Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender

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VOLUME 2
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MACMILLAN REFERENCE USA
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DADDY

The term *daddy* usually refers to an older male in a romantic or sexual relationship with a younger person. More than a simple indication of a couple's difference in chronological age, however, daddy signals a particular role in an unequally structured relationship in which the male has greater financial resources or more social power or cultural authority than his partner. The term covers a variety of possible roles and relationships, with different but related meanings in heterosexual and gay male cultures.

HETEROSEXUAL DADDIES

Although marriage or sexual relationships between older men and younger women have been a feature of many cultures over the course of history, the term first appeared in the United States in the early years of the twentieth century, gaining general currency during the 1920s. It was usually synonymous with the term *sugar daddy,* connoting an older man who gives money or gifts to a younger woman in exchange for companionship or sexual favors. The younger woman in such a relationship is sometimes referred to as a gold digger. An early example of this concept of the daddy can be found in Anita Loos's *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1925), in which the flapper Lorelei Lee is financially supported by her middle-aged daddy, Gus Eisman, "the Button King of Chicago." In the early twenty-first century, the term is often used when a male financially assists or gives gifts to a woman in a relationship even if there is little difference in their ages.

Since the 1920s, the daddy and the gold digger have become familiar cultural icons, spawning films (e.g., *How to Marry a Millionaire* [1953]), popular songs (e.g., Cole Porter's "My Heart Belongs to Daddy" [1938] and the Jackson Five's "Sugar Daddy" [1971]), and catchphrases ("Who's your daddy?"). Sugar daddies are common in many parts of the world, including sub-Saharan Africa, where the practice has been identified as a factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS (McLaughlin 2005). Less frequently, daddy is sometimes used to refer to an older male who is the erotic object choice of a younger woman, independent of any financial considerations.

GAY DADDIES

Age differences in male-male sexual relationships have been a socially approved practice in a variety of cultures from premodern Japan and Mughal India to the Middle East. The most familiar example of such relationships in Western culture, however, is the concept of *paiderastia* in ancient Greece, in which an older male would act as the mentor, protector, role model, and lover of a youth between the ages of fourteen and twenty (Crompton 2003). Although this practice bears similarities to some contemporary notions of the daddy role in gay culture, the vast historical and cultural differences between *paiderastia* and twentieth-century conceptions of homosexuality make it difficult to draw a clear connection between the two. The meaning of daddy in gay culture can best be thought of as a twentieth-century concept signaling a dominant role in a male-male relationship that is unequally structured in one of several possible ways.

The term is first recorded in gay culture in the 1930s, and one of its meanings is a male who acts as a sugar daddy in a fashion analogous to the role in straight

culture. A recent example of this phenomenon can be found in the off-Broadway musical and subsequent film *Hedwig and the Angry Inch* (2001) in which young Hedwig's rescue from his drab life in East Berlin by American GI Luther Robinson is celebrated in a musical number ("Sugar Daddy").

Given the gradual lessening of stigmas associated with aging and an increased emphasis on masculine self-presentation in the gay community, daddy has taken on additional meanings in gay culture since the 1970s. The term is now commonly used to refer to an attractive middle-aged or older man who is the erotic object choice of a younger man, largely because of an association of age with maturity, emotional stability, authority, and masculinity (Adam 2000). There are a number of web sites devoted to daddies and their admirers, and representations of "hot daddies" form the basis of a recognizable subcategory of contemporary gay pornography.

Equally commonly, the term daddy can also refer to a particular role in *daddy-boy relationships* in gay leather or sadomasochist culture, in which the daddy is the dominant partner both psychologically and sexually. In such instances, the roles refer to the distribution of power within the relationship and may have little to do with chronological age (so that the boy can be the same age as, or even older than, the daddy).

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Dennis Allen

DAHOMEY, WOMEN WARRIORS/WIVES OF THE KING

Precolonial African societies had a clear but flexible gender-based division of tasks that excluded women's participation in the military as warriors. It is possible that in Africa, as elsewhere, war and gender existed in a relationship of "reciprocal causality" (Goldstein 2001, pp. 6, 191, 410). Female armed forces that served the kings of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dahomey (present-day Benin), nicknamed Amazons by European visitors in reference to the prodigious female warriors of Greek mythology, constitute the only documented exception to that rule.

This institution, which probably was borrowed in the early seventeenth century by Dahomey, may have begun with female "rangers of the forest" (Forbes 1966) called *gbeto*, who specialized in hunting elephants. With the attrition of the elephant population, the *gbeto* no longer hunted for ivory but for the royal palaces' needs for meat and ceremonial sacrifices in Abomey, the capital city. Selected for their exceptional endurance, the *gbeto* dressed in brown shirts and knee-length trousers; they sported two antelope horns attached above their foreheads by an iron or gold ring. Separated into two regiments under Gezo (1818–1858), the four hundred *gbeto* remained an elite corps among women warriors until the end of Amazonism.

The first record of women's presence in the battles fought by Dahomey for territorial expansion toward the Atlantic coast and access to the international slave market concerns a 1708 operation. In his 1728 onslaught on Whydah, King Agadja, who was short of men, also used women warriors who greatly exceeded his expectations. His successors also owed important victories to women soldiers whose loyalty to the crown was legendary. For instance, in 1818 Adandozan's female guard fought to the death to protect the king from conspirators. Gezo's reign is considered the "Golden Age of Amazonism" (Almeida-Topor 1984, p. 38). He increased the recruitment of female warriors, organizing some 2,500 women in permanent divisions and units that included his personal guard.

Typically, the women were recruited among young prisoners of war (i.e., slaves), drafted from Dahomean commoners' families, and chosen from among volunteers. Occasionally, adulterous or rebellious women would be recruited. They wore a sleeveless waistcoat, trousers, and a white cotton hat ornamented with blue stylized crocodiles. They were armed with blunderbusses and muskets, bows and arrows, and eighteen-inch-long razors mounted on a two-foot pole and weighing eighteen pounds. Women warriors ostensibly displayed amulets, sang self-praises, and observed impeccable discipline. Proud of being exceptional women, they nevertheless cultivated a masculine appearance to fit into the palace's military culture.

Though not sexually involved with the king, women warriors were given the title Wives of the King. In fact, they were held to celibacy (and often given an amenorrhea-inducing contraceptive), though records of punishments for pregnancy point to their will to recover some control over their bodies. Marriages between a king and a woman soldier remained exceptional, though Glèlè married Tata Ajachè and Behanzin married Dimedji.

A cornerstone of Dahomean resistance to French colonial forces, Amazonism dissolved with Behanzin's capitulation in 1894. In anticipation of the war that
