According to Stoker’s granddaughter, his wife, Florence, a celebrated beauty whom he won from Wilde, refused to have sex with him after the birth of their only child in 1879. Frustration drove him to London’s streetwalkers, whom Lucy, the *sleepwalker*, startlingly resembles. Stoker died of syphilis in 1912, and it is possible that as he wrote *Dracula*, he knew he had contracted the disease. *Dracula* the novel and the modern vampire myth it generated, then, are not only about sexuality but about sexual disease, or sexuality as a disease. In the age of AIDS that is another reason for the persistence of the vampire in the popular imagination.

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VAMPIRISM

The word *vampire* came into use in English in 1732, although vampire myths date back to the baby-killing blood-drinking female demons (Akhkharu) of ancient

Sumerian mythology. Many cultures around the world think of blood in connection with the concept of a life force and thus include tales of creatures (human and sometimes animal) that feed on that force. Furthermore, vampires feed on the human fascination with death, and their myths, like death itself, are surrounded by superstition and ritual. The most famous vampire tale in Western literature, Bram Stoker’s 1897 novel *Dracula*, generally is cited as the vampire’s first transition from myth to popular reality and perhaps even into the realm of the sexual.

Several medical conditions may cause a person to resemble or behave like a vampire. Hematodipsia (or hematomania) is a psychological fixation on blood drinking for erotic satisfaction. Porphyria is an extremely rare group of metabolic disorders whose symptoms include intense photosensitivity, pale skin, and red teeth and eyes. Xeroderma pigmentosum is a very rare condition that may cause severe sensitivity to sunlight.

As in many subcultures, participants in vampire culture and their activities vary widely; although most participate only occasionally, some identify with a full-time lifestyle. *Vampyre* is an alternative term used to connote a “real” vampire. Vampirism (the practice of draining and/or consuming someone’s life energy or blood) is practiced by some members of vampire culture, often (though not always) in a sexual context, but this is only one in an extremely wide range of practices associated with vampire culture. According to Katherine Ramsland, the author of *Piercing the Darkness* (1998), vampire culture includes “vampires, donors, victims, experts, chroniclers, hunters, readers, writers, musicians, magicians, strippers, squatters, dominatrixes, role-players, criminals, divas, entrepreneurs, fetishists, [and] conventioners,” and estimates suggest that “vampire culture is now in the tens of thousands for hard-core participants, and ten times that number for people with a mild or part-time interest” (Ramsland 1998, pp. 28, 24).

In this culture the vampire is employed as a form of sexual and/or social identity that is characterized mainly by freedom from social constraints, including gender and sexual norms. Anne Rice’s best-selling novels, particularly *The Vampire Chronicles*, which began with *Interview with the Vampire* in 1976, have had an important influence on the vampire community as well as mainstream culture. Rice transformed the vampire into a seductive and sexy being, and her books opened the door for vampires to span both gender and sexuality continua. Rice’s four-volume *Beauty* series, which began in 1983, published under the pseudonym A. N. Roquelaure, brought themes of dominance and submission further into the mainstream.

Vampire culture may overlap with various subcultures and sexual fetish practices, including the Gothic

subculture (Goth) and bondage and discipline, domination and submission, sadism and masochism (BDSM), but those communities are not synonymous. Numerous vampire clubs and balls can be found in Australia, the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, usually in major cities. Vampire club culture is connected to any number of fashion styles, from Victorian romantic to fetish wear. Black clothing predominates, and common vampire accessories include decorative contacts and/or temporary or permanent fangs.

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Whitney Jones Olson

VAN GULIK, ROBERT 1910–1967

Robert Hans van Gulik was a highly educated orientalist, diplomat, musician (he played the guqin), and writer. Van Gulik studied law and oriental language at Leiden University in Holland and received his doctorate degree for a dissertation on the horse cult in Northeast Asia. He served as a diplomat in the Dutch Foreign Service and was stationed in Tokyo and in Chongqing and Nanjing, China, among other places; his last job was the ambassador to Japan. He loved Chinese culture and translated a well-known Chinese ancient detective novel, *Judge Dee at Work*.

Van Gulik's book *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from ca.1500 B.C. till 1644 A.D.* marks the starting point of the research on ancient Chinese sex culture and issues. Not only did van Gulik study the characteristics of Chinese ancient sex culture from historical, sociological, and anthropological aspects, he also compared Chinese culture with the cultures of India and Japan. His book covers the institutions of concubinage and prostitution. Gulik considered the ancient Chinese to have a highly developed culture and attitude about sex. He wrote: "The ancient Chinese had indeed no reason for hiding their sexual life. Their handbooks of sex prove clearly that their sexual habits were healthy and normal-at any rate by the

norms of the polygamic system that has prevailed in China from the oldest known times till recent years" (1990, p. xii). In order to write *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, van Gulik collected enormous amounts of literature and information and cited many articles. The book remains the best study of ancient Chinese sex culture.

Van Gulik also wrote a book entitled *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period: With an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch'ing dynasty, B.C. 206–A.D. 1644*, based on a set of erotic paintings from the Ming dynasty. Published in three volumes in 1951, only fifty copies of the work were produced in a hand-painting method on wax paper. It was not for sale, but was donated to renowned university libraries, museums, and research institutes worldwide for research purposes. Volume 1 (*Mi Xi Tu Kao*) is the main body written in English, Volume 2 (*Mi Shu Shi Zhong*) is written in Chinese and is a collection of nine ancient Chinese works of sex literature, and Volume 3 (*Hua Ying Jin Zhen*) is the erotic paintings from the Ming dynasty that van Gulik collected.

Sexual Life in Ancient China was translated to Chinese by professor Li Ling at Peking University in 1986 and published by Shanghai People's Press in mainland China in 1990.

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Xiaonian Ma

VARGAS, ALBERTO 1896–1982

Alberto Vargas was born to a famous photographer in Arequipa, Peru, in February 1896 and went on to become one of the most famous pin-up artists and painters in the world. He died in Los Angeles in December 1982.

Vargas was trained by his father to use an airbrush, something he would employ to great effect in his pin-ups. As a young man Vargas traveled to Europe where he studied in Zurich and Geneva and became enamored of French neoclassical painter Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's (1780–1867) paintings in Paris. It would be the women of New York, however, who would attract Vargas by their self-confidence, and he later married one

of the women from the Greenwich Village Follies, Anna Mae Clift (m. 1930–d. 1974), who became a model for some of his illustrations.

Vargas's name is still associated with the "Varga Girl," a pin-up who was born in *Esquire* magazine, directly following George Petty's (1894–1975) "Petty Girl." The first Varga Girl, copyrighted as such by *Esquire*, appeared in the October 1940 issue of that magazine. The Varga Girl, followed by the Varga Girl calendar, became legendary during World War II. The U.S. Coast Guard wrote Vargas in 1942, acknowledging the help of the Varga Girl in its recruitment work. She appeared in provocative military uniforms, carrying medals and encouraging the purchase of G.I. bonds, and even cross-dressed as George Washington. Sometimes soldiers made special requests to Vargas to produce mascots for them. Many a pin-up lived on the side of a military tank or airplane. An image from December 1943 made the woman a kind of airplane in flight as a piece of her clothing trailing behind her sports U.S. Air Force insignia. The relationship between Vargas and *Esquire* came to an end in 1946. In 1960 Vargas began doing paintings for *Playboy*. Despite the fact that his work was signed Vargas, readers of the highly successful men's magazine still informally labeled his female drawings the Varga Girl.

Critics think that much of the appeal of the Vargas Girls lay in their expressive eyes. When Vargas was under pressure to produce an illustration in a hurry, he would paint a back shot of the model. He painted with the clear sharp lines and demarcations of the nineteenth-century European academic tradition. The anatomically clear and relatively vigorous musculature may have reflected the European classical tradition but almost certainly was influenced as well by the physique of Vargas's wife and his early model, who was a dancer. The proportions of the Varga Girl reflected the preferences of 1940s and 1950s America: ample breasts, narrow waist, full but not fleshy thighs, and long legs. Also in keeping with the strictures of those times, Vargas avoided full frontal nudity, sometimes draping his models in diaphanous materials reminiscent of classical European painting.

After his wife died in 1974, Vargas lost interest in his pin-up paintings, though he at times did record-album covers. He died in Los Angeles in 1982.

SEE ALSO *Pin-Ups*.

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

VEILING

Veiling, the use of fabric coverings to signal limitation of access, has been practiced in a variety of cultures during much of recorded history while remaining virtually unknown in others. Where practiced, veiling is always part of complex and multidimensional systems of signification bound up with gender, sexuality, ethnicity, literary culture, religion, politics, architecture, morality, and economic and other class distinctions. From earliest accounts of the practice up to the early twenty-first century, veiling has been deeply involved in the expression and contestation of privilege, identity, and control.

VEILING IN ANCIENT TIMES

Some of the earliest textual accounts of veiling associate it with marriage, but also with prostitution and deception. In Genesis, the first book of the Bible, Rebekah veils herself when she first catches sight of her intended husband Isaac. Years later she covers her son Jacob with animal skins in order to trick his blind father into blessing him. In the same biblical book, Tamar, twice-widowed daughter-in-law of Judah, veils herself to pass as a prostitute in order to conceive the children wrongfully denied her by the father of her two deceased husbands. In both story cycles, vulnerable women attain power through deception in a kind of veiled manipulation of patriarchal authority.

Other biblical stories recount how Moses, after intimate contact with the Divine, veiled his face when he returned to his people. In Islamic iconography the face of the Prophet Muhammad is customarily veiled in the rare instances in which his image appears. According to the Qur'an the Divine communicates with mortals only through revelation or "from behind a veil (*hijab*)." Similarly, the Israelites were commanded to veil the place of the Divine Presence in the wilderness tabernacle and, later, in the Jerusalem Temple's Holy of Holies. Early Christian stories portray the supernatural unveiling of this same divine sanctuary at the moment of Jesus's death.

In earliest Greek and Roman culture veiling and unveiling were most closely associated with weddings and sacrifice. Classical tragedies such as the stories of Iphigenia and Andromeda express the psychosocial relationship between these two rituals. Everyday veiling in ancient Rome was associated almost exclusively with professional priests and priestesses. The first-century Greek writer Saint Paul demanded that Christian women of Corinth veil their heads during public ritual but that the men never do so. Following this injunction most Roman Catholic celibate nuns wore veils for many centuries; a mid-twentieth-century change in Church rules rendered the practice optional for many communities.

Veiling

Ancient rabbinic Jewish texts prescribed some kind of hair or head binding for married women when they were away from home and for male priests serving in the Temple sanctuary (destroyed in 70 CE). In some Jewish communities married women continue to cover or cap their hair when they leave the house, and males wear a skullcap at all times.

VEILING AND ISLAM

The veiling of brides and of women participating in public religious rituals continues in many societies and cultures around the globe in the early twenty-first century. Women's veiling as a constant, everyday practice, however—and as an expressly politicized practice—is most commonly associated with Islam.

There is much evidence, both textual and artifactual, for the veiling of women (and some men) in pre-Islamic Persia, Assyria, Arabia, and parts of Africa. The practice was hardly universal, however, and was most likely a contrivance of the elite classes. Ancient Persian kings and queens, for example, veiled themselves as a mark of separation and distinction from commoners. Imperial images on Sassanian coins depict a royal veil raised above the crown to show the monarch's face on the obverse. With the rise of Islam in the seventh century, proponents of veiling began to draw on the vocabulary and ideology of the new movement to imbue the practice of veiling with divine and prophetic significance. The Qur'anic revelation most often cited in relation to the veiling of Muslim women is reported to have been uttered at the close of a wedding feast celebrating Muhammad's marriage to his cousin Zaynab. It calls upon the followers of the Prophet to respect his privacy and that of his household, to remain behind a curtain when bringing a question or petition to any of the Prophet's wives, and not to seek to marry any of the Prophet's widows after his death. The elements of wedding/marriage and elite status, familiar from other cultures' veiling traditions, are present in this instance as well. The manner by which the curtain (*hijab*) specified in this verse comes to be applied to the bodies of all women—and not merely to rooms where believers sought audience with the Prophet's wives—is a matter of widely divergent opinion and interpretation. Other scriptural verses invoked to authorize the veiling of Muslim women include those that call for male and female modesty—specifying, in particular, that women cover their *beauty, ornaments, and breasts*—as well as those that instruct the wives of the Prophet and other female believers to distinguish themselves from nonbelievers by how they wear their cloaks.

Veiling of women has not been customary or compulsory in all Muslim societies. It has not, for example, been the common practice among Muslim women in



A Traditionally Dressed Omani Woman. Oman, though a traditional Gulf Arab society where most of the adult women are veiled, has a progressive attitude towards women's participation in society. © MIKE NELSON/EPA/CORBIS.

Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim country. With the advent of Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism in the wake of European colonialism, however, veiling emerged as a major symbol in battles over public identity and self-determination in individual, communal, and global contexts. Many Muslim women have found themselves caught amidst competing claims and obligations in struggles involving veiling wherein the stakes could be, at times, quite high.

During the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, different locales, states, and entire countries have required the wearing of veils by women, on one hand, or outlawed or restricted the practice, on the other. Banning, fines, corporal punishment, and imprisonment have been among the penalties inflicted for violation of such laws, and their enforcement has been carried out by police, courts, family members, and self-appointed vigilantes. Even in the absence of formal laws prohibiting or requiring veiling, communities or individuals have regularly attempted to enforce a preferred practice or interpretation through pressure, public harassment, beating, attacks with burning acid, and, occasionally, murder of noncompliant women. Hence, many Muslim women veil or unveil as a matter of conformity to prevailing social constraints, whereas others exercise some degree of active choice in the matter.

Muslim women who engage in veiling often express the conviction that the practice is an act of faith and of submission to the will of Allah, as well as an act of fidelity to the *Umma* (Muslim community). Some Muslim women choose—or are compelled—to veil as a show of solidarity with one or more Islamic political movements, particularly in contexts of war, military occupation,

colonization, postcolonial revolution, or anti-imperialist resistance. Many Muslims reject the gender asymmetry of veiling practices and critique them as fundamentally misogynistic in nature; others claim that women are, in fact, inferior to men and should signal their subordination through veiling; still others assert that gender equality is unaffected or somehow enhanced by female veiling.

VARIETY AND PARADOX

Within and across cultures, veiling has taken differing forms—from the pinning of small lace *mantillas* or snoods to the hair; to the donning of diminutive kerchiefs, large headscarves, head-and-shoulder-covering wraps, and/or small face or nose-and-mouth covers (*niqabs*); to the wearing of full-body-and-head-covering *chadors* or *abayas*, or shroudlike *burqas*, which also cover the face and eyes; to the use of curtained litters, curtained room partitions, latticed windows, or separated living quarters. Veils worn on the head and body are, in some cases, of prescribed color and shape, but in other cases their design affords a means of ethnic or individual expression.

As a cultural phenomenon, veiling is inescapably laden with paradox. As a prerogative of the Divine or of the human elite, it can enhance power and high status; when imposed upon those without active voice or authority in human society, it can signify oppression, degradation, lack of volition, or chattel status. Veiling is an explicitly public act, a visible display of fidelity to a particular ideological system; but veiling simultaneously signals an assertion of privacy, forbidden access, invisibility, even anonymity. For women, veiling may be experienced as liberation from sexual objectification; nonetheless, as a highly gendered practice, it further entrenches the association of women—and not men—with sex, sexuality, and sexual objectification. Veiling has often functioned to enforce the confinement, seclusion, and exclusion of women, yet at times it has served as the condition for their inclusion and integration into civil society.

SEE ALSO *Islam*.

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Cynthia M. Baker

VENUS

Venus was an ancient native Italic goddess who originally was associated with flourishing vegetation and whose sphere of influence quickly expanded—perhaps through her association with the Semitic goddess Astarte, the Etruscan Turan, and the Greek Aphrodite—to include erotic relations of all types. She was concerned with both prostitution and marriage. From almost her earliest appearance, Venus has been the symbol par excellence of sexual love in Western culture. The most important elements of the iconography of the goddess (the female nude, winged cupids, roses, and doves) are immediately recognizable today and still carry erotic overtones. The standard poses in which Venus appears in ancient art, such as the nude rising from the sea while standing on a shell (Venus Anadyomene) and the naked goddess shielding her modesty from the prying eyes of the viewer (Venus Pudica), have been depicted frequently by artists from the Renaissance to the present.

THE WORSHIP AND INFLUENCE OF VENUS IN ANCIENT ROME

Though not part of the original ancient Roman pantheon, Venus was worshiped in that city from an early period in several different incarnations, including Venus Obsequens ("favorable" or "gracious"), who received a temple in 295 BCE, and Venus Verticordia ("turner of hearts"), who was worshiped at the annual festival of the Veneralia on April 1 by women of respectable status; women of lesser rank (perhaps prostitutes) worshiped another goddess, Fortuna Virilis. She also was connected with two wine festivals, the Vinalia Priora and Vinalia Rustica, observed on April 23 and August 19, respectively, though they actually were festivals of the god Jupiter. The nature of her association with those two celebrations is not clear.

In addition to her influence in private erotic matters, Venus was relevant to Roman political life. During the Second Punic War the Romans built a temple on the Capitoline hill, the most sacred place in the city, to Venus Erycina (the goddess worshiped at Eryx in Sicily). That undertaking was part of efforts to appease the gods after they had manifested their anger with the

Romans by allowing Hannibal and his Carthaginian forces to defeat the Roman army at Lake Trasimene in 217 BCE. Venus Erycina was famous in the ancient world for the sacred prostitution practiced at her temple in Eryx. There is no certain evidence that that practice came to Rome along with the goddess, though sources indicate that Roman magistrates and generals were happy to participate in such activities when visiting the goddess's sanctuary in Sicily.

In the first century BCE, Venus was taken up by the dictator Sulla as his personal protective deity: He adopted the nickname Epaphroditus, meaning "favored by Aphrodite/Venus." Her political value continued to be recognized after Sulla's death in 79 BCE. She was taken up by the dictator's younger ally, Pompey the Great, who built a temple to Venus Victrix ("the conqueror") in the year 55. The most lasting association of the goddess, however, was with Pompey's sometime friend and later rival Julius Caesar, whose family claimed descent directly from her. Caesar reinforced awareness of his divine lineage by dedicating a temple to Venus Genetrix ("the ancestor") in 46 BCE in his new Forum in Rome. The remains of that temple still can be seen. Venus maintained her political prominence in later centuries under the emperors of Rome. For example, around 121 CE the emperor Hadrian dedicated the largest temple ever built in the city to a pair of goddesses: Venus and the deified city of Rome.

VENUS IN ROMAN LITERATURE

Venus appears frequently in Roman literature, most famously in two epic poems of the first century BCE. The earlier of the two poems is Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* [On the nature of the universe], which was completed in the first half of the century. In that poem the goddess appears in an opening hymn as the embodiment of the procreative aspect of nature. Venus has the power to calm the violent forces of the universe, and the poet asks the goddess to persuade her lover, Mars, the god of war, to bestow peace on the Roman people.

Venus also plays a prominent role in Vergil's *Aeneid*, an epic poem in twelve books that was published posthumously in 19 BCE at the behest of the emperor Augustus, the great-nephew and adoptive son of Julius Caesar. The *Aeneid* tells the tale of Aeneas, Venus's mortal son fathered by the Trojan Anchises, and his long and difficult journey to establish the remnants of the Trojan people in Italy after the conclusion of the Trojan War. Once settled in Italy, the Trojans were destined to merge with the native Latins to become a single people, the Romans. It is through Aeneas and his son, Iulus, that the Roman people generally, and Julius Caesar and his successor Augustus specifically, claimed descent from Venus.

Throughout the *Aeneid*, Venus appears both as a national deity and as a love goddess, especially in the poem's fourth book, in which she and Aeneas's half brother Cupid are responsible for the tragic love affair between Aeneas and Dido, the queen of Carthage.

VENUS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

In the late antique and medieval periods Venus appeared commonly in mythographies: collections of classical myths provided with allegorical and metaphorical interpretations that generally were in keeping with Church teachings. The association of Venus with sexual love made her a difficult subject for Christian authors, but mythographers attempted to extract moral lessons from stories about her by finding deeper meaning in the traditional tales. For instance, in the *Mythologies* of Fulgentius (late fifth to early sixth centuries CE) the story of the birth of Venus from the severed testicles of the god Saturn becomes a lesson in the way overindulgence leads to lustful behavior: It is presented as an allegory for how crops are grown, harvested, and consumed and then produce wantonness. Elsewhere in the same text Venus also stands for devotion to pleasure in the story of the judgment of Paris, for lust in the tale of Cupid and Psyche, and for the corruption of manly virtue in the tale of her adultery with Mars. The last episode was particularly popular among medieval authors, who were consistent in their accounts of the details of the story. There is greater variation in medieval depictions of the relationship of Venus to Cupid: She is sometimes his mother (as in ancient texts), sometimes his wife, and sometimes his companion.

Venus also appears in literary contexts other than the traditional myths associated with her. In the thirteenth-century *Romance of Rose*, which was begun by Guillaume de Lorris and continued by Jean de Meun, Venus is a character in the tale of a young man's adventures in the Garden of Love; she stands as an allegory for unbridled female desire. Elsewhere she is associated with the voluptuous life, that is, a life shamefully spent in the pursuit of pleasure and idleness, as in several of the *Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (for example, the "Knight's Tale" and the "Wife of Bath's Tale") and his *House of Fame*, John Ridewall's *Fulgentius Metaphored*, and Christine de Pizan's *Epistle of Othea*.

In addition to her association with illicit desire, Venus could be linked to a more chaste love and with nature's bounty by later authors, as she was by the Romans in the classical period. For example, in Boccaccio's influential *Genealogie Deorum Gentilicium*, published in the late fourteenth century, two Venuses are identified: one who is "the mother of all fornications" and another who is synonymous with the harmony of the world.



Venus and Mars by Sandro Botticelli. © NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON/CORBIS.

VENUS IN THE RENAISSANCE

The goddess's more positive associations come to the fore during the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The perfection of her physical appearance and the preeminence of her beauty linked her closely with artistic creation in that period. In art and literature Venus was invoked most often as the embodiment of a higher love that inspires the lover to virtue and victory. After nearly disappearing from European art in the medieval period, Venus is such a recurrent motif in painting and sculpture of the Renaissance that her nude form sometimes is identified as a symbol of the Renaissance itself.

Two of the most famous paintings of her were produced by Sandro Botticelli in the mid-1480s: *The Birth of Venus*, now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy, and *Venus and Mars*, which hangs in the National Gallery in London. Both works are thought to have been inspired by portions of the *Stanze* written by Angelo Poliziano (Politian) in 1475–1476. That incomplete poem in two books celebrates the chaste and improving love of Julio (Giuliano de' Medici) for the married nymph Simonetta (Simonetta Cattaneo), a love brought about by the workings of Cupid and Venus. The goddess was also the subject of numerous paintings by Titian in the first half of the sixteenth century, including *The Venus of Urbino*, *Venus Anadyomene*, *The Worship of Venus*, and *Sacred and Profane Love*.

SEE ALSO *Aphrodite; Eros, Cupid; Erotic Art; Greco-Roman Art; Literature: I. Overview; Magic.*

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Celia E. Schultz

VENUS DE MILO

The *Venus de Milo* is an ancient Greek statue of the goddess Aphrodite, famous both for her missing arms and as a symbol of female beauty. The *Venus de Milo* is perhaps one of the best-known works of art in the world; in popular culture, frequent reference is made both to her beauty and—often humorously—to her armlessness.

The name *Venus de Milo* comes from Venus, the Roman name for Aphrodite, and Milos, the Greek island



The Venus de Milo. © COREL CORPORATION.

where the statue was discovered in 1820 and purchased for the French government. The *Venus de Milo's* 1821 arrival in Paris sparked a scholarly controversy that raged for almost a century. National pride caused many French scholars to argue—against all evidence—that the statue dated from the Classical era, which was considered the apex of Greek art, while others insisted that the statue had been carved much later. The most damning evidence that the *Venus de Milo* was not of the Classical period was a detached segment of the base that attributed the statue to a sculptor named Alexandros. Alexandros, according to the inscription, came from the city of Antioch, which had not been founded until 270 BCE, well after the end of the Classical period. Although this piece fit perfectly with the pedestal of the *Venus de Milo*, the director of the Louvre and other scholars argued that it could not possibly be part of the statue. The base disappeared from the Louvre during the initial reconstruction process and was never seen by the public.

By the 1950s, Alexandros had been widely accepted as the Venus's sculptor; the statue is now believed to date from roughly 80 BCE. Evidence suggests that the Venus once occupied a niche in the wall of a gymnasium; one hand most likely held the drapery about her waist, while

the other held an apple out in front of her for contemplation. The apple was both a reference to the apple-shaped island of Milos, whose name derives from the Greek for "apple," and to the myth of Aphrodite, who was judged by Paris to be the most beautiful of three goddesses and received in reward a golden apple.

The *Venus's* long-term European and North American associations with beauty are hardly accidental. Aphrodite was the Greek goddess of love and sexual desire; the apple that she likely contemplated, as Gregory Curtis (2003) suggests, is the very symbol of her physical perfection. The controversy over the statue's origins, moreover, speaks loudly to the notions of beauty that were held by nineteenth century European society. Classical Greek art was believed by scholars and philosophers to represent the pinnacle of aesthetics, and all good art and standards of beauty were thought to refer back to that period. Upon her arrival in Paris, the *Venus de Milo* was loudly and persistently proclaimed to be a stunning example of female beauty; her grace and beauty alone convinced many that the *Venus* was of Classical origin. The statue is one of the most popular exhibits in the Louvre (and has been since it was first installed there), and even to the layperson its loveliness and power are easily appreciated. The establishment of the *Venus* as a standard for female beauty, however, has become problematic for many, as it rests on a set of aesthetic assumptions that are both racially and culturally Western European in origin. Some scholars have begun to dispute that the *Venus* is beautiful, citing in particular her blank expression, while others have begun to examine the implications of her pose, location, and attire in terms of gender and sexuality. In the popular imagination, however, the *Venus de Milo* has been an exemplar of female beauty since its discovery.

SEE ALSO *Greco-Roman Art.*

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Maureen Lauder

VERNIOLLE, ARNAUD DE *Fourteenth century*

Arnaud de Verniolle (also known as Vernhole) may be one of the earliest examples in Western history of a man who, under interrogation, acknowledged himself as a practicing

lover of males, and to have tried to articulate his sexuality during his trial. He was a fourteenth-century cleric from the southern French Sabarthès village of Montailou, mentioned in the Inquisition records of Jacques Fournier, bishop of Pamiers, who was sent to ferret out the last remnants of Albigense heretical sympathy in the region. The records were subsequently mined by historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie to uncover the texture of daily life and its interface with class and faith in this strongly male-centered yet morally unorthodox culture. Le Roy Ladurie's identification of Arnaud as an individual "condemned" to be a homosexual and ridden with remorse (1979, p. 145) elicited criticism from various quarters of the scholarly world; some found this comment frankly homophobic (Camille 2001), while others, from a strict constructionist perspective, objected to the term *homosexual* being applied to Arnaud's time.

According to the trial proceedings, Arnaud, who had relations with women as well as men, was primarily attracted to young men and adolescents in the clerical milieu and entertained troubled physical relations with them, combining consent and violence, attraction and bribery, curiosity and revulsion. He refused to concede that he was any more sinful than those engaged in normative sex. While he did admit to having sinned, and at once denounced sodomy and denied practicing it, he made no bones about his attraction to men. He denounced his interrogatory as an unjust double standard that made short shrift of the sexual violence routinely exercised against young women and girls, and he maintained that his same-sex experiences were consensual (Duvernoy 1965).

It is surprising that these documents have drawn such intense criticism from strict constructionist historians. No doubt, all modern words designating same-sex activity in Arnaud's time are anachronisms and thus questionable. But it would be no more accurate to refer to him as a "sodomite" than a "homosexual" because he himself refused the term, or at least the association between the term—the only one available at the time—and the acts it purported to designate.

The general reliability of Inquisition records has also been questioned, because they are obtained under duress. Further, the linguistic gaps that occur when the original Latin is translated into Occitan to interrogate local witnesses and then transcribed back into Latin make these records even less trustworthy (Davis 1979).

In Arnaud's case, however, Latin would not have been a barrier to communicating with the inquisitors. And rather than merely dismissing the records and Arnaud's testimony, if one engages in a close reading of the confession, one has to suspect that extracting it in this form would do little to enhance Church dogma and teachings by eliciting,

and recording, such a confrontational confession. In effect, concern with the appropriateness of the "homosexual" label is a modern one: Arnaud was not tried principally for his alleged sodomitical acts, but for exercising without license the spiritual functions of the priesthood, in particular, confession and absolution. Sodomy was thrown in as an aggravating circumstance, and in spite of his recorded defiance, he was not condemned to death, but to life incarceration. Examined with all the necessary prudence, this remains a remarkable case in which the combination of the charges, their weight in the proceedings, and the inscription of sodomy into the interrogation and onto the body of the accused render a complex account of the construction, representation, and punishment of sexualities in fourteenth-century France (Sautman 2001).

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Homosexuality, Male, History of; Inquisition, Spanish; Sodomy, Repression of*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

VESTAL VIRGIN

The Vestal virgins were members of the most important female priesthood and the only public female priesthood in ancient Rome. That group of six virginal priestesses who were dedicated to the worship of Vesta, goddess of the hearth, was thought by the Romans to have its origins in the city's mythical past and was maintained by them until the Christian emperor Theodosius I disbanded all



A Roman Vestal Virgin Tending the Sacred Fire. THE ART ARCHIVE/BIBLIOTHEQUE DES ARTS DECORATIFS/DAGLI ORTI.

pagan cults in 394 CE. The priestesses were selected by lot from among a group of girls between ages of six and ten who belonged to the most prominent families in Roman society. Candidates were required to have no physical defects and no speech impediments or hearing loss and to have both parents still alive. They were selected by the pontifex maximus, the chief public priest in Rome, under whose guardianship they remained for the thirty years of their service to the goddess and the state. At the end of their tenure Vestals were free to marry, though according to the sources, many chose to retain their office until death.

The chief responsibilities of the Vestals were to maintain the sacred fire in Vesta's temple in the Roman Forum, next to which was the Atrium Vestae where the priestesses lived at public expense, and to prepare and maintain supplies of certain items necessary for the performance of rituals throughout the Roman religious calendar, especially the *mola salsa*, a salt and grain mixture used in public sacrifices. Vestals also took leading roles in celebrations in honor of deities other than Vesta, includ-

ing rites for the Bona Dea at which they offered blood sacrifice. Failure to perform their duties entailed severe punishment. Allowing Vesta's fire to go out resulted in a beating by the pontifex maximus. Violation of the strict virginal chastity that was the hallmark of the office resulted in burial alive, the last known instance of which occurred in 89 CE during the reign of the emperor Domitian.

A Vestal enjoyed a degree of independence and prestige not available to other women. Perhaps most significant, she was able to administer her own affairs without the oversight of a male relative. A Vestal also was permitted to write a will and dispose of her property, including a vast sum given to her by the state, as she chose. However, because she was technically removed from the legal control of her father upon entering the priesthood, a Vestal could not inherit from him if he died intestate, and her property would not pass to her family if she died before making a will. She could give testimony in court and was not required to swear an oath before testifying. A Vestal received special seating at public entertainments and traveled through the city preceded by a lictor, an attendant otherwise assigned only to high-ranking public magistrates. If her entourage met with a condemned criminal on his way to execution, the criminal was set free.

So strongly have those priestesses been associated with virginity that in modern parlance the phrase *Vestal virgin* has come to mean someone who lives a chaste and abstemious life. In that capacity Vestals have continued to appear in popular culture, perhaps most famously in Mel Brooks's 1981 film *History of the World Part I* and Procol Harum's 1967 hit song "Whiter Shade of Pale," in which they are incorrectly numbered at sixteen.

SEE ALSO *Chastity; Virginity.*

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Celia E. Schultz

VETULA, OLD WHORE

The "Old Whore" is a conventional literary figure that the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period inherited from antiquity. She can be described briefly as the pro-

cruess who, after having sold her own charms, now sells those of others. Her main characteristics—her ugliness, her bawdiness, and her multiple talents of healer, specialist in women’s bodies, and organizer of love affairs—remained more or less constant right up until the eighteenth century.

Such women, known individually as a *vetula* or collectively as *vetulae*, were frequently depicted in Latin literature. The most influential and popular example of this type is certainly the old bawd Dipsas, a central figure in Ovid’s *Art of Love* (c. 3 BCE). An expert in magical arts and aphrodisiac charms, Dipsas is one of the models of the famous “Old Woman” in Jean de Meun’s *Romance of the Rose*, the thirteenth-century French poem about a Lover’s quest for the Rose. De Meun’s character becomes herself an inspiration for both the Prioress in the “General Prologue” and the Wife of Bath in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. The *Rose*’s Old Woman is a repentant whore who invokes her past experience as a prostitute to teach young ladies how to behave with men. In his *Testament*, the fifteenth-century poet François Villon places a “pretty armourer” (*Belle Heaulmière*) in the same situation, lamenting her lost beauty and advising the young generation to strip men out of their possessions while they are still in the prime of life and beautiful. Another archetypal figure of the procuress is Celestina in the *Book of Calisto, Melibea, and the Old Whore Celestina* by Fernando de Rojas, published at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Like many of her counterparts, she does her business under the cover of respectable trades, for instance selling herbs, ointments, makeup, sewing articles, or practicing crafts like embroidering or dressmaking.

Such more or less legitimate activities allowed these matrons to gain access to the privacy of the woman they wanted to introduce to a potential lover in spite of her parent’s vigilance or her husband’s jealousy. Under this cover, they could also take young women in their house as apprentices or workers who then sold themselves as courtesans or simple whores. Among the skills of the “old whore” are those typical of the traditional “wise woman,” the healer and specialist in the human body. She knows how to cure diseases with the help of various herbs, especially ailments related to love and the difficult situations in which sexually active women can find themselves. She concocts aphrodisiac philters and is familiar with contraceptive or abortive practices. As a midwife, she is an expert not only in pregnancy and childbirth, but also in restoring lost virginities. Since magic charms or spells could be involved in the success of her interventions, she could be depicted as a sorceress and even as a witch who signed a pact with the devil. The most complete image of the old matron character in the diversity of her representations can be found in the anonymous

fifteenth-century *Gospel Distaffs*, in which six such matrons meet with their neighbors in order to transmit the fruits of their experience. In a spirit of mockery, the combination of their respective characteristics highlights their love of food, wine, and lust, their irregular relationships (procuress, several times widowed and now married to a young man, concubine of a priest), and their suspicious knowledge of midwifery, healing recipes, and heretical doctrines.

Like the other literary depictions of the old bawd, their portrait corresponds to that of the marginal woman in judicial records. In his account of the margins of society in late fifteenth-century Paris, Bronislaw Geremek exposes the cases of procuresses tried at the Châtelet who provided love philters to men and women, used a variety of spells, and even appealed to the devil (1987, p. 228).

The *vetula* can also be related to the role ascribed to elderly women in many traditional societies. On the one hand, in a context in which traditions are mainly transmitted orally, *vetulae* are respected as the Repository of domestic knowledge. Freed from the burden of fertility by menopause, old women enjoy a status they did not have before. As the example of voodoo priestesses shows, they can even be admitted to the sphere of the sacred normally reserved to men. This new access to a sort of authority is accompanied, however, with a representation of the old woman as aggressive, domineering, and lustful. This last characteristic provides an occasion for holding her up to ridicule, an attitude which is clearly conveyed by the literary tradition of the *vetula*.

SEE ALSO *Courtesans; Prostitution.*

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Madeleine Jey

VIAGRA

SEE *Performance Enhancers.*

VIBRATOR

SEE *Sex Aids.*

VIOLENCE

The issues of violence cut across national, racial, and ethnic boundaries and thus are international. They include abuse, armament, battery, capital punishment, crime, femicide, infanticide, militarization, pornography, imprisonment, rape, refugees, murder, sexual slavery, sexual harassment, sexual mutilation, street harassment, terrorism, torture, and war. Peace is the alternative to these various forms of violence—more specifically, peace that takes the form of nonviolence and social change, conflict resolution (mediation and negotiation), disarmament, peace activism, peace education, women's human rights, international peace organizations, and resistance and peace movements.

Sexuality and sexual relations are central to an analysis of political and national struggles worldwide. Recent sociological, anthropological, and political studies dealing with aggression, violence, war, and the role of women clearly indicate this connection. Aspects of nationalism and the ways in which they relate to sexuality and to women's traditional roles in society are also part of this complex.

GENDER AND EXPLOITATION OF NATURE

The problems associated with masculinity include aggressiveness and violence, which are linked directly with the political and personal exploitation of nature and women. Exploitation takes various forms, from exhausting and misusing the world's resources; to oppressing people of other races, sexes, and ages; to invading and/or dominating other countries or continents; to conducting an arms race. The consequences of that exploitation are death, destruction, and violence. It is a vicious circle that keeps repeating itself, as if human beings were incapable of breaking the chain of war creating valorizing codes of heroism and masculinity and then masculinity creating war. Only a different vision, different values, and a change in power relationships and in the social construction of identities so that they would be grounded not in dominance and submission but in a harmonized acceptance of differences could bring about harmony and a future of life and hope instead of wars and a nuclear holocaust.

GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS

Many studies have found a link between sexuality and national and international conflicts. Jean-William Lapierre and Anne-Marie de Vilaine (1981) see a connection between masculine predominance and the importance of war. According to those authors most civilizations are based on conquest and war. They explain

how in so-called modern societies, politics, industry, and business constitute a kind of war in which men and sometimes women imitating men's behavior must be energetic and aggressive to have power. Miranda Davies (1983–1987) demonstrates how many women in the third world realize that although women may join guerilla movements, participate in the economy, enter politics, and organize trade unions, they still are seen as second-class citizens, bearers of children, and domestic servants. Zarana Papic (1992) and Helke Sander (1992) remark that women's condition drastically worsened in the former Yugoslavia because of the civil war there. This holds true for most places that have experienced similar postmodern wars.

GENDER AND NATIONALISM

In Asia and Europe and North America, in old and new concepts of the term, nationalism is a complex component of revolutionary discourse. It can move among all the facets of political power. For example, nationalism in an extreme form can be fascism. Maria-Antonietta Macciocchi (1976) analyzed fascist ideology in Italy from a feminine perspective. The collective irrational is at work in all human groups. Conscious and unconscious forces brought the masses to fascism, leading them from a transcendence of the individual ego into total allegiance to the Italian nation. The first victims of that racism, women adhered to it through a form of masochism that prepared them to make all possible sacrifices

Although nationalism has been necessary in young Arab states that gained autonomy from colonialism, as with fascism, nationalism has reclaimed many of the most patriarchal values of Islamic traditionalism. Lebanese writer, artist, and activist Mai Ghousseub (1952–2007) analyzed how the political rights of women, although nominally granted by national states, are in practice a dead letter in military dictatorships in which suffrage has no meaning.

Sander (1992) noted how in the former Yugoslavia the strongest and most dominant parties express extreme forms of nationalistic ideology so that their nationalism rejects the national identities of others. Civil society is the first victim of this totalitarian, domineering, nationalistic ideology. The former Yugoslavia, which used to be, as did Lebanon, a country in which various ethnic, cultural, and religious groups lived in tolerance and relative autonomy and harmony, became a place in which human rights and especially women's rights were threatened because women were looked at almost exclusively as reproductive bodies whose purpose was to bring into the world bodies to kill and be killed. Sander explained how that irrationality is actually a rational manipulation aimed at leading people to accept the dominant, exclu-

sive, nationalistic ideology with its cruelty and hatred for the other.

Croatian philosopher and writer Rada Ivekovic (b. 1945) has shown how radical nationalism is a mechanism of binary oppositions that in the long term invariably leads to war. Because women are less anguished about their internal frontiers and the limits of their bodies, they are more peaceful in regard to outside (political) frontiers; this involves identity and the way the subject (the one who acts) is constructed. Women are biologically and socially more open to the acceptance of the other in themselves, as is seen in the sexual act and pregnancy.

VIOLENCE AND MACHISMO

In societies that take pride in the leader, chief, or hero, the macho man embodies all the masculine values. Those values of conquest, domination, competition, fighting, and boasting, which allow one to get what one wants through lying and perfidy, transform the hero into the man with the gun—the militiaman. The man with the gun has a military role and an economic and social function. He uses the weapons of war to destroy and seize control of a region or another group. He participates in looting to benefit his clientele of family members and extend the range of his influence. Through the extension of his influence, he builds a system of wealth distribution and gains even more power. Material goods and gains are obtained through the gun and other weapons. It is a *primitive* system and a vicious destructive cycle rather than a self-preserving one. The more men desire omnipotence and control of others, the more weapons are used. The means of conquest are valued in proportion to their success.

The gun, the machine gun, and the cannon—masculine sexual symbols that are extensions of the phallus—are used to conquer and destroy. Some authors indicate that for some men there is a kind of *jouissance*—pleasure in a sexual sense—in war. It is for men the closest thing to what childbirth is for women: an initiation into the power of life and death. Elisabeth Badinter (1986) makes a connection between the experience of childbirth and war. However, there is a fundamental difference between creating life in the act of childbirth and destroying it in war. Even if the two experiences could be brought together, they would divide rather than unite man and woman.

The meaning and importance given to a military weapon and to the sexual weapon are equal. Man uses his penis the way he uses his gun: to conquer, control, and possess. In a macho society one tries to obtain material goods and territory not to enjoy them or out of need but to enlarge one's domain and authority. Similarly, sexual relations often are built not on pleasure, tenderness, or

love but on reproduction, the preservation of girls' virginity (the *honor* of the family), the confinement and control of women to increase male prestige, and overestimation of the penis. Lapierre and de Vilaine (1981) have shown that this phenomenon exists in almost all civilizations, with hunting followed by war lying at the root of women's oppression. Bob Connell (2001) sees a relationship between masculinity, violence, and war, saying that it is not by chance that the great majority of soldiers are men. However, that connection should not be attributed to biology, which would absolve masculine responsibility, but to social and cultural factors.

GENDER AND RAPE

Susan Brownmiller (1975) has shown how rape is a conscious tactic of warfare. Michel Foucault (1926–1984) wrote about the connection between death, sex, violence, and male sexuality. Wilhelm Reich (1972) analyzed how repressed sexuality based on authoritarian family patterns is at the root of sadistic murders, perversions, psychological problems, and social and political conflicts. René Girard (1972) analyzed the relationship between violence and religion, tracing it back to sexuality, as it is expressed in human groups that often need a scapegoat to avoid violence that would lead to annihilation. Issa Makhoul (1988), in an analysis of the Lebanese tragedy, which he sees as a collective fascination with death and destruction, described Lebanese males as having gone mad and becoming drunk from killing.

Through the ages men have been fascinated with war. At a deep level it has been a way to prove their existence, an expression of *male desire*. Desire closely linked to sexuality and the death instinct has been written about extensively by scholars from Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) to Jacques Lacan (1901–1981). Sexuality connected with war, oppression, power, and aggressiveness has been analyzed by authors ranging from Reich, Georges Bataille (1897–1962), Foucault, Henri Laborit (1971), and Girard, along with more recent works by men who have pointed to the connection between masculinity and war (Connell and Poole [1985], among others). Those themes also have informed the entire body of feminist writing. How these issues can be articulated in contemporary societies and what avenues can be found for nonviolence and peace as a positive force are topics that have informed the work of a great many other writers.

VIOLENCE AND MALE THEORISTS

The difference between male theorists and feminist theorists is that the connection between sexuality and violence in men does not lead male scholars to want to change men, women, objectification, or dominant/submissive sexuality;

in fact they celebrate it. In contrast the women scholars and a group of Australian male theorists want to change these conditions of female oppression and male domination.

Aggression and submission are at the core of the basic relations between men and women. Many theorists insist that these basic relations must change because they are the primary cause of forceful exploitation and account for perhaps the most significant common characteristic of sexism and the war system: rape.

Ivekovic notes that rape is a way for a rapist to capture what constitutes strength and power in women: mixity. She says that in the Balkan wars at the end of the twentieth century, as in many other wars, women exercised less violence, expressed more compassion, and felt a desire to help and understand the other side. The notion of mixity, hybridity, and creolization is developed by Ivekovic, who says that symbolically, women, more than men, represent a space of mixity, meeting, and mixing. It is the feminine principal that women create through mixing that is attacked by those who want to purify their origins, *liberate* themselves from the other, and negate the other. She shows how for men identification means exclusion of the other; for women it implies a paradox because women have to identify with the different or the other. For women nationalism does not signify exclusion of the other (sex) but, rather, coexistence, because identification with the father figure itself entails mixing and inclusion. Nationalism for women does not mean (symbolic) self-breeding, because identification is with the father figure, not with the mother figure. It entails symbolic breeding in and with the other.

Nationalism needs founding myths, and those myths usually say something about *the birth of a nation* and declare that one culture is more ancient, better, male, and heroic. The sexual dimension allows and structures a very important form of thought and one of the mechanisms for the symbolic construction of power: The dominant group has the power to represent God the father or the father of the nation. She says that Belgian feminist and cultural theorist Luce Irigaray's (b. 1930) research, particularly that on syntax, shows that generally, women do not place themselves at the center of the space opened up by their speech. They tend to ask questions more than they state affirmations. Their subject is hesitant, open to interaction with the other, oriented toward the other, and waiting for it (him).

GENDER, PLURALITY, VIOLENCE, AND SOME NATIONAL DIFFERENCES

The idea of mixing and blending leading to hybridity, plurality, and creolization is at the center of action and

theory for peace. It allows one to see problems from many angles and to identify or distance oneself when necessary. Multiculturalism can be viewed as a positive factor in these contexts. It allows one to be assertive and autonomous, rejecting traditional as well as neocolonialist values, and to struggle in the world for human values. Violence against women still happens in most cultures to different degrees and in different manners. Women in the Middle East are victims of forced marriage, required virginity, honor crimes, sexual mutilation, beatings, lack of freedom of choice, claustration, and veiling. One of three women in the United States will be raped during her lifetime; women will experience discrimination in the workplace and earn one-third less than what men earn with the same qualifications and in the same jobs.

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Evelyne Accad

VIRGINITY

Virgin^{ity} is a state of sexual inexperience, and the term most often is used to denote the status of a person—male or female—who has not had penetrative vaginal intercourse. Historically, many cultures and religions have prized premarital virgin^{ity}, particularly for women, and others have placed little value on it. In some cultures female virgin^{ity} is a condition of marriageability and thus is guarded closely. Although there is no physiological means by which the virgin^{ity} of a man or woman can be determined, some cultures have equated female virgin^{ity} with the presence of the hymen, a small flap of tissue that partially occludes the vaginal opening. Medically, however, the hymen is not a reliable marker of virgin^{ity}.

DEFINITION

In contemporary North American society, among other societies, the precise definition of virgin^{ity} is a vexed issue. Opponents of the most common traditional definition, which hinges on male-female vaginal intercourse, have argued that that definition ignores the possibility of same-sex intercourse. Moreover, because most young people in the United States engage in some form of sexual activity before penetrative intercourse, the connotations of sexual innocence, purity, and inexperience in the term *virgin^{ity}* place inordinate value on vaginal penetration as the only form of behavior that counts as truly sexual. As a result there is often a great deal of confusion among young people about what constitutes virgin^{ity}. Although some people still argue for a rigid definition of virgin^{ity}, many now believe that one's virgin^{ity} status must be defined and determined personally.

Although cultural and historical attitudes toward virgin^{ity} have varied widely, female virgin^{ity} is much more likely to be prized and regulated. A man's loss of virgin^{ity} usually is attended with pride and excitement. For girls and women, even in cultures in which premarital virgin^{ity} is rare and adolescent sexual activity is common, personal and social reaction to the loss of virgin^{ity} is much more likely to be ambivalent, if not negative.

PHYSIOLOGY

Male virgin^{ity} has no physiological marker. Only the testimony of the man in question and his sexual partners can provide evidence of virgin^{ity} or its lack, and that evidence is thus necessarily controvertible. The same is

true of female virgin^{ity}, but in many cultures there is or has been a widespread belief that female virgin^{ity} can be determined by the presence of the hymen.

The hymen is a thin membrane that partially blocks the vaginal opening. The size and elasticity of the hymen vary from woman to woman, but penile penetration often will tear it; penetration by other objects, including tampons and fingers, is somewhat less likely to damage the hymen. Determining from the shape and tearing of the hymen that intercourse has taken place is difficult at best. Although in rare cases the hymen completely occludes the vagina, in most women the hyphen already is perforated. Penetration may widen the opening in the hymen or make its edges ragged, but because the size and shape of women's hymens vary so widely, it is impossible to tell whether the shape of a woman's hymen is due to penetration. Moreover, a hymen may be so narrow that it is all but invisible, so thick or elastic that it withstands penetration without noticeable damage, or so thin or inelastic that vigorous exercise, tampon use, or masturbation may tear or erode its edges.

Thus, the hymen is a highly unreliable indicator of sexual experience: A virgin may not have a visible hymen, whereas a woman who has had multiple sexual partners can have an intact hymen. Nonetheless, some cultures still use examination of the hymen as a means of verifying virgin^{ity}. In the United States the hymens of young girls sometimes are examined for abnormalities suggestive of sexual abuse. In this instance, however, only the presence of sperm is considered to provide definitive evidence of sexual abuse.

In very rare cases a woman is born with no hymen or with an imperforate hymen that completely covers the vaginal opening. In the latter instance, if the condition persists to adolescence, a gynecologist often will perform a hymenotomy: a surgical procedure that removes or opens the hymen to permit menstrual flow and normal sexual intercourse.

Rupture of the hymen at the time of first intercourse often is associated with pain and bleeding. Although some women experience those effects the first time they have intercourse, many more do not. Though the hymen may bleed when torn, any bleeding or pain experienced by the woman is just as likely to stem from insufficient lubrication or damage to the surrounding tissues.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF VIRGINITY

Virgin^{ity} has long been important in many cultures. Anthropologists speculate that the social significance of female virgin^{ity}, which seems to be most important in patriarchal authoritarian cultures, comes from the need to guarantee the continuation the husband's bloodline. In

Virginity

many of those societies wedding a virgin helps ensure the husband's family against illegitimate births, and the relocation of the bride—whose virginity often increases both her own worth and the value of her dowry—to her husband's family helps create interfamily or international alliances.

Historically, this system, in which the bride and her virginity are viewed as commodities that increase the possibility for a profitable and prestigious marriage, has been common throughout the world. Societies in Africa and the Middle East, for example, often place a high value on the virginity of brides, and the honor of a family often is measured by the chastity of its women. In Chinese society for most of the twentieth century a bride's virginity was seen as a valuable commodity, something owed to her husband and demanded by men as their right. In the Kanuri society of Africa marriage to virginal girls—though more expensive and less sexually satisfying than secondary marriages to older divorced women—is deemed more prestigious by men, who value virgins because they are thought to be more obedient and have not been “used” by another man. In traditional societies that place a heavy weight on female virginity this rhetoric of ownership is common: A virgin bride is preferred because she has been forbidden to other men and is more likely to be submissive to her husband. Such possession and submission were made literal in the marriage rituals of the Amhara society in Africa, which regarded the wedding night as a battle in which the husband had to overpower his new bride, who was expected to resist to the best of her ability.

In societies that place a high value on virginity, methods of safeguarding and verifying virginity are common. In medieval and Renaissance Europe young women sometimes were required to wear a chastity belt, a locked undergarment that prevented sexual intercourse. Many societies have practiced some form of female circumcision to inhibit female desire and prevent premarital sexual activity, though in the early twenty-first century it is common only in some African and Middle Eastern societies.

In many other cultures throughout the world the virginity of a woman is verified on or before her wedding night, sometimes by physical examination, sometimes by the taking of a vow, and sometimes by display of hymenal blood after the wedding night. Bedouin men tested their brides' virginity with togas wrapped around their forefingers; the toga then was displayed. Some native North American tribes required a ritual vow as proof of virginity, and a passage in the Old Testament dictates that the garments of a Jewish bride be displayed after her wedding night. Kurdish brides were required to present evidence of their virginity on white bedsheets, as were

Bulgarian Gypsies. In some cultures a bride who failed to prove her virginity was subject to punishment, sometimes by death. In other cultures gifts were bestowed on the bride's family after she proved her virginity to the satisfaction of her husband and his family. Though such rituals of virginity verification are rare in North American and European societies and are disappearing in other areas of the world, some cultures, particularly in Africa and the Middle East, continue to practice them.

Although the men in some cultures were eager to be the first to share a bed with a virgin, other societies considered defloration dangerous. In some indigenous South American societies a surrogate was hired to deflower a virgin to protect the husband from danger. In one Mexican tribe priests used their fingers to rupture the hymens of female babies; their mothers repeated the procedure when the girls were six years old.

Many pre-Christian European societies, including the Irish Celts, appear to have placed little value on virginity. With the rise of Christianity and its veneration of the virgin birth of Christ, the preservation of virginity—both male and female—became an increasingly important facet of social life. For early Christians, the body was stained by Original Sin and desire was a sign of impurity; the Church thus came to regard physical virginity as a sign of spiritual purity. Christians were encouraged to be chaste and, failing that, to restrict their sexual activity to reproductive sex within the confines of marriage. The Church encouraged lifelong virginity in both men and women and required celibacy of its priests. Virginal women were considered the brides of Christ, and some women discovered a certain power in their virginity as the possibility of a fulfilling life in a convent allowed them to avoid the dependence and subservience entailed by marriage.

In the sixteenth century the leaders of the Protestant Reformation refuted much Catholic theology, including the tenet of lifelong virginity. Martin Luther believed that marriage was a natural human institution and that virginity was therefore not particularly desirable. Calvinism forbade the adoration of the Virgin Mary; the prohibition was extended to virginity in general and to the cloistering of nuns and other women. Rather than being conceived as a religious or spiritual state, virginity commonly was thought of as a temporary state that preceded rather than replaced marriage. Though female virginity still was valued and guarded by the families of young women, there was much less concern with male virginity.

VIRGINITY IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States predominant social attitudes toward virginity have long stemmed from the Protestant tradi-

tions of the first colonists, which generally mandated premarital virginity. Early American colonists held a strict moral view of sexual activity: Both men and women were expected to remain virgins until marriage, and non-reproductive sexual activity within or outside marriage was forbidden. There is some evidence of premarital pregnancies, which typically were resolved by marriage. In the middle to late eighteenth century, in part because of changing philosophies of individual responsibility and the social and economic upheaval of the Revolutionary War, the rate of premarital pregnancy rose. Those pregnancies, however, were less likely to result in marriage, leading to an increase in the abandonment of women, who were still economically dependent on men and stigmatized by illegitimate births.

The dramatic rise in premarital pregnancy and the increasing number of unmarried women abandoned by their lovers helped usher in the backlash that characterized Victorian morality. Virginity for women became paramount, and chastity and sexual continence were considered the hallmark of a properly Victorian masculinity. In spite of that social pressure prostitution and pornography were common features of nineteenth-century urban spaces, and a double standard for male and female sexuality flourished. Any indiscretion, however minor, might damage a woman's chastity, and she was always held responsible for any failure to protect her virtuous reputation.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century white sexual conservatism usually was conceived as being in opposition to the perceived immorality of other ethnic groups. Native Americans and people of African descent had long been considered licentious and promiscuous because of their more relaxed attitudes toward sex and nudity. Though they generally promoted monogamous relationships and long-term cohabitation, African Americans both before and after the Civil War placed much less value on either marriage or virginity largely because the slave owners' power to control marital unions had rendered marriage an insecure institution and because white men's sexual exploitation of black women made illegitimate children all but inevitable. Though the "innocence" and virginity of white women in the Reconstruction South was controlled strictly, it was understood that a white male's first sexual experience would be with a black woman.

In the late nineteenth century dating became a common practice among working-class urban youths, affording them more privacy and opportunity for sexual exploration. Though women still were expected to be virgins on the wedding day, sexual experience increasingly was linked to masculine strength and virility, encouraging more sexual activity among young men and leading to a rise in the number of illegitimate births. After the turn of the twentieth century the practice of

dating spread to the middle classes. Sexual experience in a man became increasingly desirable, and men were less likely to want to be virgins at marriage. Although women still were more likely than men to remain virgins, many more women engaged in premarital sex. Additionally, social disapproval of unmarried nonvirgins began to be relaxed: Although a sexually active unmarried woman ran the risk of having a questionable reputation, she was no longer by definition unmarriageable or impure. Men and women both were increasingly likely to have significant sexual experience before marriage even if they retained their virginity.

In the years before World War II the popular view of virginity underwent a marked shift among adolescents and young adults. American culture increasingly linked love and sexual expression, and a good marriage was thought to incorporate sexual union and pleasure. The loss of virginity increasingly was seen as a rite of passage, one step in the process of becoming an adult, and was more likely to be undertaken before marriage. In place of earlier notions of virginity as a commodity that could help broker a marriage, women began to regard their virginity as a gift to be given to someone they loved, usually but not always in the context of marriage. Moreover, women were less likely to expect—or even want—their husbands to be virgins at marriage. By 1945 the majority of men and close to half of all women lost their virginity before marriage, though they often did so with a sexual partner whom they later would marry.

With the drop in marriage age after World War II, adolescents began dating earlier and the practice of "going steady" became a common means of expressing a commitment to a relationship. Premarital sex was thus more common, though the prevailing belief remained that women should retain their virginity as a gift for their future husbands. Despite the outwardly respectable morality of the 1950s, however, an undercurrent of sexual liberation was perceptible in the culture: *Playboy* was launched in 1953, advertising and films were beginning to commercialize sexuality, the publication of the Kinsey reports indicated that the nation was more sexually liberal than it seemed, and in the 1960s, second-wave feminists began to argue against the social emphasis on premarital virginity and denounce the division of women into good girls and bad girls on the basis of their virginity.

In the 1960s one outgrowth of the youth counterculture was its rejection of the sexual morality of the earlier generation. The baby boom generation was more willing to talk about and admit to having premarital sex. Men and women were more likely than their parents to have sex with partners they did not expect to marry, and they had sex at earlier ages. Casual sex for men became accepted, though women still were expected to have sex

only in the context of an affectionate, if not long-term, relationship. The prevalence of premarital sexual activity in the 1970s led to increased pressure on men to lose their virginity at an earlier age as well as the new phenomenon of women losing their virginity to “get it over with.” By the 1980s the vast majority of men and women were losing their virginity before marriage. In spite of the growth of the conservative Christian movement, which espouses virginity until marriage, this trend has continued.

VIRGINITY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

The loss of virginity traditionally has been defined as a physical action and most commonly is considered to consist of vaginal penetration. Even in the 1980s, when public awareness of oral sex had become common, many young heterosexuals believed that engaging in oral sex did not entail a loss of virginity. Into the 1970s and 1980s this also was the case among homosexuals, who were likely to have begun their sexual activity with a partner of the opposite sex and often did not consider the notion of virginity to be relevant to homosexual practice.

As a result of increased awareness of gay and lesbian sexuality in mainstream culture, however, contemporary definitions of virginity loss have begun to broaden. Though most heterosexuals still tend to think of virginity loss, at least initially, in terms of vaginal penetration, there is greater debate about what kinds of sexual activity might constitute a loss of virginity, with many arguing that participation in anal or oral sex compromises virginity. Young homosexuals—who, in contrast to earlier generations, are more likely to experience their first sexual activity with a person of the same sex—tend to consider their first experience with anal or oral sex to constitute virginity loss (Carpenter 2005).

In spite of the broadening definitions of what constitutes a loss of virginity and the evolution of American culture to one in which premarital virginity is uncommon, virginity is still of great social and personal importance. Laura Carpenter’s 2005 study of virginity loss suggests that regardless of how an individual perceives his or her virginity—whether it is viewed as a gift to be granted in the context of a significant, loving relationship; a stigma to be shed as quickly as possible (a view more common among men but held by a significant minority of women); or a natural step or rite of passage in becoming an adult—the notion of losing one’s virginity is deeply significant to most people.

Contemporary attitudes toward virginity tend to be complex and often contradictory for both men and women, as is evidenced by the juxtaposition of overt sexuality in mainstream American marketing and enter-

tainment with the prevalence of abstinence-only sexual education in American schools. References to virginity and virginity loss are almost ubiquitous in popular American culture: Movies such as *American Pie* (1999) and *The 40 Year Old Virgin* (2005) dealt with social pressures to lose one’s virginity in a timely fashion, and films from *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* (1982) to *Kids* (1995) featured virginity and its loss as a prime feature of teen sexuality. Madonna’s 1984 hit “Like a Virgin” was about sexual experience even as it invoked the innocence of virginity. Donna Martin (Tori Spelling) of *Beverly Hills 90210*, who remained a virgin years longer than her peers, was a prominent emblem of teen virginity in the 1990s, though that virginal status rendered her oddly out of step with her sexually experienced friends. When the pop singer Britney Spears, already shedding her girl-next-door image in favor of a blatantly sexual persona, declared her intention to remain a virgin until she was married, the media and fan reaction—which ranged from applause to disbelief to titillation—highlighted the United States’ contradictory attitudes toward virginity.

SEE ALSO *Chastity; Mary, Mother of Jesus.*

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Maureen Lauder

VIRGIN MARY

SEE *Mary, Mother of Jesus.*

VOYEURISM

DEFINING VOYEURISM

The concept of voyeurism has multiple meanings that have changed over time. Some definitions focus on or suggest deviance in looking, while others do not. Examining the shifting meanings of voyeurism from 1950 through 2004, psychiatrist Jonathan Metzl (2004b) observes that “in present-day America, popular definitions of voyeurism are as broad as psychiatric definitions are narrow” (p. 127). On the one hand, voyeurism may be considered a type of paraphilia—an inappropriate sexual desire or sexual disorder. Viewed in this light and from the perspective of the fields of psychiatry and psychology, voyeurism takes on a negative connotation. It is defined “as the act of becoming sexually aroused by watching some form of nudity or sexual activity of unsuspecting, unconsenting individuals, either adult or children, male or female” (Adams 2000, p. 216). For instance, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition, Text Revision* (2000) provides that “the paraphilic focus of voyeurism involves the act of observing unsuspecting individuals, usually strangers, who are naked, in the process of disrobing, or engaging in sexual activity” and occurs “for the purposes of achieving sexual excitement” (p. 575). There is not, however, a large body of literature that concentrates exclusively on either voyeurism as a sexual disorder or on its treatment. Thus “the extent to which voyeurism exists in the general population is unknown.” (Kaplan and Krueger 1997, p. 298).

Beyond psycho-medical definitions of voyeurism as a pathology or sexual disorder, the term is used much more loosely, in a non-sexual and pop-cultural context, to describe reality television. In 2000, when the television shows *Survivor* and *Big Brother* debuted in the United States, the terms voyeur television, voyeur TV, and other variations on the theme were used by many in the popular press to describe the shows. Along these lines, communications and law professor Clay Calvert (2000, p. 2–3) employed the term “mediated voyeurism” to describe “the consumption of revealing images of and information about others’ apparently real and unguarded lives, often yet not always for purposes of entertainment but frequently at the expense of privacy and discourse, through the means of the mass media and Internet.” This definition is further distinguished from that of voyeurism “as a sexual disorder or form of sexual deviance” (p. 23). Yet others contend there is still something

subversive with some forms of voyeuristic television fare. Author Neal Gabler (2000, p. 1) writes that “watching these programs is a way of safely exercising mischievousness in a society that allows few opportunities to do so. They allow us to be moral outlaws.”

Ultimately, then, there is a definitional divide between abnormal, pathological voyeurism and popular culture’s conception of a more normal, acceptable, and non-deviant form of looking for purposes of entertainment. The term voyeurism thus takes on different meanings depending upon the context in which is used.

THE MOST FAMOUS VOYEUR: PEEPING TOM

Perhaps the most famous voyeur in history is a character, found in later versions of the legend of Lady Godiva, who goes by a name instantly recognizable in the early twenty-first century—Peeping Tom. Daniel Donoghue (2003, p. 69) writes that “over the years ‘Peeping Tom’ has become such a familiar expression that many people are surprised to learn it arose as a by-product of the Godiva legend.” Tom is the voyeur who, hidden away, engages in a forbidden and transgressive gaze as he stares at Lady Godiva as she rides naked on the back of a horse through the streets of Coventry in England to protest taxes. The townspeople had been asked to stay inside their homes and not look at Lady Godiva. For such deviant looking, Tom is either blinded or killed, depending on the particular telling of the legend. As Donoghue observes, the instantaneous punishment of Tom became “established as an essential part of the legend” (2000, p. 71) by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The lesson is that some forms of looking are improper and deserve punishment. As discussed later, there are indeed laws against voyeurism, some of which incorporate the name Peeping Tom in their text.

VIDEO VOYEURISM

Of particular concern at the beginning of the twenty-first century is the concept of video voyeurism. As its name suggests, this high-technology voyeurism involves individuals who use tiny cameras—increasingly, cell phone cameras—and other video recording devices such as palm-sized camcorders to capture images of people in various stages of undress. For instance, hidden cameras have been found recording unsuspecting women in store dressing rooms, tanning booths, locker rooms, and public toilets. In addition, specialized cameras that use infrared filter technology can capture images through some types of fabrics, compounding the problem of video voyeurism by actually seeing through clothes and facilitating night-vision peeping in the dark.



Peeping Tom and Lady Godiva. Lady Godiva riding through town nude while Peeping Tom watches from a window. This story is the source of the term “Peeping Tom.” MARK KAUFMAN/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

One pernicious form of video voyeurism is known as *upskirt voyeurism*. As the name suggests, this kind of voyeurism often involves the placement of camera-carrying backpacks and book bags at the feet of women, with the cameras pointing and shooting up underneath the women’s skirts or dresses. Sometimes the voyeur places a miniature camera in his shoe and then positions his feet near those of the victim to point up under the skirt. Such upskirting may also involve the use of camera phones. For instance, in 2005 a man was arrested at a shopping center in North Attleborough, Massachusetts, for allegedly using a cell phone camera to look up the skirt of a seventeen-year-old girl as she rode an escalator. That same year an Ohio man was placed on three years of probation and made to undergo sex-addiction counseling after he was caught in the act of using a camera phone held at his side to take pictures underneath the skirt of a fourteen-year-old girl at a grocery store. The flipside of upskirt voyeurism is known as *downblouse voyeurism*. As the name implies, it involves using a recording device positioned above the unsuspecting victim to capture images down a woman’s blouse or shirt.

The targets of video voyeurism often are harmed in two different ways. First, their sense of privacy is invaded when the video voyeur captures the images. Second, the

images themselves may end up on the growing number of sexually explicit Websites featuring voyeuristic images. If the victim finds out about such a posting, the victim suffers further emotional trauma as an object of pornography.

LAWS TARGETING VOYEURISM

Voyeurism raises important legal questions about invasion of privacy. All states in the United States have some form of statute targeting traditional Peeping Toms who physically trespass and peer into windows and secluded places. For instance, Delaware Criminal Code at Section 820 (2005) provides in relevant part that:

A person is guilty of trespassing with intent to peer or peep into a window or door of another when the person knowingly enters upon the occupied property or premises of another utilized as a dwelling, with intent to peer or peep into the window or door of such property or premises and who, while on such property or premises, otherwise acts in a manner commonly referred to as “Peeping Tom.”

Such traditional laws against voyeurism fail to address video voyeurism and high-tech peeping practices

involving hidden cameras and other recording devices. By the mid-1990s, technology had outstripped the law in this area and there was little statutory authority on the books to stop video voyeurism. It was at that time and through the early years of the twenty-first century when states began to adopt new laws specifically targeting video voyeurism. For instance, on July 1, 2004, Florida Statute Section 810.145 (2005) went into effect, making video voyeurism a criminal offense. Among the various forms of prohibited video voyeurism, the Florida law makes it a crime when a person:

for his or her own amusement, entertainment, sexual arousal, gratification, or profit, or for the purpose of degrading or abusing another person, intentionally uses or installs an imaging device to secretly view, broadcast, or record a person, without that person's knowledge and consent, who is dressing, undressing, or privately exposing the body, at a place and time when that person has a reasonable expectation of privacy.

Louisiana was one of the first states to adopt a video voyeurism law. Louisiana Revised Statute 14:283 (2005) defines the crime of video voyeurism to include "the use of any camera, videotape, photo-optical, photo-electric, or any other image recording device for the purpose of observing, viewing, photographing, filming, or videotaping a person where that person has not consented to the observing, viewing, photographing, filming, or videotaping and it is for a lewd or lascivious purpose." The United States Congress also became concerned with video voyeurism, and President George W. Bush signed into law in December 2004 the Video Voyeurism Prevention Act of 2004. Section 1801 of Title 18 of the United States Code (2005) provides that a person in the "territorial jurisdiction of the United States, [who] has the intent to capture an image of a private area of an individual without their consent, and knowingly does so

under circumstances in which the individual has a reasonable expectation of privacy, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both." The "private area of an individual" under this statute "means the naked or undergarment clad genitals, pubic area, buttocks, or female breast of that individual" (18 U.S.C. § 1801, 2005).

SEE ALSO *Exhibitionism; Pornography.*

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Clay Calvert

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WAR

The differences between biological sex identity and learned gender identity are probably nowhere so clear as in wartime cultures, which direct males and females toward their respective roles as fighting men and nurturing women. At the same time, war opens space within this categorical framework. For instance, Rosie the Riveter of American World War II propaganda as a muscular factory worker is an unconventional mother, but still a mother. The link between sex and gender is simultaneously destabilized and reinforced during wartime.

WARTIME ROLES

Since ancient times and across the globe, males have performed combat. However, many scholars agree that no compelling evidence actually proves males to be biologically predisposed to soldiering. Hormones, even size and strength, have been said to play a minimal role in successful combat. Instead, soldiering, like gender, is a learned performance. The well-documented existence of both successful female warriors and unsuccessful male combatants testifies to this understanding of soldiering and gender performance. Regardless of how the occupation itself and the definitions of masculinity and femininity have varied among cultures, soldiering is seen as a masculine performance. Entrance into the military, as a basic form of civic duty or citizenship, has provided a masculine rite of passage in many cultures. Becoming a warrior, the young man leaves the private, maternal space of the home and enters the realm of public service to the paternal state. Courage, physical strength, skilled

handling of weapons, endurance of hardship and pain, and the “no guts, no glory” attitude associated with warriors have typically been celebrated as masculine traits in military and civilian life. Such a model of militant masculinity at its extreme appears in the warrior hero in Homeric epics and American *Rambo* films. Such masculine soldiering belongs to a gendered dichotomy between protector and protected, strong and weak, war and peace, public and private.

Warfare is often positioned as a masculine defense of the feminine, as men defend their homes, homelands, and the women in them. In fact, popular ways of speaking about war often conflate the bodies of individual women with the nation. Invading soldiers’ raping of individual women becomes symbolic of the invasion itself. In turn, the rapes of individual women often represent the humiliation of entire nations and serve as a call to arms for men to defend their women and country. Not only is the homeland needing protection feminized, but often the enemy is too: They are depicted as feminine or as effeminately homosexual, as waiting and willing to be conquered.

The essentialist formulation claiming to be rooted in nature assigning masculine and feminine work during wartime is simply that women are to give birth and men to fight and kill. However, both are recognized as duties to the state, and together they constitute necessary components of any war system. In ancient Sparta (950–192 BCE), only men who fell in battle and women who died during childbirth received marked gravestones. During wartime, womanhood is delegated to a sphere of peace, a refuge from war, where women undo war’s damage. Men kill and get killed, whereas women

replenish the population. Men wound and women bandage, men get dirty and women launder. Conceptions of war have depended on such a dichotomy between men and women, battlefield and home front. Yet scholars have noted that nurses appearing to act as peaceful and life-preserving mothers are nonetheless integral components of a war system that could not continue without them. During war, medical workers' fundamental purpose is to render men able to return to battle, where they will kill or be killed. In this sense, life-preserving women's war labor actually perpetuates a life-destroying cause, and at closer inspection, the dichotomy between the two collapses.

During wartime, the home front (if one can be distinguished from the battle zone) becomes militarized along with those who work and live there. Although motherhood is commonly thought of as antithetical to war, particularly by pacifist feminists, motherhood has been constructed as a feminine version of military service during wartime from ancient Sparta to twentieth-century Europe. This mother figure brings honor to herself as a national symbol of sacrifice by pressuring males to "be men" and fight. She functions as a cheerleader and witness of masculine performance. As early as the Second Crusade, the French Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204) and other women handed out phallic-shaped weaving spindles to men they suspected of neglecting their duty as soldiers. British women did the same with white feathers during World War I.

Some have questioned the masculine nature of soldiering by noting many of the ideals in a soldier are actually stereotypically feminine. Equal-opportunity feminists in favor of female combatants in the military argue militaries are not built upon essentialized masculinity. Rather, females and males with feminine traits belong there too. If military science is concerned with training numbers of individuals to act as one body, or corps, then a successful military unit depends on its soldiers' strict discipline and submission to authority, their willingness to work with others and cohere into a group, and their senses of duty, loyalty, and self-sacrifice. These are all stereotypical feminine characteristics. In contrast to the popular Rambo image, combatants must be as willing to die as to kill. Not courage or blood-thirst, but devotion to the group and an unwillingness to abandon it may compel soldiers to fight rather than flee from combat. The question remains, however, whether such feminine traits are protected and framed within a culture of masculinity and articulated within the context of a tightly bound brotherhood. Some hold that women introduced into this brotherhood threaten its cohesion and masculine character, and make such carefully framed feminine traits difficult to sustain. Scientific studies of group cohesion among

mixed sex military units in the United States have been inconclusive, and are complicated by women's official designation as noncombatants, which might interfere with group cohesion more than gender or sex.

Since the 1990s, women comprise up to 15 percent of modern industrial militaries. Despite formal distinctions banning women from combat, male and female soldiers are difficult to classify simply as combatants or noncombatants during wartime. In the U.S. military, noncombatants are still trained for combat and carry guns. Females in support positions in the military often come under fire, they are taken as prisoners of war, and they are wounded or killed just as male combat soldiers might be.

Certainly, females' performance as combat soldiers has been constant throughout human history, though historical records of female warriors have emphasized the cultural anomaly of their performance, and they constitute a minority of all warriors historically. Accounts of women who have fought as soldiers disguised as men are innumerable, particularly because many never revealed their disguise. But female leaders from ancient times also fought in battle openly as women. Cleopatra of Egypt (69 BCE–30 BCE), Zenobia of Palmyra (r. 268–272 CE), and Matilda, Countess of Tuscany (1046–1115) were all political leaders who led their armies into battle and fought side-by-side with men. The Assyrian queen Sammuamat (r. 811–808 BCE), who conquered Babylon, emphasized the gendered performance of her combat on the memorial she erected in honor of herself: "Nature made me a woman, yet I have raised myself to rival the greatest man" (De Pauw 1998, p. 41).

Examples of all-female military units also exist. Though reports of ancient communities of female warriors or Amazons in ancient Libya, Scythia, and Sarmatia are widely contested, it is well-documented that the Amazons of the Kingdom of Dahomey in West Africa (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) served in their own units in a mixed military. Like Sammuamat, they reportedly saw their occupations as masculine: "We are men, not women" (De Pauw 1998, p. 181). Women around the world have always participated in combat with men in guerilla operations, terrorist attacks, and civil wars. Women have also been reserved as last lines of defense in particularly critical or bleak situations. For example, Czarist Russia and the Soviet Union formed all-female units during World War I and World War II. Women always defended town walls by throwing rocks or boiling liquid at invaders when their men were absent or short-numbered. Particularly celebrated are accounts of women, like Molly Pitcher (the historical figure based on Mary Ludwig Hays McCauley) of the American Revolutionary War, who, supporting and supplying soldiers with water

and supplies, took over their husbands' posts when they were wounded or killed. These last examples point to the proximity between "combatant" and "noncombatant" roles. Except in the case of wars fought far away from home or at sea, women are rarely as isolated from combat as is typically represented.

In practice, an exclusively masculine or male space where war is waged has been only an imagined ideal. Throughout history, wherever men were soldiers, women were camp-followers or victims of invasion. Camp followers provided food to soldiers, laundered, and sold supplies. They provided medical care, dug ditches, and loaded weapons. Though some were married to soldiers, as a group they were negatively characterized as prostitutes with low morals and poor hygiene, who slowed the mobility of military units. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), German camp followers were subject to military law and were regulated by their own male military administrator. But beginning in the eighteenth century, European and North American militaries began to limit and eventually abolish camp followers. Instead they sought to provide such services within the military organization itself. This arrangement was quickly supplemented by the formation of the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations during the Crimean War (1853–1856) and American Civil War (1861–1865). These groups strictly regulated the types of females they employed and their behavior to avoid "camp follower" or "prostitute" status. Women had to be celibate and unmarried, and were often framed as "sisters" or "daughters" to the soldiers. In contrast to the traditional camp follower, whose relationship with the military was chiefly economic, Red Cross women were generally unpaid volunteers who could afford to give their time and labor.

At the same time, by World War I most militaries also began providing their soldiers with regulated brothels. Feminists have offered the criticism that militaries not only encourage the sexual and economic exploitation of women, but also promote the belief that sexual exploitation of women is manly and that sexual virility is related to successful combat performance. Though feminists do not form a uniform position on prostitution, some feminists have identified a link between military policy sanctioning prostitution and violence against women. They argue that rape does not have an inherent place in war as a facet of natural male aggression but it is institutionalized through direct policy or lack thereof. For instance, the Japanese government enslaved foreign women to provide sexual services to their troops during World War II, which amounted to institutionalized rape. The wars in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s also demonstrated that rape can belong to systematic military policy; rape became an official war crime according to the United Nations in 1998.

WAR'S LONG-TERM IMPACT

Particularly in the twentieth century, mass mobilization of men into the military has necessitated women's entrance into the public sphere. In turn, new career opportunities for women made possible by war have been praised as a step forward for women's rights. But feminist scholars have pointed out that leaving the home for the factory or office did not automatically translate into gender equality. Women's status remained subordinate to the status of male workers and male soldiers especially. Women's work in factories and other sectors was repeatedly highlighted by policymakers as a temporary arrangement and framed within a context of traditional gender roles. Once men returned home, so did women, a movement enforced by public policy and postwar propaganda. In other words, while men's and women's roles changed, their positions in relation to one another did not.

It has been argued that women proved themselves worthy of full citizenship through their patriotic wartime service to the state. Whether voting rights were a direct consequence of wartime activity has, however, been disputed. It is difficult to imagine voting rights would have been granted without the suffrage movement. Regardless, after World War I, women gained the vote in Canada, Estonia, Great Britain, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Sweden, the Soviet Union, the United States, and the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. After World War II, French and Italian women also won suffrage rights. Still, voting equality, though an important step, should not be mistaken for social, political, and economic equality.

Wars in which men fight away from home and women stay at home have also often alienated male combatants and female civilians from one another. The traumatic experience of battle has left combatants emotionally and physically damaged. Though war has been represented as a test of manhood, in which men have the opportunity to be "real men," it has also always threatened to unman soldiers. Men under fire often behave in "unmanly" or "cowardly" ways (such as crying, hiding, or failing to fire back), and physical and psychological wounds are often symbolically recognized as castrations. The castrated soldier stands in symbolic opposition to the woman who seems to have gained economic and political power during the war. Integration back into civilian and family life is often difficult if not impossible. The American experience of the Vietnam War and the German experience of World War I have involved a soldier class that felt betrayed by the home front, widely perceived as women who did not adequately support their men and the war effort. In other words, when a nation suffers a humiliating defeat and the soldiers as a group fail the "test of manhood" posed by the war, women may be blamed.

FEMINIST RESPONSES TO WAR

Feminists have been unable to form a uniform position on war. The World War I division of the women's movement into supporters of their respective governments and opponents, who formed international alliances of women against war, remains emblematic of the two camps. Many suffragists believed that if they rallied behind their governments and subordinated their own needs to that of their governments, they might eventually win the vote. Women have also been mobilized into supporting war in the name of defending other women. British and American women responded to reports of German atrocities against Belgian women, just as American and European women supported the 2002 invasion of Afghanistan as a means of liberating women from the repressive Taliban government. Northern feminists supported the American Civil War because they believed the fight to abolish slavery was a just cause. Feminists in support of a war often appeal to just-war theory. In the twenty-first century, it is clear that women have not only supported war, but have directed its policy. Condoleezza Rice of the George W. Bush administration and Pat Schroeder of the Senate Arms Committee have been powerful government and military policymakers. Just as they have proposed elsewhere, many equal-opportunity feminists also advocate the full integration of women into all sectors of the military, including combat positions, so that they might also eventually constitute a higher percentage of military and political policymakers.

Pacifist feminists have sometimes designated women as fundamentally different from men. As mothers, they hold women have a particular and natural duty to oppose war and to protect life. They hold that only women can end war, since men are either naturally predisposed or socially encouraged towards it. For this reason pacifist feminists question whether military careers are a step forward or a step backward for women, insofar as their careers support and advance a patriarchal institution that may perpetuate sexism and dichotomous and sometimes destructive gender roles. Pacifist feminists often form international coalitions and recognize women across the world as victims of war.

SEE ALSO *Rosie the Riveter*.

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Susan L. Solomon

WARHOL, ANDY 1928–1987

Andy Warhol, American icon and pop artist par excellence, began his career as a commercial and design artist in New York. A painter, a filmmaker and photographer, a writer and poet, and a practicing Catholic, he captured the essence of American culture in his brief and dramatic life. A leading figure in the arts, he also challenged conventions by boldly exploring his own homosexuality.

Warhol was born Andrew Warhola in Forest City, Pennsylvania, on August 6, 1928, to Czechoslovakian immigrants. He changed his name to Andy Warhol when he moved to New York where, in 1952, his mother joined him. She did not sit on the side but helped her son with his design production, coloring and inscribing the objects, sometimes even signing them. In this period Warhol produced a set of prints of women's dress shoes playfully titled "À la recherche du shoe perdu," an obvious allusion to French intellectual and writer Marcel Proust's (1871–1922) *À la recherche du temps perdu* (Remembrance of things past). The American *shoe* is pronounced identically to the French *chou*, which means cabbage but also refers to a puff pastry filled with cream. Such *chous*, mounted in pyramids, are a staple of French wedding receptions. But *chou* is also a common term of endearment. Gender games abound in Warhol's production.

Warhol was one of the leaders of pop art, an art movement that sought to exploit the images and motifs of popular culture, especially advertisements and mass media. Warhol had wanted to focus on comics but felt



Andy Warhol. A 1966 Self-Portrait of Andy Warhol. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSCÉE 'ART ET D'INDUSTRIE SAINT-ETIENNE/DAGL: ORTI. © 2007 ANDY WARHOL FOUNDATION FOR THE VISUAL ARTS / ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK.

that this area had become the property of another prominent American pop artist Roy Lichtenstein (1923–1997).

Instead, Warhol turned his attention to consumer products such as Campbell's soup cans, Coca-Cola, cartons of Brillo soap pads, Del Monte peach halves, and Heinz tomato ketchup. The soup cans are most often lined up like soldiers in an endless series, displayed as they would be in a grocery store. But food was not always so appealing in Warhol's paintings. In *Tunafish Disaster*, Warhol interlaces rows of seized, potentially lethal, cans of tuna with rows of female faces. Critics agree that his corpus comments on American consumer society. Yet all these products are female gendered, representing objects that are either prepared as food (e.g., the soup cans) or objects used to clean dirty dishes and pans (e.g., Brillo soap pads). Warhol's consumerism has a predilection for the domestic, female-coded space of the kitchen. This can be seen in Warhol's works in which S&H Green Stamps fill the canvas. S&H Green Stamps were com-

monly given out in grocery stores. Housewives or children glued them into booklets redeemable for purchases.

Warhol loved series—cows, flowers, dollar bills. After the death of Marilyn Monroe, he created series of the actress in strikingly bright psychedelic colors that highlighted her face, as well as a series of Jackie Kennedy after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. These works form part of Warhol's death corpus that includes car crashes repeated in series.

But it was not simply consumerism/domesticity and the morbid that attracted Warhol. His series *Piss & Sex Paintings and Drawings* features overtly sexual pieces, with eroticized male sexual organs in various degrees of erection. For Warhol, "homosexuality, like sex in general, was . . . natural" (Warhol 2002, p 6). He called his painted male torsos *landscapes*.

Warhol's photography, which he took up later in his career, is as powerfully gendered as his other works. His

series *Self-Portrait in Drag* shows Warhol's ability to play gender games. In the series *Bananas*, a clearly phallic meaning is intended. In viewing this series one watches Warhol as he inserts an enormous, partly peeled banana into his mouth.

Gender imbued Warhol's work in different ways. His cinematic production included *Ladies and Gentlemen* (1975), which, according to Claudia Bauer, involved a reworking "of photographs of homosexuals and transvestites" (2004, p. 50). Bauer further mentions that "in recognition for his contribution to the understanding of homosexuality, he [Warhol] received an award from the New York Popular Cultural Association, but the series was not exhibited in the USA" (2004, p. 50). When an attempt was made on his life in 1968, Warhol was forced to undergo medical operations. "His upper torso was covered in long scars and required the constant support of a medical corset: 'I looked like a dress designed by Dior—no, by Yves Saint Laurent. Seams everywhere'" (2004, pp. 41–42). In this statement, the male envisions his body as a female garment.

Inspired by the great Renaissance artist Leonardo da Vinci's (1452–1519) *Annunciation*, Warhol, three years before his death, painted an *Annunciation*, striking by its absence of the two traditional characters: the handsome male angel and the chastely beautiful Virgin Mary. Warhol's interpretation (copied from a detail in da Vinci's original) includes two hands, one on each side of the painting stretched toward one another, against a landscape with a building on the side. Warhol's renditions of the same artist's *The Last Supper*, completed one year before his death, attracted more attention. Other Renaissance artists, including Sandro Botticelli (1445–1510) and Paolo Uccello (1397–1475), also inspired Warhol.

Warhol, no fan of hospitals—having already experienced them after the attempt on his life—had to undergo a gall bladder operation in 1987. In fact, he never uttered the word *hospital*, referring to it as *the place*. Complications from the operation led to his demise on February 22 of that year. A mass held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at the Holy Ghost Byzantine Catholic Church was followed by a funeral procession to St. John the Baptist Byzantine Catholic Cemetery, located in the suburb of Bethel Park. A memorial service at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York drew more than two thousand people, including some of the world's most famous artists, such as Lichtenstein, Claes Oldenburg (b. 1929), and David Hockney (b. 1937), and television personalities such as Don Johnson (b. 1949) of *Miami Vice*. Catholicism was important to Warhol. He attended church regularly and had an audience with Pope John Paul II (1920–2005) in 1980.

Warhol was the artist of mass consumption. But there can be seen in his obsession with series a fear of loss. It is said that he named all his male cats Sam, a repetition that could be seen as an urgent need to secure the future against death. In Warhol's case the future has ratified his position as one of America's most influential figures, whose artistic devices and witty aphorisms have become part of the American visual and cultural landscape.

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

WATERSPORTS

Watersports is a slang term for sexual play with urine. Activities can include urination on or in front of a partner, wetting one's clothes (either in public or private), and drinking urine. Often referred to as *golden showers*, the practice is more technically known as *uro-lagnia* or *urophilia*. Watersports is practiced by fetishists, by those involved in domination and submission, and by couples who find that it increases emotional intimacy and sexual satisfaction.

Sexual excitement induced by the idea of or participation in watersports has both psychological and physical roots. The ache of a full bladder can enhance sexual pleasure, and, for some women, urinating at the height of pleasure can cause or intensify orgasm. Many men and women find that the sensation of a warm steam of urine on their genitals causes immediate orgasm. For some couples, participation in urine play also enhances intimacy.

Although urine itself is relatively sterile, watersports nonetheless violates a primary social taboo establishing certain bodily fluids and excretions as unhygienic. (It should be noted, however, that the cleanliness of urine does not guarantee the prevention of sexually transmitted disease or other infections.) The violation of such a taboo can itself cause sexual excitement, often coupled with shame. For some, this balance of shame and excitement is a primary attraction of watersports. For dominants and submissives, the humiliation of public urination, of urination in sexually stimulating places or positions, of wetting oneself, of drinking urine, or of holding own's urine to the point of discomfort can provide an opportunity for erotic power exchange.

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Maureen Lauder

WELFARE

In the United States, *welfare* most commonly refers to assistance provided by government to poor people to enable them to survive at a basic level of living. In Europe the government sector is larger, and public welfare programs are more developed and provide assistance to more people than only the poor. The phrase *welfare state* refers to a nation that has substantial apparatus to provide services and security to most of its citizens in a variety of domains, such as health care, education, recreation, and transportation, as well as the necessities of daily life, such as food, clothing, and housing. In the United States public policy is less extensive in the welfare area and the public sector guards against fewer risks. Most families are on their own, earning their living in a relatively unregulated marketplace; the public services that are provided are generally available only to those who meet income and asset eligibility standards and are targeted to the poor rather than being made more widely available to the working and middle classes. An inordinate fear of making people dependent on the state seems to motivate much of the relative stinginess of the U.S. welfare system. Put another way, the deserving poor, such as the elderly or the blind, or the disabled, can safely be taken care of, whereas the able bodied must be forced to work lest they should become an expensive burden. Mothers without husbands, able bodied or not, have generally been given assistance to care for their children, whereas able-bodied fathers have often been excluded

because they ought to be able to work and earn enough to support a family on their own.

Even though most observers seem to agree that a highly industrial and urbanized economy requires the public provision of basic aid through the tax system, the extent of aid that is provided varies among countries, and the amount, type, and proper recipients of aid are often matters of considerable debate in all countries. And in most rich countries in Europe and North America, the extent to which aid is offered to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered (GLBT) persons is not known. Few countries explicitly allow such aid, although it is likely that nonheterosexual individuals can get some aid in many countries. Who requires aid or who is deserving of aid or is viewed as able bodied also changes over time.

DEVELOPMENT OF WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES

When welfare was first forming along with the new professional field of social work (which grew largely out of private charitable organizations in the nineteenth century), destitute mothers of young children, it was thought, should be able to stay at home with their children rather than have to earn their own living and place their children in orphanages because their low earnings would not enable them to maintain a household for them. The United States was actually the first country to develop mothers' pensions, first at the local and state levels, and then at the national level as part of the 1935 Social Security Act. From 1935 to 1996 basic aid to poor children living in families was, at least in theory, a basic right, an entitlement, although the benefit amounts were set by the states and were never generous enough to raise assisted families even up to the official federal poverty line let alone above it. Nevertheless, given the benefit levels set by the states, sufficient funds to meet the needs of each state population were automatically transferred from the federal government to the state governments and agencies that administered the welfare program locally. During the civil rights era of the 1960s, access to the program expanded so that African-American women in the South, who had been excluded at first so they would be available to work in the fields and as maids, began to join the rolls and claim the benefits that were theoretically available to all.

The population receiving welfare also changed from mostly widows in the early years to increasing numbers of divorced and then never-married mothers. During the same time period other parts of the Social Security system addressing the needs of the disabled and poor elderly were expanded, and poor mothers became isolated in a separate system, which came to be known as welfare and so carried a high degree of stigmatization.

Beginning in the 1970s, as mothers everywhere increased their participation in the labor force, the federal and state governments encouraged single mothers receiving welfare to work. The government also took a growing interest in tracking down the fathers of the children and obtaining child support payments from them. Finally, with the passage of the 1996 welfare reform law, the federal government ended the entitlement and placed a life-time limit of five years on the receipt of benefits; funds were transferred to the states as a fixed sum, and states could now set their own eligibility standards as well as benefit levels. The result is that there is no longer a national guarantee of assistance to poor women and children in the United States. Rather, it is expected that poor mothers will work outside the home, hopefully earning enough, with limited public support, to maintain a home for themselves and their children. Since passage of the 1996 law, the welfare rolls have fallen, and although some families are now better off, others have fallen further into poverty.

Moreover, the 1996 law established several goals of federal policy, including to encourage two-parent families, to reduce nonmarital child bearing, and to increase financial support of their children by absent fathers. The law allows states to refuse benefits to a child who is conceived and born while her or his mother is receiving welfare, and more than half of the states now do so. Mothers are required to assist the government in finding the fathers of their children and to receive aid must often reveal even the most intimate details of their intimate relationships. The law also promotes misinformation about reproductive health. It provides funding to the states for promoting abstinence in everyone who is not married and requires that states teach “that sexual activity outside of the context of marriage is likely to have harmful psychological and physical effects” [P.L. 104-193, section 510(b)(2)]. Thus, the 1996 reform moved the goals of restricting the reproductive activity of all poor women squarely into the mainstream of public policy and, furthermore, established heterosexual marriage as the foundation of modern society for the nonpoor and poor alike. The fertility of poor women has always been a target of state policy; for example, in some states, Native-American, Hispanic-American, or African-American women especially were forced to undergo sterilization to receive benefits. In the late twentieth century, times, poor women were encouraged to have long-acting contraceptives inserted under their skin.

Although abuses such as these have been eliminated, the new emphasis on two-parent heterosexual families as the nationally legislated norm certainly creates barriers for many families to receive welfare benefits in the United States. Although several states and localities offer recognition of same-sex relationships, only one state, Massachusetts, offers marriage to gay and lesbian couples,

but, through the federal Defense of Marriage Act of 1996, those marriages are explicitly not recognized by the federal government in any of its benefit programs.

EUROPEAN WELFARE POLICIES

In Europe welfare benefits are generally more generous and less restrictive. Assistance with child-rearing is not limited only to poor people; many middle class families receive child allowances, subsidized child care, paid parental leaves, and other forms of income support. Although the European Union (EU) does not yet have a union-wide policy of recognizing marriage between same-sex couples, several member countries do recognize such marriages and many recognize various forms of registered partnerships for same-sex couples that convey many of the benefits of marriage. The EU has also established some rights for transgendered persons and, in theory, protects the rights of all children, regardless of their parents' or their own sexual identity. In most of those countries welfare and other family-related benefits are available to same-sex couples and children of same-sex couples or GLBT individuals on the same basis as they are to heterosexual couples. For example, in Sweden both members of a lesbian couple would be eligible to receive paid parental leave to care for their child. Medical services are also universally available in most European countries, and access to abortion has been provided in most. In the United States, in contrast, states may not use federal funds to provide abortions for poor women except in instances of rape, incest, or protecting the woman's life, and the new abstinence-only policies discourage even teaching about contraception.

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Heidi Hartmann

WEST, MAE

1893–1980

Known for her clever quips, sexual innuendo, and buxom figure, Mae West was a vaudeville, Hollywood, and Broadway performer who became a part of American legend and folklore. Born August 17, 1893, in Brooklyn, New York, West became a child performer in vaudeville where she early learned many tricks of the performing trade. Even as a younger star, West performed in brash, vulgar bits portraying an assertive woman who frankly liked sex. As she became older, she performed often as a sexual predator, reversing the polite roles of Western mating practices with such lines as “It takes two to get one in trouble,” or “Between two evils, I always pick the one I never tried before,” or the most famous, “Is that a gun in your pocket or are you just happy to see me?” and “Why don’t you come on up and see me sometime?” In 1926, her first play, *Sex*, began its brief run in New York. West was arrested for breaking obscenity laws and spent six days in jail. Between 1926 and the early 1930s when she finally moved to Hollywood to make films, West wrote six more plays, one of which, *The Constant Sinner*, was adapted from a novel she had written. Like her first play, West’s theater portrayed bawdy, lascivious women with a certain amount of power.

In the 1930s West moved to Hollywood to make films for Paramount. She starred with George Raft in *Night After Night* (1932), where she reportedly upstaged him in an “auspicious start,” according to the reviewer in *Variety*. Her second film, 1933’s *She Done Him Wrong*, in which she costarred with Cary Grant, was based on her own hit play *Diamond Lil*. Basing its appeal only on the star power of its two leads, *She Done Him Wrong* excites the *Variety* reviewer’s comments that “Folks in the sticks seeing Mae West for the first time in this flicker, without having heard of her before, are likely to inquire as to what reform school Mae was brought up in.” Continuing her act as a bawdy, frankly sexual woman, West’s character quickly became a persona reflecting a humorous, healthily salacious reversal of conservative norms. For that reason and at the urging of the Hays Committee, the self-policing branch of the film industry, West toned down her later films. From 1932 until 1943 when she returned to Broadway, West made ten films for Paramount, helping them emerge as a competitor in film production. Perhaps her most famous part was with W.C. Fields in the 1940 film *My Little Chickadee*.

West’s frank and open attitude about sexual pleasure often ran counter to the repressive representations made especially in film, where conservative production codes prevented showing even married couples in the same bed. Her open desire, joy, and even calculating attitude about sex turned the tables on mythologies of male dominance and drew attention to the idea that women might



Mae West. A publicity handout of Mae West standing next to a white radio in an elaborate fur-sleeved gown with a train which is swirled to the front. © UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD/CORBIS.

also enjoy sexual pleasure. One song from *She Done Him Wrong*, “I Like a Man Who Takes His Time,” accomplished a commentary on sexual relations from the point of view of a woman for whom sex was anything but a duty. Many of her famous one-liners—“Some men are all right in their place—if only they knew the right places,” “Every man wants to protect me. I can’t figure out from what,” or “When I’m good I’m very very good, but when I’m bad I’m better”—make visible a sexual relation in which women are willing and desirous partners.

West’s aggressive sexuality was accompanied by an aggressively sexy physique. Only five feet, four inches tall, West had an exaggerated figure with a large bosom and hips. She wore platform shoes to make her taller and sexy clothes and jewelry to complete the image of a woman out for pleasure. There have been rumors that West was possibly a man in drag, produced in part by the way West’s performance of clever femininity provided an attractive model later followed by drag queen performers. It is unlikely, however, that West was anything but a short woman with a lot of assets.

After the 1940s West became a caricature of herself, performing nostalgic versions of her earlier roles. She was reportedly offered the part of Norma Desmond in *Sunset*

Boulevard by Billy Wilder himself, but she turned the role down. She returned to movies in 1970 in a part in Gore Vidal's *Myra Breckenridge*, and made her last film, *Sextette*, in 1977. She died of natural causes in 1980.

SEE ALSO *Transvestism*.

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Judith Roof

WET DREAM

Wet dream is a slang term used to describe an involuntary orgasm that occurs during sleep, and which is caused by psychosexual stimuli or erotic dreams. It is a particular type of involuntary orgasm called *nocturnal emissions*. The term wet dream describes any ejaculation that occurs while asleep, regardless of the cause. Because the majority of nocturnal emissions are wet dreams, and because no single accepted clinical term exists to describe wet dreams, the two are used almost completely synonymously in popular culture.

Some debate exists about whether wet dreams occur solely in males, or if they also occur in females. There is clear evidence of nocturnal orgasm among women (some studies show it to be even more frequent than among males), but because the physiology of orgasm is so different between the sexes, no consensus exists about the applicability of the term bilaterally. One of the earliest studies to examine wet dreams is *The Sexual Life of the Child* (1912) by psychiatrist Albert Moll. He argued against the then-common term *pollution*, claiming that it unfortunately “connotes the ideas of physical uncleanness and moral defilement” (Moll 1929, p. 3). Moll recognized the possibility of both heterosexual and homosexual desire as causes for “involuntary sexual orgasms,” but described them primarily as a function of sexual frustration: “[T]hese occur chiefly in persons without opportunities for sexual intercourse, who do not practice masturbation” (Moll 1929, p. 94). His concern about wet dreams in females is tied to ejaculation; while this is the primary evidence for wet dreams in males, no corresponding secretions are common to women. Also while males in his study tended to report involuntary ejaculation in response to erotic dreams about specific

sexual acts or involving specific partners, females reported orgasm arising from dreams of a more generally sexual nature leading to a “voluptuous sensation,” but without the specificity of male dreams (Moll 1929, p. 94). Although this differentiation might easily be seen as a product of a kind of sexual stereotyping, the difficulties in studying orgasm based in erotic dreams of females became largely accepted, and the term wet dream became almost exclusively used to describe male sexual function.

Alfred Kinsey's landmark study *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) provided the first large-scale picture of wet dreams among American males. He reported that the incidence of wet dreams appeared to be quite high. Eighty-seven percent of men had reported experiencing at least one wet dream, and a substantial majority had experienced them more than once. Unlike Moll, Kinsey's study did not confine itself to adolescent behavior, and found that, while most frequently occurring in puberty, “in the male, nocturnal emissions or wet dreams are generally accepted as a usual part of the sexual picture” (Kinsey 1948, p. 518). He also found that while sexual frustration may lead to a higher incidence of wet dreams, they also occurred in males who led otherwise active sexual lives. Subsequent studies have largely reinforced these figures, although most researchers admit some difficulty in getting accurate data. The population in which wet dreams most often occur (adolescence through the late teens) is likely to resist open discussion of sexual activity. Additionally people sometimes feel that wet dreams are shameful (either because, as Moll pointed out, they indicate impurity, or conversely because they are a product of insufficient sexual activity), and thus are reluctant to discuss the experience. Even with these difficulties in collecting data, the statistics are relatively standard in studies throughout the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO *Ejaculation*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

WET NURSES

A wet nurse is a woman who breastfeeds a baby that is not her own. As early as the fourteenth century BCE there is documented evidence of wet nurses. The wet nurse to

the Egyptian king Tutankhamen (1361–1352 BCE) had a high social status and played an important role in the raising of the royal children. In England during the Victorian era, wet nurses were seen by the upper-class as fallen women who were immoral and often unmarried mothers. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, wet nursing was an employment option for young women in low socioeconomic groups. Often, wealthy upper-class families would hire live-in wet nurses to breastfeed their babies because they felt that it was beneath them to suckle a baby, or that it was spiritually wrong to do so. Some wet nurses replaced mothers who had died or were too ill to breastfeed. To ensure that there was sufficient milk for the upper-class infant, the wet nurse's own baby would be sent away to be nursed elsewhere. Many of these babies died because of neglect and malnutrition, which reflected poorly on the image of wet nurses.

Historically the wet nurse's duties often expanded to include caring for the baby. In recognition of this expanded role they were given the title of either nurse-maids or nurses. The different job titles make the numbers of women employed as wet nurses in the past difficult to determine with any accuracy.

In England during the late nineteenth century women were told it was their duty to breastfeed their baby and not to employ a wet nurse. There were concerns about the baby's ability to bond with the maternal mother if a wet nurse was used and what effects this might have on the child later in life. It was also thought that wet nurses were more likely to have infections that could be transmitted to babies, endangering their lives. These concerns, coupled with the growing negative stigma of wet nurses and the increasing availability of artificial milk formulas, led to a decline in the employment of wet nurses.

In the twenty-first century wet nurses are uncommon in first-world countries. Attempts to reintroduce them have been rejected by the public. Wet nursing still exists in developing countries where formula milk is less accessible and maternal illness, injury, and death occur at higher rates because of inadequate maternal health care services. In some instances, without wet nurses, who are often family members or friends, babies would die from dehydration and malnutrition at greater rates than are already reported in developing countries.

Breast milk is the ideal feeding option for newborn babies up to the age of at least six months. In the twenty-first century milk banks (a place where donated breast milk is stored) provide women with access to breast milk without the negative social stigma that is associated with wet nursing. Where this option is not available and the mother wishes to use breast milk, the use of a wet nurse is a viable option.

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Nichole Harvey

WHITE SLAVERY

SEE *Trafficking of Women*.

WHITMAN, WALT

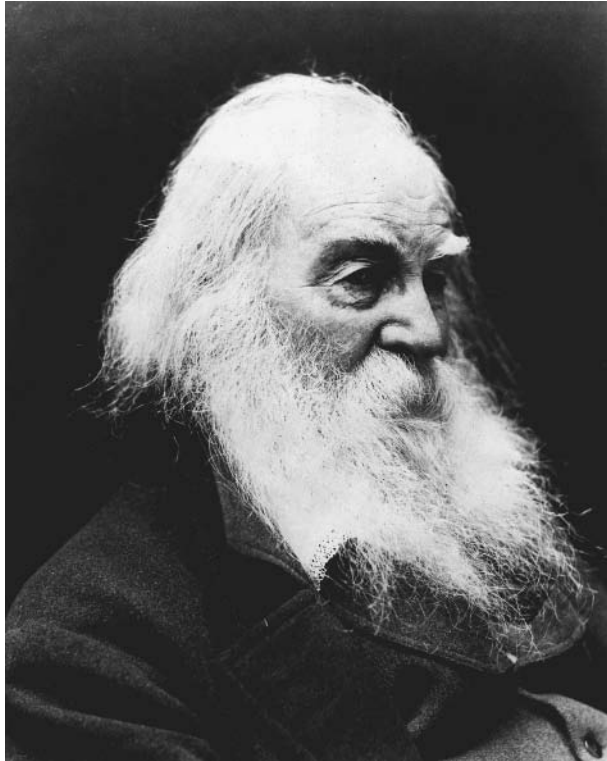
1819–1892

Walt Whitman was born near Huntington, Long Island, New York, on May 31 and lived primarily in the northeastern United States except for a few years in Washington, DC, and a brief period in New Orleans. He died in Camden, New Jersey, on March 26. The Walt Whitman Bridge connecting Camden with Philadelphia is named in his honor.

Whitman had many occupations, usually in publishing and education, but is most famous as a poet. His subject matter is distinctly American, and many of his poems celebrate the United States and mourn the losses of the Civil War. He also is known for his innovative use of free verse, a poetic form that rejects strict rhyme or meter, and he often is credited with developing a poetic form that was new, forward-looking, and removed from European tradition, making his poetry an analog for the United States itself. Whitman's poetry also is recognized for its overt homoeroticism. His homosexuality is well documented; his notebooks mention at least 150 anonymous sexual encounters with men. Many critics have refused to accept this, uncomfortable with having the quintessentially American poetic form tied to homosexuality.

THE EARLY YEARS

In his early years Whitman preferred to dress as a dandy, or fop. He was a well-known figure in his native Brooklyn for his unique fashion sense. Although associated with homosexuality in Europe, that mode of dress was new to the United States, bringing Whitman a great deal of attention but not causing opinions to be formed about his sexuality. Despite his extravagant taste in dress,



Walt Whitman. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

he preferred the company of working-class men and spent a great deal of time on the Brooklyn docks watching and talking to the stevedores.

He also rode the ferry between Brooklyn and Manhattan with the dockworkers; that experience became the inspiration for his poem “Crossing Brooklyn Ferry” (1856). The poem describes the anonymity of the crowd on the ferry and the feel of the bodies pressing against him. It often is understood as an expression of unexpressed sexual desire. In 1848 Whitman moved to New Orleans to work for the *Crescent* as a reporter, but he returned to Brooklyn three months later. He then adopted the rough clothing of dockworkers. His sex life focused on the working-class men he encountered, leading to his adoption of their mode of dress and possibly inspiring his devotion to the working people of America in his poetry.

LEAVES OF GRASS

Whitman’s major poetic work was a volume titled *Leaves of Grass*, first published in 1855. It was edited, expanded, and rewritten over the course of Whitman’s life, with the ninth and final version issued in 1892, just months before his death. The first edition consisted of twelve poems, and the final edition had grown to 383 poems.

The preface to the first edition includes several statements of Whitman’s philosophy that apply equally to poetry, nationhood, and sexuality. “Men and women and the earth and all upon it are simply to be taken as they are” and “Every man shall be his own priest” express his fundamental egalitarianism and belief in the sacred status of each individual as well as the tenet that each person’s desires and values should be respected. His own values are expressed quite directly. The final sentence of the preface states, “The proof of a poet is that his country absorbs him as affectionately as he has absorbed it.”

Whitman not only loved his country and its people passionately, he wished to be loved and respected in turn. His overt desire to be a popular poet, a poet of the people as much as a person who writes poems about the people, led him to revise and edit his work over time. The earliest versions are often explicit in their expression of same-sex desire, but the later versions are more ambiguous and thus more palatable to a public ready for a new poetic form but not for a new vision of American sexuality.

The “Calamus” poems of the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass* are considered the most overtly homoerotic. The entire sequence celebrates a lost lover, whom many scholars think is Fred Vaughan (b. 1837), a younger man with whom Whitman had a relationship for many years. The two kept in touch after Vaughan married, a pattern that was to be repeated by Whitman and later lovers. The poems, including ones with evocative titles such as “We Two Boys Together Clinging” and “Sometimes to One I Love,” were not shocking to contemporary readers who had little experience with such material and thus did not recognize its content. Whitman is credited with helping to formulate a gay aesthetic, a language that could be used to convey same-sex desire.

Some of Whitman’s most famous poems are “Song of Myself” and “I Sing the Body Electric” from the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* and “I Hear America Singing” from the 1860 edition. In those poems Whitman created his mythology of America and of himself as its priest. To Whitman America often was represented by the strong, virile bodies of its working men, and “at night the party of young fellows, robust, friendly, / Singing with open mouths their strong melodious songs” (“I Hear America Singing”). The communality of men, as well as the juxtaposition of their bodies and mouths, demonstrates Whitman’s social, political, and sexual interests. His later fame derives largely from his postwar poems, including “When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom’d” and “O Captain! My Captain!” both from 1865 and 1866, which mourn Abraham Lincoln and American innocence, both of which were lost in the Civil War.

WHITMAN'S PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Although most of Whitman's sexual life consisted of accounts of encounters with unnamed working-class men, he also had long-term relationships. Peter Doyle (1843–1907) was a bus conductor in Washington, DC, whom Whitman befriended in 1865. Although Whitman was in his late forties, he and the nineteen-year-old Doyle formed a bond that lasted until 1873, when Whitman returned to Camden. They visited and corresponded throughout Whitman's life, and Doyle seems to have been jealous of Whitman's later relationship with Henry Stafford, a young man who became Whitman's companion in Camden. Whitman and Stafford often traveled together, with Whitman requesting a single room and bed for himself and his *nephew* to share. They were together for ten years until Stafford married.

Whitman also carried on a relationship via correspondence with Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), the homosexual Irish poet and playwright. They met in 1882 when Wilde was on a lecture tour of the United States. "The kiss of Walt Whitman is still on my lips," he wrote, and there has been much speculation about the nature of their meeting. Whitman was in his sixties and recovering from a stroke, whereas Wilde was twenty-seven, and so the likelihood of a physical encounter is slight. However, there is no doubt that Wilde felt artistically indebted to Whitman and thought it important to meet "the good gray poet."

INFLUENCE ON LATER POETS

Whitman's formal innovations were influential on a great number of later poets, although few achieved the degree of freedom that he did in his verse. Christina (1830–1894) and William (1829–1919) Rossetti, T. E. Brown (1830–1897), J. A. Symonds (1840–1893), and Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894) emulated Whitman by abandoning strict meter but usually wrote rhymed poetry. Arthur Rimbaud (1854–1891) used free verse in some of his symbolist poetry, and T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) and Ezra Pound (1885–1972) both utilized the form, although they claimed only minimal influence from Whitman.

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Brian D. Holcomb

WHORE

A *whore* is a woman prostitute or any woman or man who engages in sexual activity that is deemed immoral or culturally unacceptable. Throughout much of modern history, the term has been used negatively, to condemn or chastise and to indicate wrongdoing. However, historical evidence suggests that, prior to the advent of Christianity, some women acted as sacred whores in the service of religions that revered such sexual service instead of condemning it. In such societies, the term *whore* was a label of respect.

In ancient cultures such as Israel, India, and Babylonia, temples dedicated to certain goddesses included temple prostitutes, sacred women whose sexual service functioned as both a self-sacrifice to the goddess and a means for men to commune with the goddess through spiritualized sex. In ancient Babylonia, Ishtar was worshipped as a major goddess, superior even to the sun god. Within her temples, young women willingly lost their virginity as temple prostitutes. In ancient Greece, the name for such women was *horae*, a term that also refers to the three goddesses who represented both the hours and the three seasons of growth (spring/fertility, summer/growth, and fall/harvest). The similarity between the Greek *horae* and the English *whore* (originally spelled *hore*) suggest that the English term has linguistic connections with an ancient title designating divine qualities.

When Christianity's belief in a single masculine god replaced many pagan belief systems in Europe and Asia,

sex became vilified as unholy and too worldly. The term *whore*, much like the women themselves, acquired a negative connotation often linked with religious condemnation. In addition to chastising individuals, the term has also been used in a biblical sense to refer to sinful communities or organizations that willfully go against the teachings of the church. In particular, the phrase “the whore of Babylon,” first used in the book of Revelation, refers to idolatrous or corrupt communities such as the Church of Rome, when used by its opponents.

Literary evidence shows that whores were a particular concern in Renaissance Europe. Many literary works published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries focus on whores as signs of sinfulness, witchcraft, and threats to marriage and childbearing, religion, and morality. Since the Christian church judged sexual desire as sinful, many women were branded as whores and witches, especially since women were thought to be more prone to the sin of carnal lust than men. The publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* (The witch hammer) in 1486 linked heretical behavior with witchcraft, and its use as part of the Inquisition led to the deaths of between 600,000 and 9,000,000 people, most of whom were women. This religious fervor accounts for one motivation for persecuting whores. Another motivation was their potential economic power in a society that was becoming increasingly capitalistic. Now offering their services for money instead of for prestige, whores presented an economic danger via their accumulation of wealth in a system in which men presumably controlled the flow of money.

Although “whore” referred primarily to women prior to 1900 (with the exception of phrases such as “he-whore” and “masculine whore”), more recent usage also applies to men. Slang usage of the term condemns an individual as sexually promiscuous or otherwise willing to compromise his or her morals in order to gain monetary or other compensation (for example, a “corporate whore”).

SEE ALSO *Prostitution*.

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Michelle Veenstra

WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS

The Latin term for widow, *vidua*, is related to a root meaning *to place apart*. There is no Latin or Greek masculine form to match the term widow. In the Anglo-Saxon language, a masculine form only appeared in the late fourteenth century. This reflects not only a higher mortality rate among men married to younger wives, but also points to women’s stronger dependency on husbands for their identity than vice versa.

Consequently widowerhood tends to affect men less strongly than widowhood affects women. Except for matrilineal communities such as the LoDaaga in Cote d’Ivoire where widowerhood is the focus of much ritual attention, in most African societies, for example, widowhood is seen as a transient phase, whereas widowhood becomes a more permanent aspect in the life of a woman.

Widows are generally defined in terms of no longer living under male guardianship. Since marriage was historically seen as the exclusive domain for sexual relations and as a venue for male control over female sexuality, widows have generally been subjected to strong sexual stereotyping and are treated as anomalies.

Widows may be represented as exemplary chaste women, like the Hindu ideal of a *sati* who joins her deceased husband on his funeral pyre, and Israel’s Judith, who “feared God with great devotion” (Judith 8:8) and saved her people by using her charms to enter the enemy’s camp and behead the general Holofernes. Judith is more a literary than historical figure, unlike two famous Muslim widows. Khadija, first wife of the prophet Muhammad and his first convert to Islam, was a rich and powerful widow when she proposed to him, while Muhammad’s later widow Aisha played an important role in the transmission of religious knowledge.

Upholding an image of the chaste widow may be an expression of class difference. The Roman female ideal of the *univira*, a woman who only married once, was a typical upper-class phenomenon.

No longer under male control, a widow’s presumably unfettered sexual longing and the fact that she had outlived her husband often caused cultural anxiety. Hence societies conjured the image of the widow as a dangerous seductress, a powerful symbol of disorder and destructive potential. Ritual exclusion of widows, as occurs in certain Hindu castes, is one way to deal with such anxiety. Defeminizing widows also works to reduce the community’s fear of such women in the community. This explains why widows may be expected not to wear jewelry or make-up (Muslim and Christian societies), shave their hair (Hindu societies), or wear mourning clothes considered unfeminine (early Christian societies).

Generally widowers' sexual needs are far less problematic to society. The remarriage of widowers was and is more common and accepted, although some societies expect elderly widowers to forgo a sex life.

The position of widows is less anomalous in societies where marriage plays no crucial role in the social organization, or where gender relations are more symmetrical. In many Polynesian cultures, one's spouse is often not the only legitimate sexual partner and widows are not set apart from other women. Also, in Western Europe, where gender relations are rapidly developing towards a more balanced distribution of power, the symbolism connected with widowhood has lost most of its meaning, as is illustrated by the disappearance, in most communities, of mourning dress.

In societies characterized by asymmetrical gender relations and where women's identities are closely associated with their husbands, widows sometimes replace their husbands in powerful positions and may be reluctant to relinquish their freedom by remarrying. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France and England, widows sometimes took over their deceased husbands' businesses and became, more or less, honorary men. Eva Peron, Corazon Aquino, and Sonia Gandhi are twentieth century examples of powerful political widows. For widowers in patriarchal societies, remarriage is not associated with loss of power in the public sphere, although their domestic and emotional dependency on women may also explain why more widowers than widows remarry.

SEE ALSO *Death; Marriage.*

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Marjo W. Buitelaar

WILDE, OSCAR

1854–1900

Considered one of the first publicly verified homosexuals of the modern era, Oscar Wilde was a poet, novelist, critic, essayist, and playwright whose theatrical manners, love of beauty, and sarcastic wit came to serve as a template for modern gay male style and comportment. He was born Oscar Fingal O'Flahertie Wills Wilde on October 16 in Dublin to Sir William Wilde, a well-known ear and eye surgeon, and Jane Elgee Wilde, an Irish nationalist poet who wrote under the pen name Speranza. Wilde's family was unconventional and sexually tolerant by Victorian standards: Sir William had had three illegitimate children by three different women before his marriage, his brother adopted the two girls, and the son was looked after financially by Sir William. Sir William and Lady Jane also had three children from their marriage: William, the oldest; Oscar; and a younger sister, Isola, who died at age nine. Oscar died in Paris on November 30, 1900.

EDUCATION AND EARLY CAREER

Oscar and his brother attended Portora Royal School in Enniskillen, where Oscar's talents won him a scholarship to Trinity College, Dublin. There Wilde became an aesthete, learned about classical Greek civilization and Greek pederasty, and won the Berkeley gold medal for Greek. He then won a scholarship in classics to Magdalen College at Oxford, which he attended from 1874 to 1878. There he discovered the writing of John Ruskin and Walter Pater, began collecting blue china and elaborate clothing, and decided to become an art critic.

After leaving Oxford, Wilde moved to London and lived with the artist Frank Miles; this is considered Wilde's first important sexual relationship. In London, Wilde decided to create a buzz around his name through his flamboyant dress and bearing. He published a volume of poems, spent more money than he had or could make, and adopted the velvet coat and knee breeches that made him famous as the apostle of aestheticism. When Gilbert and Sullivan's 1881 operetta *Patience*, which satirized aestheticism, was a huge hit on both sides of the Atlantic, Wilde was offered a lecture tour of America to promote the movement. He jumped at the chance to make money and test his effect on audiences, setting sail in December 1881 for a year-long tour of the United States and Canada. Upon arriving, he is said to have told a customs agent: "I have nothing to declare except my genius."

On his tour Wilde lectured on Pre-Raphaelite painting, the handicraft movement, costume, and home decorating. Reporters expecting an effeminate fop were stunned by his six-foot three-inch stature and masculine



Oscar Wilde. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

voice, and he managed to impress a rough gathering of miners with his appetite for liquor and cigars so strongly that they are said to have cheered him. Hundreds came to see him in every city he visited, and his lectures helped spark public attendance at art museums nationwide.

Wilde's knee breeches, ties, smoking jackets, and hats disturbed those who sensed something sensual and unrestrained about his gender and sexuality. Though Wilde greatly admired his writing, the closeted Henry James took an immediate dislike to Wilde and said that Wilde's nature was that of an "unclean beast."

Wilde's tour helped him shape his personality as one of the chief arts he presented to his public. He had witty things to say about local attractions, commented on Irish politics when he discovered a sympathetic Irish-American audience, and claimed to appreciate the advertising when the humorist Eugene Field rode around Denver in an open carriage dressed as Wilde, holding a lily and gazing rapturously at a book. By the time Wilde arrived back in London in 1882 he was a celebrity.

FAMILY LIFE AND LITERARY SUCCESS

Wilde married Constance Lloyd in May 1884, designing her dress and the dresses of her bridesmaids. They

had two boys, Cyril and Vyvyan, in quick succession. As Constance grew less slender and more womanly because of her pregnancies, Wilde lost interest in her, though he is said to have adored his children. Oscar and Constance never resumed sexual relations after the birth of Vyvyan in 1886. Wilde had had close relationships with other men before his marriage, but his affair with Robert Ross, whom he met in 1886, was a turning point in his life. Robbie proved a lifelong friend, and their relationship encouraged Wilde to explore his sexuality and led to the flowering of his literary and dramatic gifts.

Between 1887 and 1889 Wilde served as the editor of *Women's World* and wrote a book of fairy tales, *The Happy Prince and Other Stories* (1888); two long stories, "The Canterville Ghost" (1887) and "Lord Arthur Savile's Crime" (1887); two important essays, "The Decay of Lying" (1889) and "Pen, Pencil, and Poison" (1889); and an unusual short story, "The Portrait of Mr. W.H." (1889). A year later he published his only novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), which first appeared in *Lippincott's Magazine*.

The two stories about portraits contain Wilde's most overt homosexual themes. "The Portrait of Mr. W.H." concerns several literary enthusiasts who come to believe that the "W.H." of Shakespeare's sonnets is his boy love Willie Hughes, and one of them produces a portrait to prove the existence of such a boy; however, the real story is how the love of literature helps men recognize their love and desire for one another. *The Picture of Dorian Gray* is also the story of a beautiful young man, one whose portrait ages in his place, allowing him to commit terrible crimes and indulge in forbidden pleasures while remaining young and innocent-looking. Many critics considered it a dangerous book, and it was used against Wilde during his prosecution for sodomy.

Wilde then found his true calling as the greatest British dramatist of manners since Richard Brinsley Sheridan, writing *Salome* in 1891; *Lady Windemere's Fan* and *A Woman of No Importance*, both of which were produced in 1892; and *An Ideal Husband* and *The Importance of Being Earnest*, which were produced in 1895. The last play is considered his masterpiece. In 1891 Wilde began a relationship with Lord Alfred Douglas, nicknamed Bosie, a son of the Marquess of Queensberry. Bosie's father did not approve of Wilde, and in 1895, at the height of Wilde's fame, left a calling card for Wilde that accused him of "posing as a (sic) Somdomite." Encouraged by Bosie, who hated his father, Wilde sued the marquess for libel but lost when the defense called in newsboys and valets who had had sex with Wilde to testify against him.

THE DOWNFALL

Presented with clear evidence of homosexuality, the state arrested Wilde for sodomy, which was a felony, and he was found guilty and sentenced to two years at hard labor, first at Pentonville and then at Reading Prison. During his trial Wilde passionately defended “the love that dare not speak its name” as the love of David for Jonathan, the love expressed in the work of Plato, Michelangelo, and Shakespeare. At Reading Prison Wilde wrote the long, sad letter to Bosie that would become *De Profundis*, which he later gave to Robbie Ross.

Constance remained legally married to Oscar until her death in 1898, though she changed her name and that of her sons to Holland, unable to get lodging under her married name. Wilde was forced to sleep on boards, eat gruel, and pick oakum in prison, and his health broke; he lived only three years after his release in 1897. He died in Paris in 1900 at the age of forty-six and is buried at Pere Lachaise cemetery under a monument commissioned by Robbie Ross that also contains Ross’s ashes. Though as an aesthete Wilde demonstrated little overt interest in politics, his life and writing spawned a cult of imitators in the years after his death, and he is considered a founding icon, martyr, and hero of the modern gay movement.

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Jaime Hovey

WITCH TRIALS, EUROPE

As Jared Diamond notes in his bestselling *Collapse* (2005), the last preserved European report about the doomed Norse colony in Greenland indicates that a man named Kolgrim was burned at the stake in 1407 for using witchcraft to seduce the married daughter of a local notable; the woman soon went insane and died. Besides illustrating that European colonists executed people for witchcraft in North America almost three centuries before the Salem outbreak, the episode also suggests that the peculiarly western phenomenon of witch trials was sex-linked but never sex-specific.

In the early twenty-first century there is considerable scholarly consensus that witches invariably were consid-

ered to possess magical powers that they used for nefarious purposes, but before the late fifteenth century they were not identified predominantly as women. Greenland’s Kolgrim was no isolated incident: men were well-represented in Europe’s earliest known witch hunts, forming 28 percent of the 250-plus witches tried in the Alpine valleys of Dauphiné between 1424 and 1448.

However, by the time Europe’s worst witch-hunts began in the late sixteenth century, an essentially sex-linked view of witches dominated official (and invariably male) discourse about witchcraft. Although large numbers of men were still accused of this crime, witches now became coded as female—a phenomenon vividly exemplified in the title of Europe’s single best-known treatise about witchcraft, the *Malleus maleficarum* (The witch hammer), first printed in 1486 and reprinted (always in Latin) approximately two dozen times by the mid-seventeenth century. This seminal work was a transitional document in gendering discourse on witchcraft; although the *Malleus* insisted vigorously that witches were almost invariably women, the (probably forged) papal bull that introduced it specified that men and women alike were guilty of witchcraft.

A century later, when witch-hunting increased dramatically throughout much of western Europe, witches were seen as overwhelmingly female. During the period of most intense witch-hunts between 1570 and 1660, women usually comprised between 71 and 92 percent of those tried and executed, including about 80 percent in present-day Germany, where more than half of all deaths occurred. Most historians agree that old, poor, widowed, and/or single women were most likely to be accused of witchcraft, although younger women charged with sexual crimes (fornication, adultery, abortion, infanticide) were also accused, particularly if they had female relatives accused of witchcraft.

Witches purportedly practiced various socially harmful forms of magic, directed primarily against young children but also raising storms that damaged crops. Witches supposedly congregated at so-called “Sabbaths” where they worshipped the Devil, feasted on bland foods, engaged in diabolical sexuality, and occasionally ate children. The Witches’ Sabbath was an invention of early modern demonologists, which some historians claim reflected a prurient fascination with female sexuality. If historians generally agree that the publicity accompanying Europe’s mushrooming numbers of witch trials spread this new stereotype, they disagree about the extent to which ordinary (and illiterate) rural Europeans accepted this new, learned stereotype of the witch. Popular culture continued to see witches primarily as people performing certain kinds of harmful actions called *maleficia*. Envy lay behind much *maleficia*, and envy is

not sex-linked: Although women were much more likely than men to use diabolical magic in order to harm other women's young children, men were equally inclined to resort to harmful magic (as well as non-magical techniques) in order to harm their neighbor's property. Killing livestock—the second most frequent accusation in European witch trials after killing babies—was practiced by both women and men.

Despite the strong theoretical bias toward coding witchcraft as quintessentially female, thousands of men were also tried for witchcraft during the peak of European witch-hunting. Statistically, men were more likely to be burned as witches in early modern Europe than executed for heresy (an overwhelmingly male crime) during the Protestant Reformation. Research shows a very uneven geographical distribution of men tried as witches. Greenland's Kolgrim came from a colony settled from Iceland—perhaps the only part of Europe where women comprised barely 10 percent of accused witches. In a few other places—for example, seventeenth-century Muscovy and Normandy in northwestern France—men comprised a clear majority of accused witches; in Finland and Estonia, along Muscovy's western borders, and in northern France around Normandy, men represented approximately half of accused witches. Most people arrested for witchcraft in two Austrian provinces, Styria and Carinthia, were also male.

Although the kinds of men accused of witchcraft seem at first very different in Muscovy (where most were vagrants, recent immigrants, fugitive serfs, or even non-Christian Finns or Turks) and Normandy (where witches were primarily shepherds, with sizable numbers of priests and blacksmiths), they shared one important characteristic: in both places, many suspected male witches were also magical healers. Men comprised half or even more of Europe's numerous "white" witches who specialized in countering the effects of harmful witchcraft (so-called "cunning folk," *curadores*, *Hexenbanner*, *Benandanti*, etc.) were often male. They were arrested for witchcraft according to the widely believed notion that "whoever knows how to heal also knows how to harm."

Although the fully developed crime of witchcraft, including Sabbaths, emerged in fifteenth-century Europe, the vast majority of Europe's witch trials occurred long after the Protestant Reformation. Particularly in Germany, Protestant and Catholic scholars have waged a long and inconclusive struggle over which religious group prosecuted witches more ferociously. Germany's Protestant rulers conducted most of the early witch-hunts, but Germany's Catholic prince-bishops committed the worst witch-hunting excesses. However, extremely few witches were condemned to death in regions populated by Orthodox Christians, and none in Balkan regions controlled by the Ottoman Empire.

In the twenty-first century, most scholars would argue that types of legal systems mattered more than confessional allegiance in determining the outcome of witch trials. Most witches were tried in Roman-law courts of continental Europe by legal systems that featured public accusers, used professional judges instead of juries to decide criminal cases, and permitted torture. In northern Europe (with the partial exception of Scotland), witchcraft, like other kinds of criminal trials, required private accusers and prohibited torture. Historians have shown that, outside of panics, most people tried for witchcraft were not executed; in fact, most European women or men who reputedly practiced witchcraft were probably never even brought to trial.

For such reasons, estimates of the number of people executed for witchcraft have been vastly reduced from a still-repeated number of nine million, an early nineteenth-century estimate originally based on erroneous extrapolation from misread data. Because many judicial records have been destroyed or lost across much of Europe, we will never know exact figures. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the epicenter of European witch-hunting lay in the Germanic core of the Holy Roman Empire. Wolfgang Behringer, the leading expert in the field, estimates that more than twenty thousand executions occurred in what is present-day Germany, more than in all other parts of Europe combined. Extrapolating from this estimate, it seems likely that three out of every four witches executed between 1560 and 1660 spoke some dialect of German, and that almost five out of six lived within the boundaries of the pre-1648 Holy Roman Empire (including Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Luxemburg). About 3,500 witches were executed throughout northern Europe, including a few hundred in England (the separate kingdom of Scotland also saw many executions of witches). The kingdom of France (excluding Alsace and Lorraine) executed even fewer witches per thousand inhabitants than England or Scandinavia. Other places executed only a handful of witches, for instance only eleven in Portugal and an equal number in present-day Ukraine, and only two in Ireland. As the example of Portugal suggests, the great Mediterranean inquisitions in Spain and Italy also proved reluctant to execute witches. On the basis of such admittedly imperfect statistics, a reasonable estimate might be approximately forty thousand people executed for witchcraft within both Protestant and Catholic regions of Latin Christendom.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Folk Healers and Healing; Folklore; Inquisition, Spanish; Sex, Race and Power: An Intersectional Study.*

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William Monter

WITCHCRAFT

Witchcraft embraces a range of phenomena whose meanings vary according to historical and cultural context. It encompasses a belief system described by anthropologists and common to many cultures; a historical phenomenon responsible for the execution of tens of thousands of women and men in early modern Europe and its colonies; and a modern religious movement that seeks to reclaim the worship of the divine feminine. This entry treats each of these separately, emphasizing the differences as well as the relationships among them.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONCEPTS OF WITCHCRAFT

At the most basic level, a witch is a person who is believed to have the ability to harm others through supernatural (i.e., nonphysical) means, either through magic, or simply by wishing them ill. Witches are typically thought to work within their own societies: They harm neighbors and kin, and are thus imagined as a particularly terrifying threat. Their motivation is seldom rational; rather, they work from sheer malice or envy, and are sometimes believed to be under the control of an evil force they cannot resist. Witchcraft is never an isolated phenomenon; it is usually thought to be part of a tradition, whether inherited or learned, that includes other witches. Wherever there is a belief in witchcraft, humans also believe that it can be fought, either through

countermagic, by depriving witches of their powers, or by destroying the witches altogether. Most societies with witchcraft belief also have *unwitchers*, individuals who specialize in finding and eliminating the magical harm caused by witches.

Belief in witchcraft is extremely widespread in human societies, occurring on every continent; but it is not universal. It occurs most frequently in small-scale agricultural societies with a stable settlement pattern, where neighbors have intimate knowledge of one another and social relationships are intense and multilayered. Each society with witchcraft belief has its own unique set of cultural variables and parameters that specify the gender of alleged witches, their activities, physical characteristics, and relationships to factors such as age, sexual activity, and social class. In European cultures, witches were commonly assumed to be women, but this assumption is by no means universal. Similar cultures may differ greatly in the gender attributed to witches. The South Pacific islands of Trobriand, Dobu, and Fergusson are all within sight of one another off the northeastern New Guinea coast. Their inhabitants are genetically and culturally similar, and have frequent contact with one another through maritime systems of exchange. All share a belief in witchcraft, but on Trobriand witches are always male; on Fergusson, they are mostly female; and on Dobu they might be of either sex, though women are feared more.

Cultures with a belief in witchcraft often imagine witches as the very opposite of everything considered right in society. A witch is someone who disregards social rules, flouting even the most basic conventions regarded as standards of decency. Because the basic rules that maintain social order are similar cross-culturally, witches tend to be imagined in similar ways. Often, the most heinous crimes imaginable are projected onto witches; they are said to commit murder and incest, to engage in cannibalism and indiscriminate orgies, to have the ability to transform into animals, and to eat or otherwise abuse corpses.

It follows that individuals who flout other kinds of social rules, or who appear anomalous in other ways, stand a chance of being accused of witchcraft. For example, among the Azande of southern Sudan, those who did not behave as good neighbors, who had many quarrels within the village, or who had a history of violent behavior were more frequently accused of witchcraft. Among the Navajo of the American Southwest, those who appeared greedy and refused to share with their families were vulnerable to witchcraft accusations. Belief in witchcraft thus serves as a form of social control, reinforcing sanctioned behaviors and creating a threat against those who violate social norms.

According to anthropologists, witchcraft beliefs can serve a number of important functions. They delineate

the boundaries of acceptable behavior, allow for the expression of taboo thoughts and fantasies, maintain positive social relationships by discouraging the open expression of hostility, and attempt to explain the reasons behind otherwise unexplained negative events: illness, calamities, natural disasters, and death.

Witchcraft beliefs may also serve to explain the unexplainable. In all human cultures there are some experiences that are difficult to understand; these include experiences as diverse as sleep paralysis, near-death experiences, and dissociative states that produce very strong physical sensations, leading believers to interpret them as signs of a spiritual reality. Such experiences figure prominently in folklore about witches and witchcraft. In Newfoundland, for example, people often attributed the experience of sleep paralysis to being “hagged” or “hag-ridden,” believing that a malevolent witch sent her spirit out to torment them in their sleep. The belief that witches cause this phenomenon may have arisen as an attempt to explain certain symptoms of sleep paralysis: a physical sensation of a weight on the chest or a presence pressing down on the sleeper.

Witchcraft beliefs become dysfunctional and deleterious when they divide communities, heighten fears, and fuel existing hostilities. This sometimes occurs during moments of great social transformation, when ordinary witchcraft beliefs may erupt into full-scale panics, leading to an escalation in the number of accusations, trials, and executions of alleged witches. This was the case in the early modern European witch craze.

WITCHCRAFT IN WESTERN CULTURES

In the West, the witch stereotype has been associated with women since ancient times. It is unclear how this association developed, or at what point in prehistory it emerged; but nearly all the portrayals of witches from classical literature are women. Men associated with magic in classical texts are sorcerers, individuals who acquire the power to manipulate reality through ritual. Some scholars have suggested this reflects a division of gender roles in early Indo-European societies in which men specialized in the public, communal, and political aspects of religion, while women concentrated on domestic magic. Because of their childbearing abilities, women were looked upon as repositories of powerful natural forces. These forces could be harnessed for positive ends such as healing and prophecy, but they could also be used for evil purposes.

Witchcraft and sex have been linked in European folklore from the earliest times. The witches of classical myth and literature were primarily concerned with acquiring love, or obtaining vengeance after a love had

gone bad, a stereotype that persisted into the Middle Ages and early modern period. Yet this may represent an instance of projection on the part of the men who were writing these tales, rather than a reflection of social reality. The archaeological record has left hundreds of *defixionum tabellae*, or curse tablets, that petition deities to bind the objects of the author’s erotic affection or to punish lost loves for their faithlessness. Of those for which the gender of the writers can be determined, there are more than four times as many curse tablets written by men as by women. This may simply indicate that men, by virtue of their privilege, had greater access to literacy, money to pay someone to write a tablet for them, or both; but it presents a provocative example of the gap between cultural fantasies of women as magic workers and social reality.

Roman law, like the laws of other early European societies, strictly forbade the practice of magic for harmful ends. But everyday magic for protection, healing, and good luck was practiced throughout the empire by a variety of people. Women practiced certain types of magic as an extension of their domestic responsibilities. Thus mothers would protect their children by hanging *bullae*, small pouches filled with amulets to bring good luck and keep away evil, around their necks. Women also used their practical knowledge of herbs to make medicines for their families. Some specialized in midwifery, using plants to induce or prevent miscarriages, ease labor pains, and prevent conception. Because the pre-Christian worldview did not separate the natural world from the supernatural, healers also invoked the help of gods and spirits to assist in their work. With the advent of Christianity, many of these practices acquired a Christian veneer, substituting the names of saints for those of earlier deities. While these folk practices changed over time, they continued to be a part of women’s household responsibilities and acquired wisdom until quite recently.

Folk magic and beliefs about witchcraft persisted into the Middle Ages, but early Christianity regarded them as merely superstitious and did not take great pains to punish or persecute those who held them. This began to change during the late medieval period, as numerous factors came together to make religious and civil courts take cases of witchcraft more seriously.

The first factor was the continued existence of a belief in witchcraft accompanied by the practice of folk magic and unwitching. The second, related aspect was the survival of elements from pagan religions in the folklore of Christian Europe. In some parts of Europe, women believed that they participated in nighttime spiritual journeys led by the goddess Diana or other supernatural female figures. These nighttime spiritual assemblies would dance, feast, and occasionally enter

the homes of neighbors, rewarding the hospitable and punishing the slovenly. During the Middle Ages, the Christian view of these beliefs changed; while early in the period, they were seen as merely superstitious and mistaken, toward the tenth and eleventh centuries, they began to be considered heretical. The Canon Episcopi, a legal document of the Frankish kingdom issued about 900 CE, condemns “wicked women . . . who believe that they ride out at night on beasts with Diana, the pagan goddess. . . . Such fantasies are thrust into the minds of faithless people not by God but by the Devil.” Gradually, the folk concept of the games of Diana was transformed into the diabolical sabbat, a nocturnal assembly of witches under the direction of the devil where horrible acts took place.

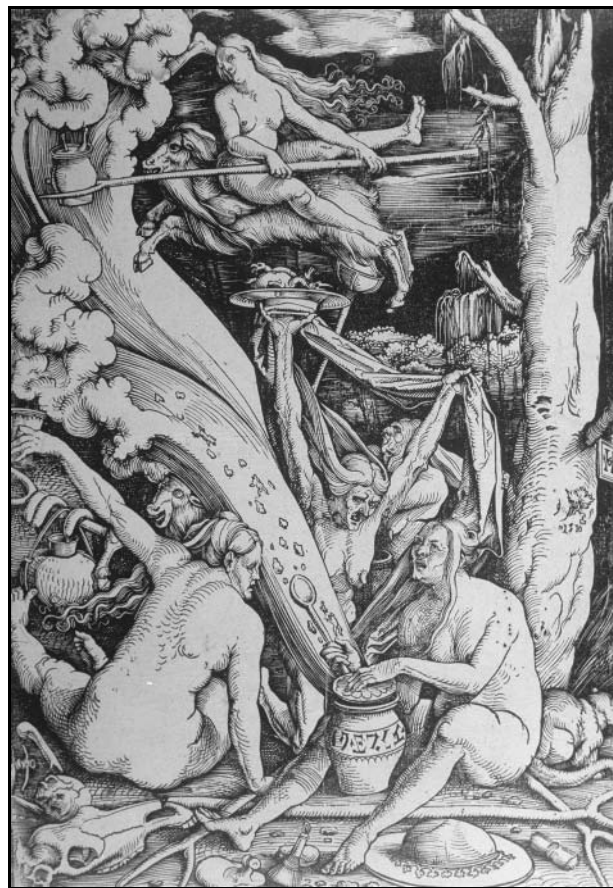
A third element was the emergence of a dualist cosmology. According to this worldview, two principles, one evil, personified by Satan, and one good, personified by God, struggled for control of the cosmos. As various Christian heresies arose to challenge aspects of church teachings, ecclesiastical courts were established to find them and root them out. Heresy became the link between witchcraft, the devil, and fears of a conspiracy to overthrow Christianity. Accusations first leveled at heretics, such as calling up evil spirits, indulging in orgiastic sex, killing and cremating children conceived at previous orgies and use their ashes in blasphemous parody of the Eucharist, renouncing Christ and desecrating the crucifix, and paying homage to the devil, became standard elements in witchcraft accusations. By the fifteenth century, the classical formulation of diabolical witchcraft had been established. Its chief elements were (1) pact with the devil, (2) formal repudiation of Christ, (3) the secret, nocturnal meeting, (4) the night flight, (5) the desecration of the Eucharist and the crucifix, (6) orgy, (7) sacrificial infanticide, and (8) cannibalism.

The final element was the Inquisition. Initially organized by the church to identify and eradicate heretics, the Inquisition was never well organized or particularly effective; in fact, most cases of witchcraft were tried before the secular courts. Nonetheless the Inquisition provided one essential ingredient of the witch craze: the inquisitors’ manuals. These manuals told inquisitors what signs of Satanism to look for, what questions to ask, and what answers to expect. The best known of these was the *Malleus maleficarum* (The witch hammer), by two Dominican inquisitors. Published in 1486, the *Malleus* went into many editions in many languages, outselling any other book except the Bible. Deeply misogynistic, the *Malleus* colorfully detailed the diabolical, orgiastic activities of witches and helped persuade public opinion that women were at the center of a cosmic plot directed by Satan that threatened all Christian society.

THE WITCH CRAZE

Between 1450 and 1700, as many as 100,000 may have perished in what has been called the European witch craze. In most of northern and central Europe, between 75 and 80 percent of its victims were women. There was no “typical” witch. The accused and imprisoned ranged from children as young as eight or nine to elderly women; from the very poor to those who possessed lands; from healers and midwives to farmers and craftspeople to beggars. There are a number of reasons why the witch craze focused specifically on women.

First and foremost was the dominant worldview combining ancient beliefs about witches as women with the Biblical narrative blaming Eve for the fall from Eden. Because of Eve’s sin, all women were thought to be more susceptible to temptation by the devil. Social and economic factors also contributed to women’s victimization. Women had little recourse to social power or economic resources of their own, and depended on husbands, fathers, and male relatives for support. Women without male relatives to support them became economically



Coven of Witches. A sixteenth-century woodcut depicting the gathering of a coven of witches. TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

marginal, often resorting to begging in order to survive. These women were vulnerable to charges of witchcraft, and lacked relatives to defend them if they were brought to trial; they became easy targets for a community's fears and resentments. Many "crimes" of witchcraft took place in the domestic sphere: They involved causing illness in animals or children, disrupting the making of butter, luring away husbands and lovers, and other domestic troubles, reflecting tensions between women. Healers and midwives were most often women; when something went wrong with their patients, they could be accused of having caused it through malevolent spells. Women were also more inclined than men to use words in disputes with neighbors, where men might resort to physical violence; in a culture that ascribed magical power to words, this led to suspicions of witchcraft being leveled more often against women. Accusations could be useful in pressuring nonconformist women into more subservient behavior. Finally, the construction of the myth of diabolical witchcraft itself represented an inversion of the social world. As men dominated the everyday world, so women were imagined to hold power in the devil's dystopia, where they engaged in a perversion of women's proper domestic roles: Instead of life-sustaining activities such as food preparation, child care, and nursing, they cooked and consumed babies, brewed poisons, and caused illness. Instead of monogamous sexual relations with their husbands, they engaged in intercourse with the devil and indiscriminate orgies with demons and other participants in the sabbat.

Not all victims of the witch craze were women. Often male relatives of accused witches were also caught up in the net. In Spain and Italy, where the Inquisition was strongest, men were more frequently executed for heresy, whereas women accused of witchcraft were often given the opportunity to repent. In Finland and Iceland, however, men outnumbered women as accused. This may have reflected local male-dominated shamanistic practices in which men were more likely to be associated with magic than women.

During the witch panic, tens of thousands of innocent people were persecuted and hundreds of thousands terrified and intimidated. Ordinary people often invoked the discourse of diabolical witchcraft to prosecute neighbors for petty jealousies and resentments characteristic of small-scale societies. The panic migrated from Europe to its colonies; both North and Latin America suffered witchcraft persecutions of their own as a result of the importation of Christianity. There as in Europe suspicion fell more often on women, whether indigenous practitioners of folk magic in areas dominated by Spain and Portugal, or ordinary village women who fell afoul of local political tensions, as in Salem, Massachusetts. The Salem incident began with several young girls suffering

from unexplained illness, or "fits," as they were described. While the cause of the illness is unclear, some scholars have theorized that it may have been caused by ergot poisoning. Ergot is a fungus that may have been growing on the settler's rye during what was an unusually wet summer. In contrast, others have argued that the girls' play with folk divination was threatening to the male-dominated Puritan society, and that their accusations were an attempt to exonerate themselves. In either case, it is clear that the young girls were in a subdominant social position, and their accusations gave them a temporary form of authority.

By the mid-eighteenth century, increasing urbanization and the influence of the Enlightenment made witchcraft accusations a thing of the past. Belief in witchcraft and the practice of unwitching persisted in some rural areas of Europe and its colonies, in some cases into the early twenty-first century.

MODERN NEOPAGAN WITCHCRAFT

Romanticism, an intellectual movement that arose in Europe at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, laid the groundwork for a new permutation of witchcraft: neopaganism. Romanticism located authenticity in the folklore of European peasants, which was presumed to contain elements of ancient pagan religions. This led to a renewed interest in both folklore and paganism, reflected in the art and literature of the time, and to a revisionist interpretation of the witch. The French historian Jules Michelet (1798–1874) and other writers of the mid-nineteenth century suggested that European witchcraft was really a widespread fertility cult surviving from pre-Christian paganism. Such arguments influenced anthropologists and folklorists at the turn of the century, such as James Frazer (1854–1941) and Margaret Murray (1863–1963). In 1899 amateur folklorist Charles Leland (1824–1903) published *Aradia: The Gospel of the Witches*, a text claiming to present evidence that witchcraft was the survival of a pagan cult of Diana. *Aradia* influenced Murray to write *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921), in which she argued that witchcraft was the survival of a pre-Christian pan-European fertility cult centered on the worship of a great goddess and her horned consort, later misunderstood as devil worship. While the evidence Murray presented in favor of her argument was scanty, her work became very influential in popular circles.

In 1954, only three years after England repealed the last of its anti-witchcraft laws, Gerald B. Gardner (1884–1964) published *Witchcraft Today*, in which he claimed to have discovered the last surviving witch coven in England. In fact,

Gardner probably cobbled together elements of revival witchcraft from his experiences with various occult and theatrical groups. Gardner's claims of having discovered an ancient religion were spurious, but he launched a legitimate new religious movement that has gained many adherents throughout the world. In the 1960s, Gardnerian witchcraft, also known as Wicca and the Craft, combined with emerging feminist and environmentalist movements to create a feminist, goddess-centered brand of New Age spirituality. Spurring interest in this movement, the feminist artist and author Merlin Stone published *When God Was a Woman* (1976), arguing that Hebrew monotheism had supplanted earlier pagan worship of a great mother goddess in which women had central and powerful roles. The feminist writers Z Budapest (b. 1940) and Starhawk (Miriam Simos; b. 1951) began women's covens in Los Angeles and San Francisco, respectively, reclaiming the idea of the witch as empowering to women. Z Budapest's women-only Dianic tradition focuses on the worship of the goddess Diana, imagined as a single creatrix who is called by various names in different cultures. Starhawk is credited with the development of Reclaiming witchcraft, which mixes elements of feminism with environmentalism and political activism, and includes men in its groups. Rituals, which coincide with full moons and eight sabbats, or holy days, focus on self-realization and empowerment, healing the earth from environmental degradation, political consciousness-raising, and other positive ends. Women have central roles as priestesses and authors of liturgy.

The overall number of revival witches is difficult to estimate, but scholars calculate that it is one of the fastest-growing new religious movements, with at least 500,000 adherents in North America alone, approximately 60 percent of them women. Neopagan witchcraft offers a sense of the feminine principle in the divine, a principle almost entirely forgotten in the masculine symbolism of the great monotheistic religions. And its eclectic paganism promotes a sense of the variety and diversity of the sacred.

SEE ALSO *Magick; Shamanism; Witch Trials, Europe.*

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Sabina Magliocco

WITHDRAWAL

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods.*

WOLLSTONECRAFT, MARY 1759–1797

Mary Wollstonecraft, who was born in London on April 27, 1759, is famous as the author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), in which she argued that women are “rendered weak and wretched” by “a false system of education” and “mistaken notions of female excellence” pervasive in society. Her strong polemic against gender inequality is no longer easy reading, but the author herself continues to stir the imagination. Violently opposed to “the preposterous distinction of rank,” Wollstonecraft was a person of unwavering moral seriousness and commitment. A child of the Enlightenment, she was also a Romantic, and believed that all women “who have acted like rational creatures, or shewn any vigour of intellect, have accidentally been allowed to run wild.” She was influenced by the ideas that informed the French Revolution, especially those of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, with whom she argues in the *Vindication*. After her death—she died in London on September 10, 1797, of puerperal fever, a consequence of her biological life as a woman and of bad (male) doctoring—Wollstonecraft was vilified by enemies as an “unsex'd female,” and eulogized by friends for her “ardent, ingenuous, and unconquerable spirit.” She has figured ever since then in discussions of sex and gender, most often as a figure—a woman who experimented sexually, a rejected lover, and an unmarried mother who died

after giving birth to the child who would become the author of *Frankenstein*, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley.

INFLUENCES AND SHAPING EXPERIENCES

The life and character of Wollstonecraft have been the subject of many biographies, most recently three (Flexner 1972, Tomalin 1974, Sunstein 1975) written at the crest of the second wave of feminism, and two more big books (Todd 2000, Gordon 2005) published in the early twenty-first century. Raised on the edges of gentility by quarreling parents, Wollstonecraft had painful early experience of inequality and poverty, envy and injustice. Her complex and conflicted work experiences—caring for her mother, sisters, and friends, and working in traditional ladies' occupations as a teacher, companion, and governess, and later, less conventionally, as a journalist—shaped her scorn for conventional gender roles. Her intellectual development was also affected by the influence of the Dissenters, Nonconformists, and radical thinkers she met, and of course by reading the works of those, such as Edmund Burke, with whom she disagreed. It was strongly colored by her tumultuous responses to the women and men, older and younger than she, with whom she became emotionally entangled.

Her idealism and her sense of being different sometimes seem to have been intrinsic to her person, her woman's body and face. "O why was I born with a different Face," cries "Mary" in a poem by William Blake, who knew Wollstonecraft and deplored the envy she aroused in those who saw her as different. Conventional assumptions about gender roles were important in shaping Wollstonecraft's sense of her relations to others, and therefore of herself. At fourteen, defending her "romantic notions of friendship" in a letter to another girl, she wrote, "I have a heart that scorns disguise, and a countenance which will not dissemble." The American anthropologist Ruth Benedict recalled being inspired by the portrait of Wollstonecraft in the National Gallery in London, the image of a woman who "had saved her soul alive." Her life and work seem to illustrate the fact that soul and body and mind are mutually constitutive.

SIGNIFICANT WORKS

A self-portrait of the passionate writer and teacher is implicit in Wollstonecraft's combative famous (second) *Vindication*, as it is in her other books. In addition to private letters, these include two short works about and for children written in the 1780s, a tract and a fiction; the *Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790); prose describing her experiences in France and later in Scandinavia; and two novels. The latter are remarkable for their critique of the conventional woman's novel. *Mary: A Fiction* (1788) con-



Mary Wollstonecraft. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

fronts head-on with its title the challenge of a woman writing, and a reader interpreting, a fictional story as her own. The author's preface announces her intention "to develop a character different from those generally portrayed," and to exhibit "the soul of the author" and "the mind of a woman, who has thinking powers." But "I cannot live without loving—and love leads to madness," Mary exclaims. In *The Wrongs of Woman; or, Maria* (1798), Wollstonecraft focuses from another angle on the issue of autobiographical fiction by giving her tale the title of a polemic. Maria is the victim of a cruel husband and ends up in prison. There, for the instruction of her daughter, she writes down her own story, and the even more appalling story of Jemima, a poor woman and fellow prisoner. The alternative endings of the story that Wollstonecraft left were assembled and published after she died by her widower, the radical thinker and novelist William Godwin, who loved Wollstonecraft and married her, although it was against his principles, after she became pregnant.

It was as a business agent for an earlier lover, the American Gilbert Imlay, whom she had met and lived

with in Paris, that Wollstonecraft traveled with only her infant daughter, Fanny, and Marguerite, her maid, to Scandinavia. It is unclear whether Imlay sent her away or she went with the aim of getting him back. Her letters to him, edited in the service of discretion, were published, in 1796, as *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark*. It is a reticent yet personal and poetic travel book. "If ever there was a book calculated to make a man in love with its author, this appears to me to be the book," Godwin wrote about it. Wollstonecraft describes the scenery and salty meals of Scandinavia, and experiences such as being rocked to sleep on a bed of sails at the bottom of a boat, then being awakened to her solitude by "a discourteous wave." Her energy, curiosity, and lively imagination, her sensitivity and responsiveness, her respect for plain people and her nostalgic longing for love, are all there; for the reader of the early twenty-first century, her literary gifts are most apparent in this book. It remains preoccupied with the different lots of the sexes. "Still harping on the same subject, you will exclaim—," she catches herself, self-reflexively. "How can I avoid it, when most of the struggles of an eventful life have been occasioned by the oppressed state of my sex: we reason deeply, when we forcibly feel" (Letter 19). The relations between feeling and reasoning, self and society, and sex and gender preoccupied Wollstonecraft: Her work and her story illuminate the connections among them.

SEE ALSO *Canon, Revising the; Literature: I. Overview.*

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the Author of "The Rights of Woman," ed. Richard Holmes. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.

Rachel M. Brownstein

WOMEN WRITERS, EMERGENCE

Although one of the main topics of world literature has been romantic relations between women and men, until the last few centuries there were not many women authors. That fact reflects the status of women in most societies. Until the nineteenth century most women lacked sufficient education and leisure time to write. The concept of the artist defined the role as masculine. As cultures became industrialized and women increasingly were educated and as printing technologies were used to produce cheaper books and enlarge reading audiences, it became more possible for women to write. Women then produced some of the most popular novels in England, France, and the United States and became more visible as poets and playwrights.

THE ANCIENT WORLD AND THE EARLY MODERN ERA

There had been women writers in earlier cultures, but they were few and far between. Ancient Greece celebrated the poetess Sappho (sixth century BCE) and her followers. The Romans had only a few women writers, including Sulpicia, who wrote at the time of the emperor Augustus. The German nun Hrosvitha (935–1032?) wrote plays in Latin in the Middle Ages, and in fourteenth-century Japan there were female court poets and diarists, including Gofukakusa in Nijo, who wrote *The Confessions of Lady Nijo*. The prominent role of noble women in the courtly discussions of the arts in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries initiated a tradition of French women writers, beginning with Marie de France, who wrote poetic *lais*, or verses. In the fourteenth century Christine de Pisan, the widow of a court secretary, became the first woman to make a living as a writer, authoring much lyric poetry and *The Book of the City of Ladies*, which recounts women's heroic deeds. In Italy noblewomen wrote religious verse in that era. At the same time in England the religious mystic Margery Kempe wrote her autobiography and another mystic, Julian of Norwich, wrote *Revelations of Divine Love*.

Only in the seventeenth century did women authors begin to become more prominent, developing the new literary form of the novel, though many still published their works anonymously. The first historical novel was written in France by Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la

Vergne, Comtesse de la Fayette (1634–1693). Her novel, *La Princesse de Clèves*, was published in 1678. Seventeenth-century England saw the emergence of female writers such as Aphra Behn (1640–1689), who wrote the novel *Oroonoko* (1688) and the play *The Rover* (1677), and the poet Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea (1661–1720). The American colonies produced the poet Anne Bradstreet (1612–1672).

THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

In the eighteenth century the English writer Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) wrote the prose pamphlet *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), which made the question of women's rights part of public discussion. Wollstonecraft died giving birth to Mary Wollstonecraft (1797–1851), who married the poet Percy Shelley and wrote *Frankenstein* (1818). Other English women novelists began writing in the early nineteenth century, including Fannie Burney (1752–1840) and Jane Austen (1775–1817). Like many female authors Austen published her works anonymously. Studying the social behavior and psychology of English middle-class characters, Austen wrote about their faults, foibles, and strengths, presenting a picture of English middle-class existence but also satirizing self-deception, pride, and false humility. Austen's first complete novel, *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), argued for psychological balance among its well-off denizens. Her most successful and highly praised novel was *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), which examined the error of first impressions and the play between appearance and reality.

Women have excelled at writing novels from the nineteenth century to the present, and many have been poets as well. The Brontë sisters, Charlotte (1816–1855), who wrote *Jane Eyre* (1847), and Emily (1818–1848), who wrote *Wuthering Heights* (1848) and *Villette* (1853), wrote poetry before penning novels. Like Austen, the Brontës wrote at home and published their novels anonymously, and like Austen's, their novels were successful. *Jane Eyre*, the story of an orphan girl who becomes a governess and eventually marries her mysterious employer, showed the vulnerability and good sense of single women. *Wuthering Heights* is a novel about passion and the irreconcilable differences between natural and civilized beings. Their contemporary, George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans, 1819–1880), was an influential novelist whose work, which focused on humble characters and the ebb and flow of history, inspired many later novelists. Eliot's works include *The Mill on the Floss* (1860), *Silas Marner* (1861), and *Middlemarch* (1871–1872). The United States had influential women novelists, including Harriett Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), whose *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) sold more than 500,000 copies and was a



Nineteenth-century Author Jane Austen. PUBLIC DOMAIN.

catalyst in the antislavery movement. Her contemporary Louisa May Alcott (1832–1888) wrote the children's novel *Little Women* (1868–1869).

Women authors of the nineteenth century also became important poets, including Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861), who wrote the collection of love poems *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (1850) and a long poem in blank verse, *Aurora Leigh* (1856), in which she considers the rights and virtues of women artists. Christina Rossetti (1830–1894) wrote lively, often sensual poems that explored the meaning of life, such as "Goblin Market" (1862). In the United States, Emily Dickinson (1830–1886), wrote more than two thousand poems, though she published only ten during her lifetime. Dickinson's poems were simple, intense, and witty treatments of issues such as passion, death, war, and the role of art.

Women authors began to emerge as acknowledged artists by the end of the nineteenth century and took their place alongside male authors as important, innovative creators and visionaries. The American story writers Sarah Orne Jewett (1849–1909), Kate Chopin (1851–1904), and Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935)

contributed to the development of the short story genre and to an increasing interest in female characters as the focus of fiction. Gilman was also a social visionary, examining the problems of gender relations and arguing for increased political rights for women. The American novelist Edith Wharton (1862–1937) explored the ethical problems of middle-class Americans in novels such as *Ethan Frome* (1911) and *Age of Innocence* (1920), and Willa Cather (1873–1947), the author of *O Pioneers!* (1913) and *My Ántonia* (1918), discussed the problems of expansion into the west. The French novelist Colette (1873–1954) wrote novels about the experiences of a rebellious teenager (*Claudine Goes to School*) as well as sensitive portraits of the difficulties of love in novels such as *Gigi* (1945). The South African novelist Olive Schreiner (1855–1920), the Danish novelist Isak Dinesen (1885–1962), and the West Indian writer Jean Rhys (1890–1979) focused on colonial existence and race relations in Africa and the Caribbean. Rhys's novel *The Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966) recounts the experiences of a character, Bertha, from Emily Brontë's *Jane Eyre*.

THE MODERN ERA

With the advent of literary modernism women authors came into their own as innovators. As they traditionally had, women writers tended to focus on the experiences and insights of female characters, domestic difficulties, and the social tragedy caused by wasting the will and talent of women. With modernist aesthetic experiments women authors could begin to develop their own lyrical modes of expression. Using imagery and subjective perspectives, modernist authors inscribed a different experience of the world through a lyrical language of the senses. Virginia Woolf (1882–1941), who with her husband, Leonard, operated the Hogarth Press, wrote many novels whose style and insight made fiction into more than a description of characters and events. Both *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) and *To the Lighthouse* (1927) present the lives of women protagonists as they experience the changes in life and times around them. Woolf also wrote important meditations on the status of women, including *A Room of One's Own* (1929) and *Three Guineas* (1938).

The experimentalist Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) produced novels and plays that used repetition, fractured grammar, and unusual word choices to convey the feeling of experience as well as its changes through time. She is best known for *Three Lives* (1909), which consists of elaborate verbal portraits of three women, and *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933), in which she writes her own autobiography under the guise of her partner, Alice. Other modernist women writers include the Irish novelist Elizabeth Bowen (1899–1973), the English novelists Rebecca West (1892–1983), Radclyffe Hall (1886–1943),

and Vita Sackville-West (1892–1962); the American novelists Djuna Barnes (1892–1982), the author of *Nightwood* (1937), and Zora Neale Hurston (1901–1960), the author of *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937); and the Norwegian novelist Sigrid Undset (1882–1949), whose 1922 novel *Kristen Lavransdatter* won the Nobel Prize. Short story writers include the American humorist Dorothy Parker (1893–1867) and the New Zealand writer Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923).

Modernism enabled women poets to become more prominent as literary cultures expanded to include women as active artists and literary theorists. Edna St. Vincent Millay (1892–1950) wrote more traditional verse, poets such as Amy Lowell (1874–1925) and H.D. (Hilda Doolittle) (1886–1961) developed the imagist style, and Edith Sitwell (1887–1964), Marianne Moore (1887–1972), and Louise Bogan (1897–1970) worked through more personal visions of language. Sitwell's poetry tended to be satirical, Moore's was wide-ranging, and Bogan's was tragic and personal. Although women had not begun to write many plays, Susan Glaspell (1882–1948) wrote *Trifles* (1916) and other plays for the Provincetown Players, winning the Pulitzer Prize for her play *Alison's House* (1930). Another American playwright, Sophie Treadwell (1885–1970), wrote *Machinal* (1928), a play about a young woman's destruction.

The emergence of women authors as full-fledged members of literary communities continued in the twentieth century. The middle of that century saw the emergence of writers such as the satirical novelist Muriel Spark (1918–2006) and the Irish novelist and philosopher Iris Murdoch (1919–1999). In France women authors became important contributors to the literary scene. Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986), a student of philosophy, wrote an analysis of the status of women, *The Second Sex* (1949), and also wrote novels and an autobiography. Nathalie Sarraute (1900–1999) and Marguerite Duras (1914–1996) contributed to the formulation of the *nouveau roman*, a French avant-garde form of the novel that dispensed with realistic plot and character in favor of subjective impression and the flow of events. Anaïs Nin (1903–1977) wrote surrealist novels, and Lillian Hellman (1907–1984) wrote plays that showcased the human capacity for petty evil. Women short story writers also became prominent, including Eudora Welty (1909–2001), Tillie Olsen (b. 1913), and Flannery O'Connor (1925–1964).

Women poets came into their own in the second half of the twentieth century as Maya Angelou (b. 1928) became the American poet laureate, following a long line of innovative, accomplished poets. Those writers include the British poet Stevie Smith (1902–1971) and the Americans Elizabeth Bishop (1911–1979), Muriel

Rukeyser (1913–1980), Gwendolyn Brooks (1917–2000), Anne Sexton (1928–1974), and Sylvia Plath (1932–1963).

CONTEMPORARY WOMEN WRITERS

The women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s encouraged a new generation of women writers to become more political and begin paying attention to the work of women of color. Mixing cultural analysis with lyrical verse, poets such as Adrienne Rich (b. 1929), Audre Lorde (1934–1992), and Judy Grahn (b. 1940) presented the pulse of feminist struggle. Novelists such as Alice Walker (b. 1944) and Toni Morrison (b. 1931) made central the experiences of black women. Maxine Hong Kingston (b. 1940) and Amy Tan (b. 1952) focused on the loves of immigrant Chinese women. The novelist and short story writer Sandra Cisneros (b. 1954) and the playwright Cherrie Moraga (b. 1952) produced innovative writing detailing the experiences of Chicanas. The Canadian Margaret Atwood (b. 1939) considered the problems of impersonal societies, and writers from more recently postcolonial nations such as India, including Bharati Mukherjee (b. 1940) and Anita Desai (b. 1937), wrote about the experiences of Eastern immigrants to Western countries.

In the second half of the twentieth century women writers such as the American Kathy Acker (1947–1997), the Canadian Nicole Brossard (b. 1943), the German Christa Wolf (b. 1929), and the Brazilian Clarice Lispector (1920–1977) contributed to cutting-edge experimental forms of writing in works that were often political.

Women writers in the contemporary period produce everything from experimental and high art novels to best-sellers. The character of their work has changed conceptions of literature not only insofar as literature has become an integral part of the women's movement and has represented a different point of view but also as women's writing has broadened and enriched cultural possibilities for all people.

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Judith Roof

WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

"The human rights of women and of the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights ..." Article 18, Vienna Declaration

The slogan "Women's Rights Are Human Rights" may seem redundant, yet it highlights the long-standing neglect of women's rights and speaks to the need to acknowledge an evident truth that women are irrefutably human and accordingly entitled to whatever belongs to humans. Human rights are rooted in the dignity and worth of the human person and are essential to the well-being of every man, woman, and child. They include civil, political, economic, social, cultural, environmental, and other rights and freedoms. They are universal, inalienable, and indivisible and inscribed in international, regional, and national legal frameworks. This entry offers an overview of the implications of the international human rights standards for women and the expanding global movement to reclaim human rights for women by addressing critical issues and major achievements as well as changes and challenges.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The concept of human rights gained prominence in the modern world with the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 in response to the horrors of the Second World War. Under the UN Charter the international community recognizes that all human beings have equal, inalienable rights. It is the first international instrument to articulate specifically the importance of gender equity in human rights. Its Preamble sets as one of the central goals of the organization the reaffirmation of "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women." The Commission on Human Rights, established in 1946, took up the job of defining basic rights and fundamental freedoms, and its work culminated in the UN General Assembly's adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on December 10, 1948.

The UDHR proclaims the entitlement of everyone to equality before the law and to the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It remains the pillar of modern-era human rights and the cornerstone of the global human rights movement. It has since become the most universally recognized, yet the most widely violated, treaty. The broader UN human rights agreements, adopted in 1966—the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)—take the UDHR a step further by making provisions legally binding. These three instruments constitute the International Bill of

Rights, which has generated numerous human rights conventions and laws, including the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) (1965), the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) (1984), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989), and the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (2001).

HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK: RHETORIC AND REALITY

The human rights delineated in the foregoing instruments are held to apply to all, including women. However, marginalization of women in the human rights process started from the outset, with the discriminatory opening of an earlier draft of the UDHR, "all men are brothers" (Tomasevski 1993). Only four women were involved in the process and had to fight fiercely for the inclusion of women in the human rights vision through gender-inclusive language. The final version thus reaffirms the UN Charter's provision of equal rights for men and women under international law, and Article 1 states, "All *human beings* are born free and equal in dignity and rights," and Article 2 states, "*Everyone* is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth . . . , without distinction of any kind such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." This explicit inclusion of women was clearly articulated to address the issue of women's subordination. However, there has been a great disparity between international human rights rhetoric and women's reality worldwide.

Women have been marginalized or excluded based on cultural, traditional, social, and religious prejudices compounded by political and economic inequalities. This gender discrimination by the mainstream human rights framework has violated its own *universality*, *interdependency*, and *indivisibility* tenets. As former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, stresses, "Universality is, in fact, the essence of human rights: all people are entitled to them, all governments are bound to observe them, all state and civil actors should defend them. The goal is nothing less than all human rights" (United Nations Development Program 2000, p. 113). Historically, human rights thought and praxis have viewed the male as the norm and impeded the protection and promotion of women's human rights. This gender bias has established a dichotomy between the public and private spheres: Violations are taken into consideration only if a state party to human rights conventions can be held accountable for them. This reservation is highly detrimental to women's enjoyment of their human rights, as most abuses against women are perpe-

trated by private individuals and in the private sphere. The international human rights framework has contributed to a definition of the family as a social, rather than a political, entity. Yet the family is a political unit *par excellence* and the stage for most violations against women in the name of religion, tradition, and culture. Cultural relativism, with claims that there are no universal human rights, still poses a formidable and corrosive challenge to women's rights to equality and dignity in all facets and all stages of their lives.

The importance of human rights indivisibility and interdependence articulated in the UDHR and reaffirmed in the Declaration of the Second World Conference on Human Rights stipulates that "the international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis" (United Nations Department of Public Information 1993, par. 5). There has been a gap between this rhetoric and the reality: The international human rights community has established a clear hierarchy. It has privileged civil and political rights, often considered first-generation human rights, *the* human rights, at the expense of economic, social, and cultural rights considered second-generation human rights, third-generation group rights, and fourth-generation women's rights. This separation of public and private responsibility, compounded with fragmentation and subordination of certain human rights, has exacerbated oppression of women and violated their human dignity. Human rights reality thus lags far behind human rights rhetoric for a vast majority of women and girls, and there is an urgent need for redress.

RECLAIMING A WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK

Putting women's rights on the agenda has been a tremendous achievement by the international community and human rights activists. However, the fact of women's humanity has proved insufficient to guarantee them the enjoyment of their internationally agreed-upon rights. There has thus been the need for a gender-balancing act, an elaboration of important declarations and conventions: the 1952 Convention on the Political Rights of Women, the 1957 Convention on the Nationality of Married Women, and the 1962 and 1965 Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages. Each of these treaties aimed to protect and promote the rights of women in areas where they were considered particularly vulnerable. These women-specific instruments soon proved fragmentary, as they failed to deal with discrimination against women in a comprehensive fashion. The Commission for the Status of Women thus initiated a process that

culminated in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), adopted by the General Assembly in 1979, bringing to fruition the UN efforts to comprehensively codify international legal standards to secure women's human rights.

CEDAW: A MILESTONE FOR WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

The CEDAW is often described as an international bill of rights for women. It is the most comprehensive UN treaty aimed at safeguarding the rights of women in family life, education, health care, employment, politics, economics, and beyond. CEDAW comprises a preamble and thirty articles that define what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end it. The Convention defines discrimination against women as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field" (Article 1). The Commission on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women monitors implementation of the Convention and continues to play a dynamic role in ensuring that this issue is a priority for the international community. The Optional Protocol of the Convention gives women and groups of women the right to petition and has the potential to become a highly effective tool for addressing gender-based violence and other violations of women's human rights. It is noteworthy that CEDAW has received more reservations from signatory states than any other human rights instrument. These reservations must be removed to allow this useful document to be effectively implemented at all levels everywhere.

BEST PRACTICES TO STOP VIOLATIONS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The First World Conference on Women held in Mexico in 1975 set in motion the global women's human rights movement by bringing together for the first time women from all over the world, a process that continued in Copenhagen and Nairobi in 1980 and 1985. Putting governments on notice with regard to their obligations toward the women of the world, the movement gathered momentum through the 1990s global conferences and the resulting plans of action. The World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna 1993), the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo 1994), the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen 1995), and the Fourth World Conference on Women

(Beijing 1995) were notable for the advances they made in women's human rights theory and practice (Bunch and Reilly 1994). The recognition that human rights can be, and are, violated in gender-specific ways and that violence against women is itself a human rights violation mirrors the significant slogan "Women's Rights are Human Rights."

In the wake of Vienna, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women in 1967, an international consensus on government obligations to end violence against women. The Declaration defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life" (Article 1). It applies to violence by nongovernmental actors, including violence within the family; Article 2 states that violence against women includes, but is not limited to, violence in the family, violence in the general community, and violence perpetrated or condoned by the State. The Declaration directs states not to "invoke any custom, tradition or religious consideration to avoid their obligations" regarding violence against women. It spells out specific legislative, educational, administrative, and other measures to be taken by states. Many of these provisions are reiterated and expanded in the *Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action* (United Nations Department of Public Information, 1996) and in UN resolutions on violence against women. In 1994 the Commission on Human Rights appointed a Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women with a mandate to collect information on the causes and consequences of violence against women and to recommend measures for its eradication.

Combating violence against women has been central to the agenda of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). Since 1997 the UNIFEM Trust Fund in Support of Actions to Eliminate Violence Against Women has provided more than 2 million dollars to innovative projects around the world that work to eliminate all forms of gender-based violence. On March 8, 1999, the last International Women's Day of the millennium, UNIFEM coordinated an interagency global videoconference, "A World Free of Violence Against Women," linking the UN General Assembly in New York to sites across the globe and also broadcasting by satellite to audiences worldwide. In 1999, the UN General Assembly adopted November 25 as the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. The UN Security Council Resolution 1325, passed in October 2000, affirms the principle that women should be involved in peace-building processes at all levels and that the rights of women and girls need to be respected in times of war and conflict.

GENDER-BASED VIOLATIONS OF WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

Millions of women throughout the world live in conditions of abject deprivation of, and attacks against, their fundamental human rights for no other reason than that they are women. There are glaring cases of human rights abuses against women that are obstacles and setbacks in campaigns to redress them. The years from 1997 to 2006 were declared the International Decade for the Elimination of Poverty. Yet data and statistics available in many studies indicate that women's poverty, in fact, increased during that decade. Structural social inequalities, gender discrimination, unequal access to resources, and other factors fuel poverty, which affects all human rights. For example, people with low income often do not have access to health or education (economic and social rights); this, in turn, impedes their participation in public life and their ability to influence policies impacting their lives (civil and political rights). Extreme poverty forecloses other choices and hinders human development. Human poverty thus needs to be viewed both as a cause and a consequence of human rights violations.

The correlation between poverty and human rights abuse is well reflected in women's everyday lives around the world. Violations of women's economic rights have worsened and resulted in the feminization of poverty. At the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing, governments committed to remedy some of the ways in which macroeconomic policies impact women negatively and disproportionately. World leaders also committed to "free all men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty" by overwhelmingly accepting a number of human rights treaties and, in 2000, signing the international consensus, through the Millennium Declaration, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), eight targets formulated to curb poverty by 2015 (United Nations Millennium Development Declaration, 2000). Women's economic justice advocates continue to formulate and demand alternative policies that are key to guaranteeing women's economic rights.

Paradoxically, policy makers have expanded deregulation of manufacturing and investment, boosting profits at the expense of poor women and their families. International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank's Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) have shifted more of the burden for meeting people's basic needs from governments to women in households. Strategies aimed at enhancing women's economic empowerment, such as microcredit have shown their limits; also, gender budgeting has failed to transform macroeconomic frameworks and the impact of international trade policies on women. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Louise

Arbour, laments the prevalence of poverty as being the gravest human rights challenge in the world, with the worst affected populations being women and their children. Tackling poverty as a matter of human rights obligation is imperative to achieve its eradication and promote women's human rights.

Gender-based violence is one of the most shameful human rights violations of the early twenty-first century. Silenced for centuries, violence against women has reached pandemic proportions and constitutes a clear breach of international and national law. Violence against women is relentless, systematic, and widely tolerated, if not explicitly condoned. Women are targeted for violent attacks because they are women, "punished for being female." It is a "permanent world war—the war against women all over the planet" (Herbert 2006), as documented in a UN Secretary General's report titled *In-Depth Study on All Forms of Violence against Women* released in October 2006. Violence against women is global in reach and takes place in all societies and cultures, affecting women regardless of their birth, ethnicity, or other social status; education, age, or other circumstances.

Violence against women takes diverse forms through their life cycles: from selective abortion of female fetuses and female infanticide due to male-child preference, female genital cutting, virginity testing, girl-child marriage, forced marriage, bride battering, bride burning, honor killing, widow rituals, forced prostitution, and sex slavery, to the growing violence against women and girls in armed conflicts where they are not only victims of warfare and displacement but increasingly targets of mass rape and many other hideous forms of sexual violence used as weapons of war. The trafficking in women and girls is one of the fastest-growing organized crimes in the twenty-first century. Violence against women is also increasingly linked to HIV/AIDS infection; these women do not have basic control over what happens to their bodies.

According to the 2006 UN report, it is estimated that prenatal sex selection and infanticide in India accounted for half a million missing girls per year during the two decades prior to the study. Each year thousands of wives in India are maimed or murdered, many of them doused with kerosene and set ablaze by husbands dissatisfied by their spouses' behaviors or the sizes of their dowries. In Ethiopia the abduction and rape of girls is a customary way to acquire a bride, as most parents agree to the marriage on the grounds that the raped child is no longer fit to marry anyone else. In Pakistan a woman cannot legally prove that she was raped unless four *virtuous* Muslim men testify that they witnessed the sexual attack. Without those four witnesses the woman victim of rape is revictimized by prosecution for fornication or



Pakistani Women Stage a Rally. Pakistani women stage a rally in Multan, Pakistan protesting against domestic violence and sexual harassment as well as demanding greater economic opportunities. AP IMAGES.

adultery. In some cases sexual violence occurs in horrendous waves, as has been the case in Darfur-Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Kosovo, and the former Yugoslavia. Sometimes men beat, torture, rape and kill women with impunity, as in Ciudad Juarez, a Mexican city on the Texan border where 300 to 400 women were murdered in during the past decade, some after being raped and mutilated. More than 130 million girls and women are living with the consequences of genital mutilation, and many others have died from the brutal practice in some parts of Africa and the Middle East. A key factor to the protracted occurrence of these crimes is the continued impunity of the perpetrators.

As documented in a landmark World Health Organization (WHO) study on domestic violence published in November 2005, intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence in women's and girls' lives around the globe—much more so than assault or rape by strangers. Intimate partner violence is widespread and has a serious impact on the health and well-being of women around the world. Paradoxically, by its very nature, partner violence is still largely hidden and silenced and is the most difficult to prosecute; it is a social, public

health, and human rights threat. According to the UN Secretary General's 2006 report, even in such developed countries as the United States, Canada, Israel, and Australia, the overwhelming majority of female murder victims are killed by current or former husbands or boyfriends. A study of young female murder victims in the United States found that homicide was the second leading cause of death for girls aged fifteen to eighteen, and that 78 percent of all the homicide victims in the study had been killed by an acquaintance or intimate partner. The global statistics are alarming and call for concerted action.

LOOKING AHEAD

A major catalyst in reclaiming, protecting, and promoting women's rights has been the networking of women human rights activists locally, nationally, regionally, and globally. Some of these organizations are the women's rights divisions of Amnesty International and of Human Rights Watch, the Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL), Equality Now, Isis Internacional, MADRE, WOMANKIND, Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF), Women's Environment and Development Organization

(WEDO), Women's Rights Network, and Women's Watch. Activists believe that reclaiming women's rights is a global struggle based on universal human rights and the rule of law. The struggle must be about making women's lives matter everywhere all the time, and it requires everyone to work in solidarity to stop discrimination and violence against women.

Despite the very real progress of the international women's human rights movement in identifying, raising awareness about, and challenging impunity for women's human rights violations, poverty, violence, and discrimination against women remain global social epidemics. The vast body of international human rights instruments alone will not be enough; they need to be implemented. The struggle for the rights of women involves more than state and global intervention; it requires synergy with civil society local action. As aptly charged by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, "Intervention is not just a matter for states. Every person—whether as a worker in government, in intergovernmental or non-governmental organizations, in business, in the media, or simply as a human being—has an obligation to do whatever he or she can do to defend the human rights of our fellow men and women when they are threatened. Each of us has a duty to halt—or, better, to prevent—the infliction of suffering" (United Nations Development Program 2000, p. 31). Society must examine the gender structure that moulds violence against women as the expression of male domination. Society must also confront the culture of violence, particularly through education, identifying and addressing the bases for hegemonic beliefs in male supremacy, formulating and enforcing appropriate legal frameworks, and designing relevant academic curricula and pedagogical materials. Ultimately, society must rethink the culture of violence that permeates domestic, economic, social, civil, political, and religious relationships.

SEE ALSO *Female Genital Mutilation; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender Stereotype; Nationalism; War.*

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Bertrade Ngo-Ngijol Banoum

WOMEN'S STUDIES

Like the field of black/African-American studies with which it is often compared, women's studies is in the rather uncommon position of an academic subject whose existence resulted from a political movement. While most scholars attribute the first women's studies program to San Diego State University in 1970, all the programs/departments of the early twenty-first century, no matter what their date of origin, credit feminism and the women's movement for their birth. Allison Kimmich, the director of the National Women's Studies Association, told Alison Neumer Lara in

2005, "Women's studies is an outgrowth of the feminist movement. It is the academic arm." Campus activism was widespread in 1960s, and forever changed the way knowledge and the political implications of intellectual work are viewed. The founding of Students for a Democratic Society and campus antiwar and civil rights movements set the stage for this new field of research, which "reconstruc(t)ed the traditionally fashioned *women* and *men*, denaturalized *sex* and *sexuality*, formulated subjective and social *gender*, modeled *sex-gender systems*, multiplied *identities* and *oppressions*, and problematized all such *categories*" (Davidow 2002, p. 166). Of course, this origin in political activism means that women's studies has had a somewhat vexed place at the academic table, as Jacky Coates, Michelle Dodds, and Jodi Jensen (1998) note, stating "the point is to change the world, not just to study it" (p. 333), and later asking rhetorically, "[i]f confined solely to the world of texts, does the work of feminist academics contribute any more than the work of other academics to concrete social change?" (p. 338). Certainly "theory" versus "activism" is a binary near and dear to many laboring inside and outside of academia, each believing that their work contributes more to the feminist (or other political) project. Yet, as Mary Evans echoes in her 1997 essay, "In Praise of Theory: The Case for Women's Studies," "belief and ideology . . . have critical effects on the lives of millions of people" and the "production of counter-ideologies may, therefore, be as much part of a struggle of the oppressed as any other" (p. 20).

Despite these debates, however, the growth of women's studies as a discipline has been swift. By 1969 the Modern Language Association had formed their Commission on the Status of Women, and by 1971 the journals *PMLA* and *College English* had published their first all-feminist issues. The growth of classes in the field (although a name was not yet decided, many were calling it "female studies") also moved rapidly from a barely institutionalized 100 or so courses in 1970 to more than 395 programs in the United States alone and more than 700 worldwide by the early twenty-first century. Though the field has not been free from its share of threats stemming from rising tides of conservatism and university budget slashing, this level of growth over the course of more than thirty-five years remains notable. And though most programs' goal at the outset included a desire to fuse activist concerns with academic knowledge, how each women's studies program actually worked then and in the early twenty-first century has everything to do with the individual institutions themselves. They range from freestanding departments with their own tenure lines to the far more common (and some would argue disenfranchised) "programs" with a few core requirements and the bulk of their courses offered through interdepartmental cross-listing.

In other words, women's studies (this term will be used until discussing the rise of gender studies specifically) can mean anything from the addition of women to course syllabi to a completely reconceptualized methodology and pedagogical practice. According to Marilyn Jacoby Boxer (1998), most women's studies programs began via a demand for topics, courses, and terminology that included women (a request that in the early twenty-first century seems quite modest—a testament to the field's growth). Soon though, she argues, “traveling beyond rediscovered foremothers and asking what women had done in the male-defined world they began to formulate new questions,” wondering if they wanted only to “join the [higher education] parade or also to change its route and objective” (p. 52). Changing the route and objective could mean that those involved would engage in “radical attacks on the epistemological presuppositions, bodies of knowledge, and methodologies of the fields in which they were trained” (p. 56) as well as a questioning (and possible reformation) of the disciplines altogether.

INTERDISCIPLINARITY AND THE ESSENTIALIST DEBATES

Such reformations across institutions led to a reinvigoration of the project of interdisciplinarity as key to the women's studies project, calling as it does for “an integration of disciplines to create a new epistemology” (Allen and Kitch 1998, p. 276). The influence of interdisciplinarity remains, in a variety of forms, despite the fact that the 1980s and 1990s witnessed much fragmentation and debate over whether the field should view itself as an “interdisciplinary discipline, with theories, methods, and professional regimes of its own” or identify chiefly as a field that makes “strategic forays that disrupt and reconfigure the disciplines” (Hewitt and Lancer 1998, p. 236). Historically, these questions of inter/transdisciplinarity have a basis in the earliest discussions within feminist theory over notions of essentialism, that is, the question of whether or not women as a gender share some kind of intrinsic “essence.” Just as advocates of inter/transdisciplinarity might argue that an analysis of gender requires more than one disciplinary inclination, “nonessentialist” feminists at the outset advocated moving beyond the singular lens of gender to get at what it means to identify as “woman” in a particular culture. Though much of the “essentialism debates” are overstated (no one seriously argues that women are all born with an identical kernel of “womanness”), feminism and women's studies *do* have to answer (as do most academic disciplines) for an early overemphasis on white (women's) experiences as exemplar. Theorists such as Gerda Lerner, Audre Lorde, Cherrie Moraga, Gloria Anzaldúa, Barbara Hull, Barbara Smith, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, and bell hooks have

issued wide-ranging correctives to such a perspective, leading the authors of the introduction to Oxford University Press's *Feminisms* to state (some might say overly optimistically) that in women's studies “monocausal and totalizing theories of patriarchy have been replaced by multifaceted explorations of the contingencies of identity” (Kemp and Squires 1997, p. 6).

Of course, moving beyond such totalizing theories means moving beyond simply the issue of race, class, and so on within national borders, giving rise to feminist postcolonial theory that aims to question western feminists' monolithic conceptions of “third world” women. In challenging hegemonic white, Western, and urban feminism, as well as a sexist “extremely selective rejection of Westernization” on the part of the colonized (Narayan 2005, p. 546), theorists such as Mohanty, Arjun Appadurai, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Uma Narayan, and Vandana Shiva have contributed to one of the most theoretically rich and engaging strains of feminist theory in women's studies of the early twenty-first century.

POSTSTRUCTURALIST EPISTEMOLOGIES

The “post” in “postcoloniality” relates to another oft-cited “post” in women's studies from the 1980s, that of “postmodern” and/or “poststructuralist” feminist theory, a wide-ranging intellectual realignment that has reshaped the field in profound (if contentious) ways. Although some have derided this development in the field as a “shift from things to words” (Kemp and Squires 1997, p. 8), others have argued that what is sometimes colloquially referred to simply as “theory” and includes “Derridian deconstructive readings, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and Foucauldian discourses of power and corporeality . . . [has] prove[n] an invaluable tool to feminist theorists across the disciplines” (p. 8). Incorporated under the somewhat vague “theory” rubric is what is similarly casually referred to as “French feminism,” which includes the work of Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous, and Julia Kristeva, as well as their Anglo-American counterparts such as Jane Gallop and Juliet Mitchell and journals such as *Signs*, *Feminist Studies*, and *Yale French Studies*. French feminist theories ground deconstruction in psychoanalysis and the female body and have gained much (academic) currency, despite a backlash against what is perceived to be not only their theoretical blind spots but also their difficulty. Theorists have pointed out, however, that philosophical writing of all kinds are too-easily labeled “difficult” and removed from “real” life when “real life” means an anti-intellectual culture without equal education for all, especially at the higher levels. In speaking of this backlash in their introduction to *Feminisms*, the editors argue that “To assume that work which is difficult is elitist

is to confuse the form with the context" (Kemp and Squires 1997, p. 5). Nevertheless, what might be a more valid critique of academic/French/poststructuralist feminist theory, also discussed in this anthology, is its continuing domination (with the exception of work explicitly labeled "third world" or "postcolonialist") by (white) Anglo-American and French writers.

QUEER IS TO GAY AS GENDER IS TO WOMEN: QUEER THEORY AND THE GENDER STUDIES DEBATE(S)

While gay and lesbian studies was born around twenty years after women's studies, its issues, like its course offerings, often coalesce around similar questions, in particular "essentialism," that is, whether too much difference (of race and class for example) gets subsumed, this time under the rubric of sexuality. In response to both this critique and the influence of poststructuralism, queer theory emerged as a "contestation of social norms" and a "voluntarism of identity" (Auslander 1997, p. 11) that moved beyond the binaries of hetero- or homo-identity with an emphasis on the fluidity of (sexual) identity. Queer theory looks at sex and gender (and by implication, sexuality) as "ideal construct[s]" whose "materialization is compelled" (Judith Butler quoted in Davidow 2002, p. 177). Some theorists, such as Lisa Duggan (1992), argue for its superiority to traditional gay and lesbian theory and politics, which locates itself, like second-wave feminism, in a liberal politics that posits a unified gay identity implicitly coded as white and male. In contrast, she argues that queer theory and the queer community "[are] unified only by a shared dissent from the dominant organization of sex and gender altogether" (p. 20). Other feminist theorists such as Sheila Jeffreys (1994) have argued the exact opposite, that queer theory's emphasis on gender performativity and its invocation of endlessly floating gender signifiers is "feminism free." Similarly, Jacquelyn Zita (1994) claims that theorizing gender and sexuality from the perspective of postmodern performativity (a common rhetorical move) is a theoretical luxury that neglects the very real cultural and political repercussions that come from resisting sex and gender norms. While these debates continue, the profound influence of queer theory on women's studies cannot be denied, and not only at the level of knowledge formation but also in the term *women's studies* itself.

GENDER AND MASCULINITY STUDIES

Clearly, the postmodern critique of identity categorization has thrown a wrench into all sorts of academic discourse. But for a field such as women's studies, itself a result of a political movement (feminism) originating in

a politics of (gendered) identity, the effects are particularly apposite. Theorists such as Wendy Brown (1997), for instance, taking off from queer theory and poststructuralism, have gone as far as to prophesize the "impossibility of women's studies," while writers as diverse as Eve K. Sedgwick, Judith Butler, and Judith Halberstam have pushed the field into looking at how gender and sexuality manifest themselves outside of a binary male/female framework. Exploring such topics as female masculinity, transsexuality, and intersexuality and their relationship to differences between women (or even whether a term such as *woman* has any intrinsic meaning at all) has led women's studies, in Robyn Wiegman's terms (2002), to more complicated analyses around "multiple axes of power and difference" (p. 32) beyond a simple oppressor/oppressed model. From this current have arisen such programs as the University of Chicago's Center for Gender Studies (not Women's Studies), whose stated mission is to "coordinate research and teaching in the field of women's feminist, *gender*, gay and lesbian, and queer studies as well as the study of *masculinity*" (my emphasis; Auslander 1997, p. 3). While many applaud this change as an evolution in scholarship that pushes one to consider *both* how "freedom from scrutiny has enabled the white middle class masculine norm to remain invisible" (Robinson 2002, p. 147) *and* to "account for the possibility of conditions under which men might productively fail to live up to phallic expectations" (Thomas 2002, p. 66), like the debates around queer theory and postmodernism, both the emerging field of "masculinity studies" and the name change to gender studies have occasioned critique and alarm within women's studies.

One of the most eloquent critics of the embrace of gender/masculinity studies is Tania Modleski, who, in *Feminism without Women* (1991), wonders why theorists would want to change a name that honors the field's roots in a political movement, especially because "the experiences of women are rarely studied in isolation" anyway (p. 47). Further, because, theoretically at least, gender studies does not necessarily have to focus on women at all, this potential erasure comes at a time when "those [i.e., women] who have fairly recently found a place in the discourse" are in threat of being erased (p. 49). Similarly, Rosi Braidotti (1994) argues that gender studies defuses feminism and "market[s] masculinity and gay male identity instead" (pp. 43–44). On the other hand, explicitly aiming to study masculinity might be the best way to get at a thorough understanding of the myriad ways in which "the repression of the abject vulnerability of the male body—a repression necessary for the construction of heteronormative masculinity—depends on a displacement of that vulnerability . . . onto the feminine" (Thomas 2002, p. 63). Nevertheless, despite a growing acceptance of the need to study both masculinity and femininity, the only

PhD program calling itself “gender studies” as of 2006 is at Indiana University, Bloomington. While there are two officially titled gender studies doctoral programs in Europe (Central European University in Budapest and the London School of Economics and Political Science), the vast majority of programs, including undergraduate majors, minors, and certificates, and MA- and PhD-granting institutions continue to use the term women’s studies, with some elaborating on it—“women’s and gender studies” being the most common form of this expansion.

All in all, if the most general goal of women’s studies (or gender studies) has been to bring gender as a key aspect of knowledge to the forefront of a range of disciplines, it has inarguably been achieved. This achievement, despite all the debates and institutional roadblocks discussed here, must seem nothing less than remarkable from the perspective of its founders in 1970. Women’s/gender studies has brought about nothing less than the veritable end to a casual biological determinism (beginning with Shulamith Firestone and continuing with the work of scholars such as Butler today), as well as a reconfiguring of the sex binary as not natural but a “knowledge problem.” Perhaps most compelling of all, the notion that gender is a “social, subjective, and symbolic formation” (Davidow 2002, p. 171) has permeated across almost all academic disciplines, thanks in no small part to a field that itself has been devoted to an interrogation of the terms of those very disciplines. The advent of the “third wave” of feminists entering the academy, and the continued growth of women’s/gender/feminist studies, suggests a long future for the vigorous debates and theoretical development of which this entry only scratches the surface.

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Jennifer Maher

WONDER WOMAN

Few popular culture icons have been identified with feminism as strongly as the comics’ Wonder Woman. From the beginning, the character’s originator, the psychologist William Moulton Marston (pen name, Charles Moulton), envisioned her to be a reflector of women’s strong points, not just to attract girl readers, but also to expose boys to the ideals of feminism. The multitalented Marston’s career itself was permeated with an interest in gender and female subjectivity. While at Harvard earning a Ph.D., he researched femininity, and later, in his criminology career (he had also earned a law degree and invented the lie detector), he worked with inmates in women’s prisons and reform institutions. As a consultant for M. C. Gaines beginning in 1937, he advised the comics publisher that gender was the key for comics

reform and that the medium needed a superheroine. Marston combined his knowledge of psychology and mythology (he had written scholarly and popular books and articles on these topics, as well as mysteries and screenplays) to create Princess Diana, who became Wonder Woman once she left the land of the Amazons.

Later, Wonder Woman became the semiofficial emblem of feminism when she graced the cover of the initial issue of *Ms.* magazine in July 1972, in the process becoming the magazine's mascot. *Ms.* publisher Gloria Steinem was a great admirer of Wonder Woman. In the introduction to a 1972 collection of Wonder Woman stories, Steinem recalled as a child her "toe-wriggling pleasure" while reading about this "strong, beautiful, courageous" fighter for social justice.

The feature originally appeared in the December 1941 *All Star Comics* (no. 8). The following month, Wonder Woman was the lead character of *Sensation Comics* no. 1, and by summer 1942 she had her own comic book, one of only a few characters popular enough to merit and sustain an individual title.

Veteran strip cartoonist Harry G. Peter drew Wonder Woman, and ideas came from scriptwriters such as tennis champion and associate editor Alice Marble, Joye Hummel Murchison, and Dorothy Woolfolk. Marston's two-pronged family (he lived in the same house with two women simultaneously and bore two children with each) also was helpful. His legal wife, Elizabeth Holloway Marston, was said to have urged Marston to create a superheroine; his "unofficial" wife, Olive Richard, publicized his efforts and may have been the inspiration for Wonder Woman. Marston's son Pete sent story ideas from college, receiving payment of \$25 for each one used.

Wonder Woman's popularity soared during World War II as she fought social injustice and foiled the diabolical plots of Nazi spies, foreign infiltrators, and other villains, usually with a minimum of violence. Her main weapon was her magic lasso, which she used to capture men and compel them to obey her. At its peak, the *Wonder Woman* comic book sold 2.5 million copies monthly. In 1944 a newspaper comic strip was started, but it lasted only a year.

Wonder Woman came in for her share of criticism during the character's formative years. She was the disdain of boy readers perhaps because of the paucity of males; some entire sequences were completely devoid of men. Accusations were hurled at Marston and Gaines for what some believed was an overemphasis on bondage (characters were regularly tied up) and male bashing, and for including lesbian overtones. The top anti-comics crusader, Fredric Wertham, referring to the claimed bondage, called Woman Wonder "one of the most harmful characters," the lesbian counterpart to Batman. Josette Frank of the Child Study

Association of America, employed to monitor the comics, chastised Gaines that the feature was "open to considerable criticism . . . partly on the basis of the woman's costume (or lack of it), and partly on the sadistic bits showing women chained, tortured, etc." Marston retaliated, saying binding and chaining were "harmless, painless" ways of subjecting the heroine to menace and that "women *enjoy* submission, being bound." Other comics consultants joined the fray, but the controversy died, and Gaines continued to support Marston until his death in 1947.

Wonder Woman's editor after Marston was Robert Kanigher, who served as the writer of the comic as well. During the twenty years that he filled both positions, substantial changes occurred. By 1960, Kanigher had deviated from Marston's original story, adding the characters Wonder Tot and Wonder Girl. At first, these characters portrayed Wonder Woman as a baby and young girl, respectively, but by 1963 all three appeared together in stories, thus defying logic. The storyline became so convoluted and confusing that in 1965 Kanigher took Wonder Woman back to the 1940s and started all over again.

The character deteriorated further when a new team in 1968 transformed her into a mortal woman and stripped her of her powers and uniform. These changes eventually led to the demise of the book with no. 329 in February 1986, and the character a month later in an issue of *Crisis on Infinite Earths*. Like most superheroes, however, she was quickly brought back from the dead. Finally, nearly fifty years after her creation, Wonder Woman was for a brief time under the domain of women cartoonists, namely, Jill Thompson, Mindy Newell, and Trina Robbins. The character has had other makeovers since the early 1980s, including a stage in the early 1990s when she was a hypersexual, barely clothed pinup.

Unlike Batman and Superman, Wonder Woman did not break into broadcasting and film early. Her first exposure outside comics was in 1966 on a 45-rpm record; her first screen appearances were in a 1972 episode of *The Brady Kids* animated television show and a Justice League of America's *Super Friends*, produced by Hanna-Barbera in 1973 for ABC. Various Saturday morning animated shows featuring Wonder Woman continued through 1986. In 1974 ABC and Warner Brothers released a made-for-TV movie, *Wonder Woman*, starring Cathy Lee Crosby, which did not draw much attention. But the popularity of a second ABC movie, *The New Original Wonder Woman*, broadcast the following year and starring Lynda Carter, led to a one-hour, weekly series that debuted in October 1976. The show moved from ABC to CBS in 1977, at the same time that the setting was changed from World War II to the 1970s.



Lynda Carter as Wonder Woman. Actress Lynda Carter starred as Wonder Woman in the 1970s television series. WARNER BROTHERS/GETTY IMAGES.

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John A. Lent

WOOLF, VIRGINIA

1882–1941

As a writer and publisher, Virginia Woolf was in the forefront of English literary modernism between the two world wars, and her feminist essays and treatises helped set the stage for feminism's second wave in the

mid-twentieth century. She was born Adeline Virginia Stephen on January 25 in London. Her mother was Julia Duckworth, nee Jackson, the niece of photographer Julia Margaret Cameron and a beauty from a family renowned for its beautiful women. Her father was Leslie Stephen, author, critic, and editor of the venerable *Dictionary of National Biography*.

EARLY LIFE AND INFLUENCES

Both Virginia's parents had been widowed, and had four children between them from previous marriages. To these were added four new Stephen children: Toby, Vanessa, Virginia, and Adrian. Many scholars believe that Virginia and Vanessa suffered sexual abuse when they were young children at the hands of their much older Duckworth half-brothers, George and Gerald. Julia Stephen died in 1895, when Virginia was thirteen, and Virginia became manic-depressive, suffering a nervous breakdown that summer. Sir Leslie, knighted in 1902, died of cancer in 1904, when Virginia was twenty-two, and a second breakdown followed.

Virginia and her sisters were educated at home, as were many upper-middle-class young women of the time. Virginia had the use of Leslie Stephen's substantial library, which substituted for the university she was barred from because she was female. After the death of their father, Vanessa, Virginia, and Adrian moved into a house on Gordon Square in Bloomsbury. Toby, away at Cambridge University, invited his college friends to Thursday evening gatherings at his siblings' home, and the Bloomsbury circle was born. Among these first members were the biographer Lytton Strachey (1880–1932), the critic Clive Bell (1881–1964), and the writer Leonard Woolf (1880–1969); later they were joined by the artist Roger Fry (1866–1934) and the novelist E. M. Forster (1879–1970), among others. These young men brought radical sexual and social ideas to the Stephen sisters, and treated them as intellectual equals rather than as inferior sexed beings. Virginia later wrote how satisfying and strange it was to have her ideas rigorously criticized by these friends, who seemed not to notice how she was dressed or care about traditional manners and standards of decorum.

NOVELS AND FEMINIST IMPORTANCE

Virginia wrote regularly for the *Times Literary Supplement* beginning in 1905, and by 1908 had already begun writing her first novel, *The Voyage Out*. Toby died unexpectedly of typhoid fever in 1906, leaving their circle devastated. Vanessa agreed to marry Bell in 1907, and Virginia married Woolf in 1912. She published *The Voyage Out* in 1915 and *Night and Day* in 1919. She



Virginia Woolf. TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

and Woolf started the Hogarth Press in 1917, and thereafter she published her own work.

Other notable work published by Hogarth included T. S. Eliot's landmark poem *The Waste Land* in 1922, and many works of Freud in translation, including *The Ego and the Id* (1927). In 1922 Virginia published a stream-of-consciousness novel, *Jacob's Room*, about the psychic impact of Toby's loss, which she extended to encompass the loss of an entire generation in her 1925 novel *Mrs. Dalloway*, one of her most beloved and frequently taught works. *Mrs. Dalloway*, written as a response to James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), uses a woman narrator relating the experiences of a single day to tell the story of a society struggling to repress the memory of a terrible war and trying to go on as if nothing had happened. The novel's heroine, Clarissa Dalloway, finds her consciousness touched, invaded, and transformed by those around her, some of whom are old intimates, some of whom she will never meet, including shell-shocked war veterans, repressed spinsters, pompous courtiers, old friends, and old flames. Central to the narrative is a lost

lesbian love that might have changed everything but did not, yet still affects the whole of Clarissa's otherwise conventional bourgeois existence.

To the Lighthouse (1927), *Orlando* (1928), and *The Waves* (1931) followed, as did one of the most famous feminist essays ever written, *A Room of One's Own* (1928). *Orlando* is a playful fantasy loosely based on her friend and lover, the poet Vita Sackville-West (1892–1962). Sackville-West's son, Nigel Nicholson, called the novel a charming love letter. *Orlando* is also a send-up of imperialism and its racial and sexual chauvinisms. Orlando, an Elizabethan aristocrat who wishes never to grow old, has a series of love affairs as both man and woman, eventually marrying a man. His transformation from male to female halfway through the novel, and from English aristocrat to gypsy and back again, allowed Woolf to write about lesbianism, cross-dressing, sexual adventuring, and class and racial fetishism in a breezier way than her contemporary Radclyffe Hall (1880–1943), whose earnest lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* was also published in 1928 and was immediately banned.

A Room of One's Own deals with feminist issues more directly, attributing the difficulty of finding a women's writing tradition to the lack of educational and professional opportunities historically open to women. Virginia argued that if William Shakespeare had had an equally talented and ambitious sister who tried to make her way in the world as a playwright and actor, her life would have ended in pregnancy and suicide.

Three Guineas (1938) continued Virginia's feminist inquiry into the relationship between nation, imperialism, and gender and sexual oppression, interweaving these more polemical themes with a fictional section she published separately as *The Years* (1937). A short work published after Virginia's death, *Between the Acts* (1941), also meditates on connections among gender, history, individual consciousness, class, and political and social forces, and the ability of art to mediate and transform those interrelationships.

In the early twenty-first century Virginia is remembered as one of the great lyrical novelists of the English language and as a groundbreaking feminist theorist and intellectual. *Orlando* is one of the central texts of lesbian modernism, and much of her reputation outside of academia rests on this novel. It was also her best-selling novel to date when it came out, and her first truly popular work.

With the shadow of Nazi Germany creeping toward England, Virginia and Leonard planned how they would kill themselves with cyanide if Hitler invaded. Leonard was Jewish, and as his wife, Virginia knew she would not be spared. She began hearing voices that made her unable to work, and believed she was losing her mind. She took

her own life on March 18, 1941, walking into the river with stones in her pockets. The note she left for Leonard ended with her assertion that no two people could have been happier than they had been.

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Jaime Hovey

WORKING GIRL

SEE *Prostitution*.

X

X (RATED)

In contemporary articulations of gender and sexuality, the letter *X* carries semiotic currency as a symbol of diverse yet interrelated phenomena, among them indeterminacy, anonymity, censorship, and pornography. Although the letter has been long associated with various sorts of graphic iconicity (for example, the *X* of the term *X-chair*, used for a chair with an underframe that resembles the shape of the letter *X*), the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) credits René Descartes (1596–1650) with first using the letter as a symbol for an unknown or variable quantity. Descartes’s algebraic *X*, initially proposed in his *La Géométrie* (1637), appears to be the historical predecessor of more contemporary developments. By the late 1700s the symbol *X* had traveled far outside its mathematical womb, surfacing in diverse legal and literary texts as a replacement for a person’s name when unknown or undetermined, such as in novelist William Makepeace Thackeray’s (1811–1863) *Ballads of Policeman X* (1848) or in astronomer Percival Lowell’s (1855–1916) naming of the hypothetical post-Pluto Planet *X* in the early 1900s. The use of *X* as a marker of anonymity reached a new level of semiotic appeal at the turn of the twentieth century, however, when the American artist John Singer Sargent (1856–1925) and the French playwright Alexandre Bisson (1848–1912) independently created portraits of a mysterious and sensual Madame *X*. Whereas Singer’s sexually suggestive painting *Madame X* scandalized the Parisian art world when first unveiled at the Salon of 1884, the fallen and ultimately murderous mother of Bisson’s play *La Femme X* captured the attention of viewers for decades to come. Performed both in Paris and on Broadway in 1910, the

play was subsequently reworked into no less than eight films carrying the title *Madame X*—among them movie director Sam Wood’s (1883–1949) 1937 version starring Gladys George (1904–1954), and David Lowell Rich’s (b. 1920) 1966 version starring Lana Turner (1920–1995).

The letter *X* has surfaced as a marker of anonymity in a variety of nonartistic domains as well, not the least of which is its appearance in the controversial *Accouchement Sous X* (Born under the X), a French law dating from 1941 that guarantees women the right to enter hospitals and give birth anonymously. Yet the turn-of-the-century contributions of artists such as Sargent and Bisson worked to foster the idea that anonymity is sexy. This conflation no doubt precipitated the letter *X*’s semantic shift in the second half of the twentieth century to a symbol of both censorship and pornography. In 1951 the British Board of Film Censors introduced the X Certificate, a cinematic rating for films with adult-oriented themes perceived as inappropriate for viewers under the age of sixteen. Because it replaced the previous H Certificate, which was used primarily for violent horror films, the X Certificate quickly became associated with the stuff of sex instead of violence, a narrowing in sync with *X*’s parallel reputation as a cinematically sensual letter. The Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), under the direction of President Jack Valenti (b. 1921), introduced its own X-rating in 1968 when it developed a new ratings system in an effort to stave off federal censorship. One year later, director John Schlesinger’s (1926–2003) *Midnight Cowboy* became the first X-rated film to win an Academy Award for best picture, in line with the

X (Rated)

film industry's desire to support the development of adult themes with controversial artistic or sociopolitical merit.

But even though the MPAA trademarked its other three ratings—*G* (general audiences), *M* (mature audiences [later changed to PG, for parental guidance]), and *R* (restricted audiences)—it failed to trademark the *X* rating. When the pornography industry co-opted the rating for its own commercial purposes, the letter *X* began to lose all trace of cinematic prestige as it became increasingly associated with low-budget porn. Although the MPAA, as with the British Board of Film Censors, had originally intended the rating to denote extreme representations of violence as well as sex, the letter *X* ultimately came to symbolize only the latter. It was not long before the reduplicative forms *XX* and *XXX* came to signify extra-hardcore pornographic content, reminiscent of the liquor industry's use of double and triple *X* to designate the relational values of medium and strong quality, a practice recorded by the OED as occurring in 1827. By the late 1980s, the letter *X* could no longer be rescued from its outlaw status as a signifier of purportedly immoral behavior. The letter's phonetic similarity to the English word *sex* also played into this development, with the European- and North American-originating pornography industry capitalizing on the rhyme in a global marketplace of (SE)*X*-rated paraphernalia. With newspapers refusing to advertise *X*-rated films and theaters refusing to show them, the Motion Picture Association finally abolished the *X* rating in 1990 and replaced it with *NC-17* (no one 17 and under admitted).

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the letter *X* came to be seen as indexical of censorship more generally, with Internet-revitalized youth subcultures such as

straight edge (abbreviated as *sXe*) adopting the symbol to index a lifestyle free of tobacco, alcohol, and recreational drugs. Indeed, some Christian groups in the United States have pointed to the spelling of *Christmas* as *Xmas* as exemplary of a leftwing conspiracy to censor *Christ* from *Christmas*. It is largely irrelevant that this abbreviation is derived from the earlier Greek abbreviation of *Χριστός* (*Christós*) by its initial letter (a usage documented as early as 1485), for the letter *X* has taken on new life in the twenty-first century as a provocative, if not threatening, symbol of things requiring surveillance.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Erotic Art; Film, Gender and Eroticism: I. History of; Obscene; Pornography; Sexual Subcultures.*

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Kira Hall

Y

YIN AND YANG

Centuries prior to the appearance of terms for the complementary concepts of *yin* and *yang* or their pairing with the *wuxing* (five phases), there is clear evidence for Chinese categorical thinking. The cosmos was understood to be in continual flux, but this constant change operated in generally predictable patterns: waxing and waning, cyclical renewal, or successive displacement. These patterns came to be organized in disparate but overlapping systems. In the Shang dynasty (second millennium BCE), the temporal cycles of ten heavenly stems and twelve earthly branches informed the calendar, and the eight trigrams combined into sixty-four hexagrams to express the full range of natural phenomena, as described in the classic of divination, the *Yijing* (or *I Ching*, Book of changes). By the Spring and Autumn period (722–481 BCE), the categories of *yinyang* and *wuxing* were systematized and recognized as part of the overall worldview.

Wuxing refers to five constituent elements of all physical phenomena: wood, fire, earth, metal, and water. These elements were applied to a broad range of categories, including cardinal directions (including the center), tastes, colors, viscera, and virtues. As with the other categorical systems, these elements are patterned, interrelated, and dynamic. Each element gives way to the next (in varying orders suggested over the centuries), such that “five phases” is a more accurate description of the system than the more common but static reference to “five elements.”

Yin and *yang* originated in the distinction between the shaded (*yin*) and sunlit (*yang*) slopes of a mountain, or the shaded and sunlit banks of a river. In the agrarian

context of early China, the terms naturally became associated with characteristics such as dark and bright, cool and warm, moist and dry (in reference to the soil), and decay and growth (in reference to plant health). The relationship of these characteristics to each other was neither dualistic nor absolute but complementary and relative. The same infant who is *yin* in its passivity and weakness grows into an active, strong, *yang* adult, but then shifts again into passivity and weakness as he or she ages and moves toward death. Although *yang* was generally understood to be more auspicious or positive—that is, growth and life are generally preferred over decay and death—there was no essential value in the terms.

During the fourth century BCE, the *yinyang* and *wuxing* systems were aggregated to form a larger system of relationships: wood and fire (growth and heat) fall under the *yang* rubric, metal and water (coolness and passivity) are *yin*, and, intriguingly, earth (locus of these interactions) is a neutral force.

Associations of *yinyang* with female and male, women and men, and femininity and masculinity were later additions to the initial list of paired concepts. Prior to the Han dynasty (second century BCE–second century CE), the association of individuals with *yin* and *yang* was determined more by relationship and position by sex or gender. A man was simultaneously *yang* in relation to his wife and children but *yin* in relation to his parents, his ruler, and his older brothers. During the Han, an exhaustive list of characteristics ranging from musical notes to colors, foods, emotions, and cognition were incorporated; a hierarchical sense was infused into these extensive conceptual pairings; and gendered, essentialist views emerged. Women, as *yin*, were categorized as weak, less

rational, and associated with inauspiciousness. Once past childbearing age, however, women are often observed in Chinese religious contexts to wield significant power and influence; with their *yin* energies dissipated, their *yang* characteristics can come to the fore and be exercised and appreciated.

From ancient times through the twentieth-century end of the imperial era, these categorical structures such as *yinyang*, *wuxing*, and the hexagrams were seen to inform and direct all natural and social processes. The *yinyang* system, falsely associated with Taoism in the popular Western imagination, was fully integrated into all the various religious and cultural traditions of China. It cannot be said to be uniquely Taoist or Confucian or folk-religious; rather, it suffused all of these traditions. When Buddhism entered China, it too incorporated the dynamic *yinyang* understanding of the cosmos into its own vision of cosmic change. Deeply enmeshed in Chinese religion, philosophy, politics, and medicine, the *yinyang* system was exported to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam as each was influenced or dominated by China.

The *yinyang-wuxing* system continues to influence socio-religious practices. Traditional Chinese medicine, for example, is predicated on the appreciation of the dynamic workings of these forces and elements in the body; cures focus on foods and other medicines to restore balance to the body's system, or on exercises and interventions that facilitate movement and appropriate change. *Feng shui*, the art of siting graves, buildings, and, more recently, interior elements, understands *yin* and *yang* influences to be moving constantly in the landscape; the goal of a successful *feng shui* practitioner is to maximize *yang* influences while minimizing inauspicious *yin* influences. In North America since the 1990s, *feng shui* has become something of an interior design trend, with people rushing to purchase fountains or rocks or other "elements" in hopes of improving the tranquility of their home.

In South Korea, a representation of the *yin-yang* mandala is incorporated into the national flag, along with the trigrams of the *Yijing*. In other contexts, the mandala is more commonly depicted in black and white, with each comma-shaped portion having a spot of the complementary color. Given this form, there is no way to evenly bisect the mandala such that only *yin* or *yang* is present; symbolically, this represents the constant latent presence of the complementary force.

In non-Asian cultures, the appreciation of *yinyang* is predominantly sexed and gendered: Male and female (in this reversed order) are the typical associated terms. This association is most likely due to a perceived connection with Taoism—the classical Chinese religious system often popularly understood to exalt women and venerate

femininity. Although erroneously based on misreadings of the *Daodejing* (*Tao te ching*), these understandings of Taoism and *yinyang* have gained wide following in European and American cultures. For better or for worse, the *yinyang* mandala has become ubiquitous in popular material culture, appearing on everything from jewelry and clothing to heat-sensitive pencils that change from dark to light as one rubs them between one's fingers.

SEE ALSO *Confucianism*.

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Vivian-Lee Nyitray

YMCA/YWCA

The YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association, also known as "the Y") is an organization dedicated to putting "Christian principles into practice through programs that build healthy spirit, mind, and body for all." One of the primary ways that this three-part goal has been achieved is through building dormitories for young men in need of housing, and providing gymnasiums for their physical development. The combination of communal housing, distance from family, and the overt physicality of the setting has often been credited with positioning the YMCA as a same-sex playground. The YMCA has been popularly understood as a place where homosexual encounters were possible, although not actively encouraged. The 1970s disco hit "YMCA" by the Village People depended on this understanding, encouraging men to visit so that they could "hang out with all the boys."

The YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association) is an organization with a similar mission and early history. It was a more revolutionary concept than the YMCA, perhaps, because in the late nineteenth century the idea of providing physical education for women was

unheard of. The YWCA did not become associated with homosexual activity in a general way, however. This had to do partly with its different emphasis; while the men's organization encouraged employment by providing housing for men in search of work, the YWCA actively engaged in job training. In this way, its atmosphere was more like that of a professional school than a mere dormitory. Similarly, social expectations of women dictated closer and more careful supervision than was true of men, providing fewer opportunities for illicit sexual behavior of any kind. It is notable, however, that the YWCA movement began in Boston, and that the long-term live-in relationships between unmarried women, including many YWCA members, were called *Boston marriages* in the nineteenth century.

George Williams, who had come to the city to work as a draper, founded the YMCA in London in 1844. Realizing that many men like himself were flocking to the cities in search of work, and that they were particularly susceptible to moral corruption in their new surroundings, Williams and a group of Evangelical Christians founded the organization to provide healthy, morally sound activities for young men. The movement quickly spread to other countries, and was brought to the United States in 1851 by missionary Thomas Sullivan. In the United States, the YMCA retained its primary function of providing a Christian-based home for young men who had moved to the city in search of work, and offered a social structure to protect them from the corrupting influences of the city. The first American YMCA was established in Boston, but the movement quickly spread. By 1855, there were twenty-four YMCAs, and more than, 400 by 1895.

From its beginnings, the YMCA focused on Bible study, self-help, and prayer, which required no specialized facilities. Most chapters met in rented buildings or used public buildings such as schools. Because so few chapters owned buildings, the original residential aspect was fulfilled more through coordination; they assisted young men in finding housing rather than providing it themselves. In the 1880s, the focus changed to emphasize the importance of physical fitness, which required the construction of special facilities and gymnasiums. Several sports, including basketball and volleyball, are said to have been invented in YMCA chapters, and the organization was the first to build and maintain indoor swimming pools. In the custom of the day, men swam in the nude, lending to the homoerotic atmosphere of the setting. As the YMCA local associations built gymnasium buildings and acquired property, they also built dormitories to provide on-site housing for their members. Thus, the YMCA offered men the chance to be in a very physical setting with each other, often in the nude, and to live in close quarters as well. The physical temptations that the organization originally set out to counteract

seemed, in fact, to be replaced by physical temptations within the YMCA itself. There has also been speculation that the YMCA is largely responsible for a new attention paid to men's bodies in general in the United States in the twentieth century. The physical fitness programs made it possible to discuss the human body in public in a way that had not existed before, and men's bodies were at the center of this discussion and scrutiny. While YMCA policy rejected homosexuality, it also valued creating beautiful male bodies and keeping them in close proximity to each other.

The dormitories were very popular with members, and as expected, were inhabited by young men newly arrived in the city. Residence was open to all members, however, and in many cities unmarried men chose to move into the YMCA instead of other accommodations. It was not uncommon for men, particularly those in leadership positions (called secretaries) in local chapters to cohabit in YMCA lodgings. One such well-known couple was Richard C. Morse (whose autobiography is entitled *My Life with Young Men*) and Robert R. McBurney (for whom the chapter in Manhattan's Chelsea neighborhood is now named), who lived together for five years in a YMCA in Manhattan. There is evidence that the organization's leaders were aware of the potential for homosexual activity in the dormitories, as rules governing who could serve as secretaries were changed in the early twentieth century. While not completely excluded from leadership, unmarried men were discouraged from becoming secretaries, thus making it less likely that those formulating and implementing rules governing the dormitories would also be residents. Even with these measures in place, homosexual activity continued in YMCAs across the country. Even more disturbing to organization leaders was the fact that such activity was not confined to unmarried members. The YMCA became known as a place where married men could find easy access to extramarital homosexual liaisons.

In the twentieth century, non-resident membership at YMCAs increased dramatically, as men joined primarily to use the gymnasium facilities. Because of their founding mission, YMCAs have catered to transient populations, which increased the possibility for casual, short-term relationships between members and residents. The locker rooms and showers enabled men to interact in the nude, allowing opportunities for voyeurism, exhibitionism, and sexual activity of all sorts. In this way, the YMCA is the forerunner for the sexual function of the gymnasium in general. YMCAs in certain locations became known as sexual destinations, particularly the Chelsea Y in Manhattan and the San Francisco Y.

Following World War II, San Francisco emerged as a gay metropolis; many have attributed this to its

function as the disembarkation point for most of the Pacific fleet returning from war. The U.S. Navy has long been popularly understood as the most homoerotic of the armed forces (the flamboyant band the Village People recorded a hit song called “In the Navy”) and the large number of naval personnel in San Francisco during and immediately following the war years has long been attributed to its transformation into the most famous gay-friendly city in the United States. Because of its military function, San Francisco also had a large population of temporary or short-term residents, many of whom made use of the YMCA facilities. From the 1950s through the 1970s, the San Francisco Y was famous for the homosexual activity on its premises. It became common for men to vacation at the Y, staying in the dormitory for a weekend of casual sexual activity. It is this function of the YMCA that the Village People popularized in their 1978 disco hit.

Ironically, the YMCA became well known as a location for illicit homosexual activity just as that function was coming to a halt. The growing gay rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s allowed for more gay clubs and bars to operate openly in communities throughout the United States, thereby eliminating the YMCA as the primary place for men to meet each other for sex. Likewise, the covert nature of homosexuality at the Y was distasteful for many; when it was the only option it had been acceptable, but most preferred gay-friendly establishments where men meeting men was sanctioned, not illicit. The rise of the AIDS epidemic in the early 1980s also made casual anonymous sex dangerous, thus leading to the decline of the YMCA (as well as other establishments such as bathhouses) as a location for sexual activity.

In the later twentieth century, the YMCA significantly changed its mission to be family-centered rather than exclusively male. Membership became open to all community members regardless of sex, and children’s athletic programs became a focus of the organization. It is somewhat remarkable that the YWCA, which might seem a more likely organization to focus upon family and children, has largely retained its female-centered mission, largely tied to social justice for women, while the YMCA has significantly broadened its mission. While the YWCA has been a focus of feminist ideas and practice, which in popular culture may be associated with lesbianism, the YWCA has none of the history of actual sexual activity that the YMCA has.

SEE ALSO *Physical Culture*.

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YOGA

The word yoga derives from the Sanskrit root *yuj* meaning to yoke or to harness. Broadly stated yoga refers to any of the various meditation and ascetic practices designed to train and discipline the mind and body, as well as to the goal of yoga itself called *samādhi* (or *nirodha* meaning cessation).

Yoga is one of the earliest known spiritual practices. Its history traces possibly as far back as the Indus Valley civilization (c. 2600–1500 BCE). Archeological evidence from Mohenjo-dharo, an ancient city in what is now Pakistan, shows a three-horned man sitting in what appears to be *mūlābāndhāsana* (e.g., seal #222), a posture described in some detail in medieval *haṭhayoga* texts. In the *Vedas* (sacred Hindu scriptures), there are numerous references to *munīs* (sages) and *yogīs* who perform ascetic and meditative practices (e.g., *tapas*), and the word yoga appears frequently in the *Upaniṣads* and in the *Mahābhārata* (c. fourth century BCE). Although there is no systematic approach to yoga until the second to third centuries of this era, yoga is a salient feature of pan-Indian religiosity, including Buddhist and Jain monastic institutions.

PATAÑJALI’S YOGA

The teachings of yoga expounded by Patañjali in the *Yogasūtras* (c. second–third centuries CE) constitute one of the six *darśanas* (views) or classical systems of Indian philosophy. In the *Yogasūtras*, Patañjali defines yoga as *samādhi* or the cessation of the fluctuations of the mind. To attain this state, Patañjali outlines an eight-limbed (*aṣṭāṅga*) path emphasizing: (1) *yama* (restraints or ethical practices, including nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*), truthfulness (*satya*), not stealing (*asteya*), celibacy (*brahmacharya*),

and avoidance of greed (*aparigraha*); (2) *niyama* (observances, including cleanliness (*saucha*), contentment (*samtoṣa*), ascetic practices (*tapas*), study (*svādhyāya*), and devotion (*Īśvarpranīdhāna*); (3) *āsana* (postures); (4) breathing techniques (*prāṇāyāma*); (5) withdrawal of the senses (*pratyāhāra*); (6) concentration (*dhāraṇā*); (7) meditation (*dhyāna*); and, (8) *samādhi*. The first five limbs (*anṅas*) constitute the ideals and practices that progressively lead the adept to the final levels of *samādhi* (called *samprajñāta* and *asamprajñāta*). In *samādhi*, also referred to as *kaivalya* (aleness), *puruṣa* (self, pure consciousness) is isolated from its misidentification with mind and body or matter (*prakṛti*). It is important to underscore that sexual abstinence plays an integral role in this school intended primarily for male renunciators (*sannyāsīn*), and the body is typically cast in a supporting role.

HATĦAYOGA AND TANTRA

Haṭḥayoga traces its history to Nāth Siddhasin the twelfth to thirteenth centuries CE in North India. Although the term *haṭḥa* literally means force or exertion, it also derives significance from the Sanskrit words *ha* and *ḥa* meaning sun and moon respectively. The implication here is that the nature of reality is ultimately *advaita* (nondual). The dualistic principles *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* found in the orthodox brahmanical system of Patañjali are recast in *haṭḥayoga* as the theistic principles *Śiva* and *Śakti*. One of the principle symbols is the androgynous form of Śiva called Ardhanārīśvara (the lord who is half woman). Ardhanārīśvara represents the absolute unity and inseparability of masculine and feminine principles conjoined in one divine body.

Haṭḥayoga treatises prescribe a rigorous program of psychophysical practices (*sādhana*) that are considered necessary to prepare the *yogīn/yogīnī* for more advanced states of meditation. However, like the *tantra sastras* with which they are clearly related, *haṭḥayoga* treatises are intended exclusively for the initiated. In *tantra* and *haṭḥayoga*, the subtle body of the adept, comprised of *cakras*, *nāḍīs*, and other elements, constitutes the sacred space wherein the mutual penetration of male and female energies, represented by *Śiva* and *Śakti*, occurs. Unitive experiences arise in *sādhana* by awakening, harnessing, and drawing the *kuṇḍalīnī* (coiled female serpent power) that lies dormant at the base of the spine (in the *mulādhāra* or root *cakra*) to the top of the head (in the cranial vault or *sahasrārachakra*) via such practices as *vajrolī*, *sahajolī*, and *śakticālanā mudrā*.

Tantra adapted and adopted *haṭḥayoga*. The *Vāmācāra* (left-handed *tantra*) ritual practice of sexual intercourse (*maithuna*) is interiorized by sublimating and retaining sexual fluids. Heterosexual sexuality constitutes a fundamental paradigm used to convey the idea

of transcendence, and sexual energy is viewed as a medium or channel through which spiritual evolution and control over the body is attained.

GENDER

Most studies of yoga have not questioned the gendered nature of the esoteric cosmophysiology postulated in *tantra* and *haṭḥayoga*. These traditions typically sanctify an elaborately constructed, gendered vision of the universe claiming complementarity and nonduality. However the polyvalent system of homologues represented often overlook the privileged maleness of their binary structures (e.g., *Śiva-Śakti*). Hence the system risks displacing its emancipatory goals of nonduality and liberation with a potentially hierarchical gender ideology that inscribes its norms through privileged male identifications.

However it also is important to bear in mind that access to *tantra* and *haṭḥayoga* teachings and its goals of *samādhi* and *mokṣa* are not gender exclusive. Śiva revealed the emancipatory teachings of yoga to his wife Pārvatī, and she herself was considered an adept practitioner or *yogīnī*. Although, as a rule, women have not participated to the same extent in writing texts, and they often have been excluded from the male monastic organizations, women have asked fundamental questions of philosophy, and are concerned with attaining experiential knowledge through yoga. For example in the *Upaniṣads*, Maitreyī attained liberation through yoga. Kausalyī, the mother of Rāma, and Shārādā Devī, the wife of Ramakrishna, to name only a few, also practiced yoga. There is sufficient evidence to show that women were students and teachers, if not writers, of the yoga tradition. More often women were portrayed as a locus of fear to be avoided; they were celebrated in their domestic roles as wives and mothers or used in the context of ritual sex. Nevertheless although ambivalent messages exist, there is crucial precedent for female agency and women's participation in yoga from the Vedic period to the early-twenty-first century.

YOGA IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

Yoga in Europe and North America focuses mainly on *āsana*, with some attention given to *prāṇāyāma*, meditation, chanting, and mantra (e.g., repetition of the sound *om*). In India, Europe, and North America, yoga has been reformulated by modernity. This process involves the medicalization of yoga into a system of health and fitness that has all but severed it from its philosophical and spiritual heritage. Although many Indian gurus (e.g., Vivekananda, B. K. S. Iyengar, and Kripalu to mention only a few) came to Europe and North America to transmit their particular understanding of yoga, the transnational

image of yoga today is primarily a physical one. The commercial and corporate aspects of yoga are most evident in the marketing and sales of books, magazines, videos, and DVDs, as well as clothing, health and beauty products designed specifically for yoga, and the proliferation of internet sites creating a worldwide yoga network. Yoga in Europe and North America is gender inclusive.

TANTRA IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

Many of the neo-tantric elements of European and North American representations have more to do with sexuality and relationships than with the spiritual attainment of *samādhi*. New Age tantric sexuality is primarily a popular amalgam of Indian eroticism (e.g. the *Kāmasūtra*), yoga postures and positions, the techniques of massage, and sexual therapies packaged for the commercial consumption of the New Age seeker. This is a unique invention and represents the appropriation of and departure from tantra's cultural context and history and, as such, has little to do with the schools of yoga mentioned earlier in this entry.

SEE ALSO *Buddhism; Hinduism; Tantra.*

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Ellen Goldberg

YONI WORSHIP

Yoni is a Sanskrit word for female genitals—the vulva, vagina, and uterus or womb. It can also mean a place of birth, as in the source or origin; a place of rest, as in a vessel or home; and a family or social station fixed by birth. It is most well known, however, as the female sex organ and, in India, is often linked with *lingam*, the male phallus embedded in its pedestal throne (*pīṭha*) or *yonī*, and worshipped especially in conjunction with the god Śiva.

Worship of the male phallus or *lingam* has been more extensive than worship of the *yonī*, and examples

of its power as a fertility symbol can be seen throughout Indian culture. Modern *lingam* sites include the Thai shrine in Bangkok to the fertility goddess Tap-Tun, filled with phallic amulets called *palad khik*. In Indian sources, where the *yonī* may be the older of the two representations, they are often joined as Tantric symbols for the divine intercourse between Śakti and Śiva: the *yonī* standing for *śakti*, energy and immanence, and the *lingam* for consciousness or transcendence. While Śakti has the vital, active role, Śiva has the cool, passive role, and their interplay is that of all dualities—life and death, creation and destruction, movement and quiescence. In Tantric practice, adepts move among these dualities, raising consciousness from the material to the transcendent, a plane beyond all opposition.

The worship of the *yonī* is the worship of the goddess, as well as the worship of women as living expressions of the goddess. The magical powers of nudity, especially of the sexual organs, are strong and, in the case of the female, the *yonī* gives off healing and protective energies, and its display has the effect of a magical spell used to turn away evil forces. Such practices are known not only in India and Japan, but also in Europe, the ancient Near East, Africa, and Oceania. A phenomenon called the “*yonī-maṇḍala*” is an expression of the goddess within the geography of the earth, appearing, in one case, as a sacred stone shaped like a *yonī* within the Manobhavadu cave at Mount Nilā in Assam; it sends out red (arsenic) waters from its cleft, thought to be the menstrual fluid of the mother goddess. The mixture of male and female fluids in intercourse is considered a sacred essence, a *yonīpuṣpa* or “vulva flower,” made even more powerful when the coupling involves menstrual fluid. Drinking the mixture is thought to lead to liberation.

Indian lovemaking practices highlight qualities of the *yonī*. In the *Kāmasūtra*, for example, the “lotus woman” has a *yonī* like a lotus bud issuing delicately scented love waters; the *yonī* of the “woman of dance” is a gentle hill covered with fine wispy hair with juices smelling of wild honey; the “conch woman” has a deep *yonī* of thick curly hair and with a sour molasses smell; and the *yonī* of the “elephant woman” is a deep cavern lost in a thick hairy jungle smelling of elephant. The compatibility of lovers depends, in part, on the depth of the woman's *yonī* and the length of the man's penis; equal female/male partnerships are as follows: doe/hare, mare/bull, and elephant/horse. Moreover, a man's embrace of a woman is most successful when it includes touches, stabs, caresses, and squeezes of her “mound of Venus,” and kissing of the *yonī* in cunnilingus involves nibbles, tickles, and tracings of the tongue. The *Kama sūtra* is perhaps best known for the various sexual positions it describes and, in the treatment of the *yonī*,

attention is paid to front and back entry; stretching the *yoni* opening; using *yoni* muscles to massage the penis; and arousal using the lover's fingers, tongue, or other object.

In Tantra, the *yoni* has pride of place near the first, and therefore base, *cakra* known as the *mūlādhāra*. It is a triangular space in the middle section of the body with its apex turned downwards. In Tantric texts, such as the *Mahānirvāna Tantra* and those on Kuṇḍalinī Yoga, the *mūlādhāra* is described as a red lotus with four petals situated at the base of the sexual organ and the anus. The *mūlādhāra* is the root of the central channel (*suṣumṇā*) in the body's *cakra* system through which the life force is guided, as well as the resting place of the Kuṇḍalinī serpent coiled three and a half times around.

In Tantric practice, the adept sets up a system of inner circulation and then draws energies into the yoni-triangle. Using a special contraction of muscles, energies are concentrated into a subtle form of the female serpent who, as energy (*śakti*), moves through the *cakras*, opening and closing them, and working out psycho-physical transformations. Using yogic postures, muscular actions, and sexual intercourse, Kuṇḍalinī is vitalized and driven upwards into higher *cakras* or lotuses. This guiding of the life force is also helped by the recitation of mantras, and the movement of breath. The breath that dwells in the *mūlādhāra* is the *apāna* breath ("out-breath") which naturally goes down and out the anus, but through contractions at the first *cakra* can be made to go up to meet

the *prāṇa*, or "in-breath." As the Kuṇḍalinī is awakened and the breath current opens up the *mūlādhāra*, the Devī leaves the first lotus, having turned its flower upward and then closed down.

The practice involving the movement of *yoni* energies falls under *maithuna* (coition), one of the five practices making Tantric process towards enlightenment a quicker and more intense process. *Maithuna* figures are couples closely embracing or *in coitum*, and commonly decorate the exteriors of Hindu temples. They have parallel form and function in the Tibetan Buddhist *yab-yum* couple, and in the Tibetan use of the female bell (*ghanta*) and male *vajra* (also called *dorje*, diamond scepter) in meditation. Here, as in art objects from other cultures, the *yoni* expresses a basic human focus on the dynamics of life energy.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Hinduism; Phallus Worship; Tantra.*

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Ellison Banks Findly

Z

ZENOBIA *Third century*

Zenobia lived in the third century CE in Palmyra (historically known as Tadmor), a city in the Syrian Desert. From about 114 CE Palmyra was part of the Roman Empire. It was located on the caravan routes running from the seaports of Phoenicia, Syria, and Egypt to Seleucia. Inscriptions allude to Zenobia as the daughter of a man named Zabbai, which means merchant, although Greek inscriptions refer to him as Antiochus. She was probably an Arab, but may also have been of Aramaean descent.

Zenobia was the second wife of Odainat, ruler of Palmyra, who aided the Romans in their struggles against the Persian Sasanians. One story tells of her riding into battle at Odainat's side against the Sasanians after their capture of Valerian in 260 CE. Zenobia had at least three sons by Odainat, and when he and his heir were assassinated, she assumed the regency on behalf of her own young son, Vallabathus, in 267 CE.

Rome did not grant Zenobia the same authority as her husband, and one of her first actions on her accession to power was to annex Egypt, where she had local support. At around the same time, she also secured most of Syria, and established a large independent kingdom, which extended as far north as the Bosphorus, and incorporated many major trade routes. Political shrewdness consequently drew many scholars to her court, including the rhetorician and philosopher Cassius Longinus and the historian Callinicus Sutorius. Historians depict Zenobia as an intelligent woman who knew the Egyptian language as well as Greek and Aramaic.

Zenobia is one of thirty so-called pretenders to the status of Roman ruler between 117–284 CE, as noted by “Trebellius Pollio” in an anecdotal work possibly written in the fourth century. She certainly invoked the image of Roman authority for herself in tetradrachms (silver coins) that depicted her likeness along with the honorific *Augusta*. She also claimed to be descended from Cleopatra, and compared herself to Dido, Queen of Carthage, and to the legendary Assyrian warrior queen Semiramis.

Zenobia's empire did not last long. Early in the sixth century, Zosimus reports that under the emperor Aurelian the Romans quickly reconquered Egypt and Ankara. Near Antioch, they defeated the Palmyrenes, whom Zenobia had commanded on horseback. Zenobia's last battle took place at Emesa in 272 CE. She escaped on a female camel, only to be captured as she boarded a boat to cross the Euphrates. Some accounts assert that she was attempting to secure aid from the Persians. In an astonishingly brazen act, considering her exploits, Zenobia claimed immunity on the grounds that she was a woman.

There are variant accounts of Zenobia's subsequent history. Zosimus claims that she committed suicide on the journey to Rome. Other historians state that, after her safe arrival in Rome, she was made to parade in golden chains in Aurelian's Triumph of 274. Aurelian then released her and she lived in a villa in Tibur (Tivoli) as a Roman matron, married to a Roman senator with whom she had children.

Zenobia fascinated ancient chroniclers, who admired her as noble and beautiful, with “the courage of a man” and the stamina of a soldier (Fraser [2004 p. 114f]). Later Arabic tales depict her as possessing similar qualities.



Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Pollio's reference to Zenobia's chastity—that she never slept with Odinat except when she was likely to conceive—was repeated as a mark of respect by subsequent male historians, such as Italian author Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), who presents Zenobia as a Diana-like virgin hunter and warrior in his *De Claris Mulieribus Claris* (c. 1361–1375, *Of illustrious women*).

English poet Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1343–1400) relied on Boccaccio's description when composing Zenobia's story in *The Monk's Tale* (1386–1400). He portrays Zenobia as a wise, skilled, and daring queen of Persian descent, whose ultimate humiliation at the hand of the Romans involved replacing her regnal scepter with a distaff—an implement used for spinning, which was a more fitting tool for a woman, according to prevalent medieval mores. Zenobia subsequently appears as a divinely-inspired, helmet-clad representative of heroic virtue in English dramatist Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* (1609), in which she is the ninth of the eleven queens elevated to the House of Fame.

SEE ALSO *Queens*.

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Jenny Rose

ZHANG, JINGSHENG

1888–1970

Zhang Jingsheng was born into a peasant family in Raoping County, Guangdong Province, China. During the Nationalist Period (1911–1949), Zhang gained notoriety as an author, academic, and social activist for his controversial advocacy of sexual education, freedom of thought, and sexual rights. He also made important contributions to philosophy, agronomy, logic, sociology, and literature.

From a young age, Zhang became active in Nationalist revolutionary activities. From 1912 to 1920, he studied in France, earning a bachelor's degree in liberal arts at Paris University and a PhD in philosophy at Lyons.

Zhang took professorships at Beijing and Jin'an Universities, respectively. He organized the Sexual Education Society and published numerous books, including *Aiqing Dingze* (The rules of love), *Mei de Shehui Zuzhi Fa* (How to organize a beautiful society), and *Mei de Renshengguan* (A way of life based on beauty). At Beijing University in 1926, he began publication of *Xingshi* (Sexual history), one of China's first magazines to talk openly about sexuality. In 1927–1928, he was president of the Beautiful Bookstore (Mei de Shudian) in Shanghai, which translated and published works dealing with sexuality.

In dozens of books and articles, Zhang advocated a more scientific approach to sexuality, including the then-controversial stance that youth can make the right decisions about sexuality only when given adequate sexual knowledge. He highlighted the differences between sex and pleasure books, both of which were considered taboo. His crusades against women's sexual oppression attacked conventional views on the importance of chastity and the purity of virginity.

After years of widespread fame and fending off vicious personal and professional attacks, Zhang attempted suicide by poison in 1932. Though he suffered further persecution and re-education during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) and died poor and unknown in 1970, in post-Maoist China he is remembered for his influential career.

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ZOROASTRIANISM

The religion of Zoroastrianism arose from the preaching of a devotional poet named Zarathushtra (one who leads old camels), who lived around 1750 to 1500 BCE in central Asia among proto-Iranian tribal people. As these people settled on the Iranian plateau between 1500 and 800 BCE, they took their beliefs with them. In Iran, influenced by near Eastern stereotypes of holy men, Zarathushtra's image was revised posthumously to depict him as a prophet who established a faith. Contact between the Iranians and classical Greeks produced the Europeanized name of Zoroaster.

Devotees term their religion the *Zarathushti din*, or Zoroastrian religion. They refer to themselves as *Zartoshtis*, *Zardoshtis*, or *Jarthushtis*, namely, Zoroastrians. Other phrases used include one to denote the faith as *Mazdayasna daena*, or the religion of Mazda, and one to designate followers as *Mazdayasna*, or worshipers of Mazda. In the early twenty-first century Zoroastrianism has a largely hereditary global following, with estimates of adherents ranging from 137,250 to 208,000 (including anywhere from 10,800 to 17,700 in North America and approximately 6,350 in the European Union). Zoroastrian subgroups include Iranis (or Zoroastrians of Iran), Parsis (or Zoroastrians of India), immigrants from the latter groups to other countries, and a few recent converts.

IMPACT OF GENDER AND SEX ON DOCTRINE, THEOLOGY, AND MYTHOLOGY

Zoroastrian doctrine is based on two opposing concepts: *asha*, or order, which is grammatically neuter and is regarded as good, and *drug*, or confusion, which is grammatically feminine and is regarded as evil. The supreme divinity or god of Zoroastrianism is Ahura Mazda or Ohrmazd, the wise lord and creator, whose hypostasis, or principle essence, is Spenta Mainyu or Spenag Menog, the holy spirit. Ahura Mazda is believed to uphold order. The supreme demon of Zoroastrianism is Angra Mainyu or Ahriman (also called Ganag Menog), the angry spirit or destroyer. Angra Mainyu is believed to have chosen the path of confusion. The grammatical gen-



Zoroaster, Founder of the Religion of the Iranian People.
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ders of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu were transformed into biological gender as male during the personification of these two spirits. So, in Zoroastrianism the primary creative and destructive spirits are male, the force of order is neuter, and the force that causes problems is female.

Zoroastrian doctrine envisions Amesha Spentas, or holy immortals (comparable to archangels), created by Ahura Mazda. Among these immortals Spenta Armaiti or Spandarmad (also Aspandarmad), representing holy devotion, was regarded as the earth spirit, the mother of life, and a granter of fertility. In ninth-century CE texts she was evoked in the corporeal "form of a woman wearing a luminous garment" who would lay in Ahura Mazda's embrace as the masculine creator's "daughter and mistress" (*Wizidagiha* [Selections] 4:4–8; *Pahlavi Rivayat Accompanying the Dadestan i Denig* [Book of religious judgments] 84). Veneration of Spenta Armaiti continues to be important for Zoroastrians of both genders and of all ages and socioeconomic levels, but she is

especially dear to women, who turn to her for boons, good health, and happy family life.

Likewise, many of the *yazatas*, or worship-worthy spirits, which were created by Ahura Mazda, are either masculine or feminine in grammatical gender and male or female in biological gender. Most prominent are Mithra, or Mehr, and Aredvi Sura Anahita, or Anahid. Mithra is believed to enforce covenants and contracts between god and humans and between individuals. He is said, in scripture, to punish persons who violate contracts, while rewarding individuals who fulfill obligations with wealth, success, and happy families. He came to be associated with the sacral coronation of ancient Iranian, Zoroastrian monarchs who upheld god's laws and precepts. Not surprisingly, Mithra is still venerated by Zoroastrians as a *yazata* associated with success and wealth. Anahita, by contrast, is a more complex spirit. Her physical descriptions in prayers focus on sexuality and fertility with phrases such as "her breasts are well-shaped and prominent" (*Aban Yasht* [Hymn to Anahita] 5:126–129). Female devotees are still expected to invoke her to ensure easy childbirth and an adequate flow of breast milk. Yet, because she had been syncretized with the Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar during the Achaemenian period (550–330 BCE), Anahita came to be regarded as a *yazata* who dispensed success and glory—including kingship and other leadership roles—from Ahura Mazda to worthy individuals.

The *daevas* or *divs* are believed to oppose Ahura Mazda, the Amesha Spentas, and the *yazatas*, as demonic spirits who side with Angra Mainyu. One important harmful spirit was Drukhsh Nasush, or Druz i Nasush, the female ghoul of corpses and carrion whose corporeal shape was described in Zoroastrian scripture as "a fly, disgusting, with crooked knees, protruding buttocks, [covered with] numerous spots, the most horrible, noxious creature" (*Videvdad* [Code for abjuring demons], composed around 300 BCE, 7:2, 9:26). Zoroastrians from antiquity to premodern times regarded her as preying upon humans, polluting their corpses, and spreading impurity and pollution from the dead to the living. Only after the eighteenth century did fear of Drukhsh Nasush wane as modern science replaced diabolology. Another female *daeava* is Azi, or Az, who represents concupiscence and lust. Although bearing a grammatically masculine epithet *demon-spawned* in the *Avesta* [Praise] Scriptures, Azi was considered by medieval times to be the mistress of demonic hordes who ravage humanity beginning with the primeval androgyne Gayo Maretan, or Gayomard, who embodied mortal life. Again, only after the advent of modern scientific knowledge did fear of Azi diminish.

The Zoroastrian story about the first human couple, Mashya, or man, and Mashyana, or woman, who were born from Gayo Maretan's seed, reflects the tension between order and confusion, good and evil, and god and devil. The first couple experience a fall from grace, much as in the Judeo-Christian and Islamic creation story. In Zoroastrianism the fall occurs as a consequence of worshipping evil and from action in which Mashyana is said to have taken the lead: "Mashyana sprang forth, milked a cow, and offered [the milk] toward the north [the direction of hell]" (*Bundahishn* [Book of primal creation] 14:11–30). In a series of events involving infertility, sexual intercourse, and childbirth that culminate in cannibalism by the parents of their initial offspring, the effects of evil and gender are magnified. Words of admonishment by Ahura Mazda are said to have resulted, aimed at all women: "If I had found another vessel from which to produce man, I would never have created you . . . because sexual intercourse is for you like the taste of the sweetest food" (*Bundahishn* 14A:1). So, medieval and premodern Zoroastrian theologians and moralists would urge women to be "chaste, of solid faith, and modest" (*Pahlavi Texts* 117).

Even Zoroastrian notions of the afterlife were shaped by denunciations of female sexuality and glorification of female physicality. Descriptions of death, judgment, and the hereafter in Zoroastrian scriptures, such as the *Hadokht Nask* [Extracted section], have the souls of righteous Zoroastrian men led into paradise by a religious *daena* or *din* (conscience) in the form of "a beautiful girl, glorious, well-shaped, statuesque, with prominent breasts" (2:9). However, the souls of sinful Zoroastrian men are tossed into hell by a *daena* resembling the Drukhsh Nasush demoness "in the form of a naked whore . . . disgusting, with crooked knees, protruding buttocks, and [covered with] numerous spots" (*Hadokht Nask* 3:9). The faith's theology claims that beauty and sensuality are the heavenly rewards, together with gardens, pavilions, and music for those men who uphold *asha* while alive, whereas pain and suffering await those men who have committed evil. However, no premodern scriptural or exegetical passages refer to women encountering *daenas* upon death. Only in modern times, with the transformation of gender-specific notions of the afterlife into more abstract notions of spirituality, has the vision of *daenas* as sexy or ugly female spirits waned. Zoroastrian women, too, are now believed to have full access to heaven. But until the twentieth century, the image of women as prone to sin led to the feminine gender being suspected of sexual profligacy, sorcery, strife, and, as a result, religious impurity, and viewed as more likely to experience the retribution of hell.

MAJOR CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY ON SOCIETY AND RITES

All Zoroastrian boys and girls undergo initiation into the faith between the ages of seven and fifteen. The initiation ceremony, denoting a spiritual rebirth, is termed *navjote*, or new birth, and alternately termed the rite of *sedra-pushun*, or donning the holy undershirt. During the ritual, overseen by priests, initiates don a *sedra*, or *sudre*, which is a white undershirt symbolizing purity, then tie around their waist a *kusti*, or *koshti*, which is a white cord intended in part to separate the sexual portion of the body from the mental part. Upon the conclusion of the ceremony, individuals are regarded as full members of the religious community and are held accountable for their good and bad thoughts, words, and deeds. Yet, despite the seemingly equitable entry into the faith, only men from hereditary ecclesiastic families can undergo training and acceptance into the priesthood. The priests, called *mobeds*, or *magi*, oversee most Zoroastrian rites. The *magi* originally formed a priestly clan among the Medes, an ancient Iranian tribe. They adopted Zoroastrianism after the religion spread widely among the ancient Iranians. *Magi* entered Christian belief as the wise men from the East who journeyed to Bethlehem for the birth of Jesus. In the early twenty-first century, the office of priest still passes from father to son. A son who inherits the priesthood begins studying Zoroastrian liturgies and rituals in childhood, followed by a two-stage investiture.

Reasons for the exclusion of most men and all women from the clergy are found in the doctrine, theology, and mythology shaped by beliefs about evil, sex, and gender. One major concern among the clergy is maintenance of ritual purity. Zoroastrians believe that death occurs when a person's body is overwhelmed by evil's onslaught. Moreover, until modern times, they concluded that whenever a human died, his or her corpse was polluted by Drukhsh Nasush, whose presence caused decay (*Videvdat* 5:28, 35–38). Demons were also believed to turn impure all tissue and fluid severed, discharged, or expelled by living Zoroastrians. So skin, hair, nails, saliva, blood, semen, urine, feces, and even breath could make impure anyone else having contact with it. Contact with these substances was regarded as making a Zoroastrian unfit for rituals and making rituals lose efficacy. Additionally, impure persons could spread their ritual impurity to others through contact. Therefore, purificatory rites developed to ensure socioreligious purity for high rituals and rites of passage, and especially for the *magi* who conducted such rites.

Because blood discharged from bodies was regarded as unclean, the origin of menstruation was explained through

diabology rather than physiology. Menstruation, it had been claimed by the clergy, began when Jahika, or Jeh, the demoness of lust, revived Angra Mainyu in hell after the devil had been initially defeated by Ahura Mazda. The devil “arose from his stupor, kissed her face, and the pollution called menstruation appeared on her” (*Bundahishn* 4:5). Using lust as a tool Jahika supposedly transferred menstruation to Mashyana and all subsequent generations of women. Consequently, menses became in religious terms a periodic sign of women's affliction by evil, one capable of polluting men who had any physical contact with a menstruating woman. Blood and afterbirth tissue expelled from a woman's body also were feared as falling under Drukhsh Nasush's control and becoming pollutants. To prevent women from having any contact with men or religious places during menstruation and after childbirth, they were isolated in separate buildings or rooms at those times and made to undergo purificatory ablutions thereafter before being reintegrated with their families and the rest of their community. These customs have largely fallen into disuse, but many Zoroastrian women still refrain from visiting fire temples and participating in religious rites during menses and after childbirth until they have undergone ritual purification.

As a result the most dramatic consequence of associating female physiology with demonology was the exclusion of women from all ranks of the *magi* to remove the potential for pollution of ritual sites and practitioners. The barrier against ordination into the clergy remains firm. Instead, women have been urged to perform domestic duties for parents, husbands, and children with religious fervor. Women's religiosity has been channeled into female-specific rites such as the ever-popular visiting of *pirs*, or shrines, and making of *sofres*, or votive offerings, in Iran. Among the Parsis of India, women religious leaders have emerged within mystically oriented sects such as *Ilm-e Khshnoom*. Other rites that have become mainstream for female devotees include the veneration of Anahita beside oceanfronts, riverbanks, and wells in Iran and India, because water symbolizes both female fertility generally and the fertility conferred by that female *yazata* upon women specifically.

Sexuality associated with fertility and domesticity continues to serve as a religious motif. One prominent example is the image of the *yazata* Ashi, or Ard, representing recompense and fortune. Ashi was anthropomorphized as a “slim-waisted, fair-bodied, long-fingered” woman who was so “beautiful in form as to delight beholders” (*Ashi Yasht* [Hymn to Ashi] 17:11). Male Zoroastrians who met her expectations could reap the benefits of beautiful wives, adorned with jewelry, lying on couches in homes located on large estates. Many contemporary Zoroastrians still set aside one day each month to honor Ashi, praying to her for the benefits

of socioeconomic success. Yet, sexuality was linked to evil as well. One feminine spiritual embodiment of lust was the previously mentioned *daevas* known as Jahika. She was not merely a handmaiden of the devil but the mistress of Angra Mainyu. Sex, created by god for procreation, was thought to have been transformed by her on behalf of the devil into a means of polluting male Zoroastrians who would thereby be unfit for rituals and other duties until purification. So, once more, the magi generated prayers and rites to ensure spiritual safety and physical purification after sex.

Owing to the impurity associated with evil through the demoness Druksh Nasush, and because Zoroastrians regard earth, fire, and water as the holy creations of Ahura Mazda, human corpses could not be buried at land or sea nor cremated. Therefore, the magi ensured that corpses would be given final rites, including purification, and then exposed—during antiquity in remote areas and by the Middle Ages (476–1350) in funerary towers open to the sky—until the flesh had been desiccated or consumed by wild animals (as even recorded in the fifth century BCE by the Greek historian Herodotus). Exposure was segregated by gender within each funerary tower. The practice of exposure persisted in most Zoroastrian communities until the eighteenth century. By the early twenty-first century, as a consequence of being regarded as based on myth and superstition, exposure had been replaced for the most part by inhumation sans any separation of graves based on the gender of the deceased. Yet, exposure of corpses and segregation in death still persists among orthodox communities of Zoroastrians in major cities of the Indian subcontinent such as Mumbai (Bombay) and Karachi. Inexplicably, this funerary practice contradicts the situation in life when women are neither segregated nor veiled from men (other than among orthodox women who are separated in menses and childbirth as noted previously). Veiling as a social behavior was present among elite men and women during the ancient Iran empires, but as a marker of hierarchy rather than as a symbol of religiosity.

FAITH, GENDER, AND SOCIETAL CHANGE

Women were and, in many Zoroastrian communities, still are expected to remain virgins until marriage. Marriage involved obtaining the consent of a woman's parents and at least technically her own consent; now, each spouse's consent is mandatory. Marriage was and still is regarded by Zoroastrians as both a religious duty and a legal contract. In ancient and medieval times a wife's legal standing within her husband's household depended on her own social class prior to marriage, the stipulations of the marriage contract, and her giving birth

to sons. Through marriage, women were expected to follow the positive features of Mashyana and to duplicate the holy attributes of Spenta Armaiti. Having children is encouraged, and so induced abortions are forbidden because children are regarded as new devotees of the faith.

Polygyny as a religiously sanctioned practice was attested among Zoroastrians from ancient times onward. The evidence for polyandry, on the other hand, is very meager. Polygyny was phased out by the faith's leaders during the early twentieth century when they concluded that the practice was not in conformity with modernity. Consanguineous marriage, justified as preserving ethnic, familial, and confessional bonds, was practiced by Zoroastrian royalty in Iran—as it had been among Egyptian pharaohs and their families—from approximately 600 BCE to 700 CE. Consanguinity, or incest, does not, however, appear to have been as routine or widespread among Zoroastrian commoners as it was among the general population of Roman Egypt. Its occurrence ended in the Middle Ages when the practice was deemed no longer socially acceptable.

Doctrinal, ritual, and attitudinal changes have occurred within Zoroastrian communities in Iran and India—and in other Asian countries and in the European and North American societies to which some of them immigrated—because of European and North American education and science bringing about secularization. Traditionally, girls had been educated at home by tutors; boys had attended schools. School-level education became widespread for both genders in India by the early twentieth century, then extended to the university level. English became the language of rapidly urbanizing and secularizing Parsi families. By 1931, 73 percent of Parsi women were literate. During the 1980s, 68 percent of Parsi women held university degrees. Educated Parsi women entered the public workforce, alongside Zoroastrians and non-Zoroastrians. Similar processes took place among Iranis during the twentieth century. Women began opting for professional careers, and by the 1980s approximately 25 percent of them were choosing to remain unmarried and childless.

Migration to Europe and North America began from India in the mid-twentieth century and from Iran in the 1980s for economic enhancement and religious freedom, respectively. As an urbane, highly educated, religious minority, Zoroastrian men and women intermingle freely across gender boundaries professionally and personally in the early twenty-first century. In the traditional homelands of Zoroastrianism, that is, Iran and India, and within the new diaspora communities of Europe and North America, studies indicate that women predominate as sustainers and transmitters of religion from one generation to the next. For instance, more

Zoroastrian women (75%) practice religious rites daily and teach them to their children than do men (60%). Even though not part of the clergy, women have taken on many prominent roles in the lay leadership of communal centers. Increasingly, women rather than men are directing attention to socioreligious issues impacting on both genders, such as female responsibilities in orthodox devotional settings and the status of children born to Zoroastrian mothers from non-Zoroastrian fathers, and in championing religious reform.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Jeh; Menstruation; Witchcraft.*

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Jamsheed K. Choksy

ZULEIKHA

SEE *Joseph Story, The.*

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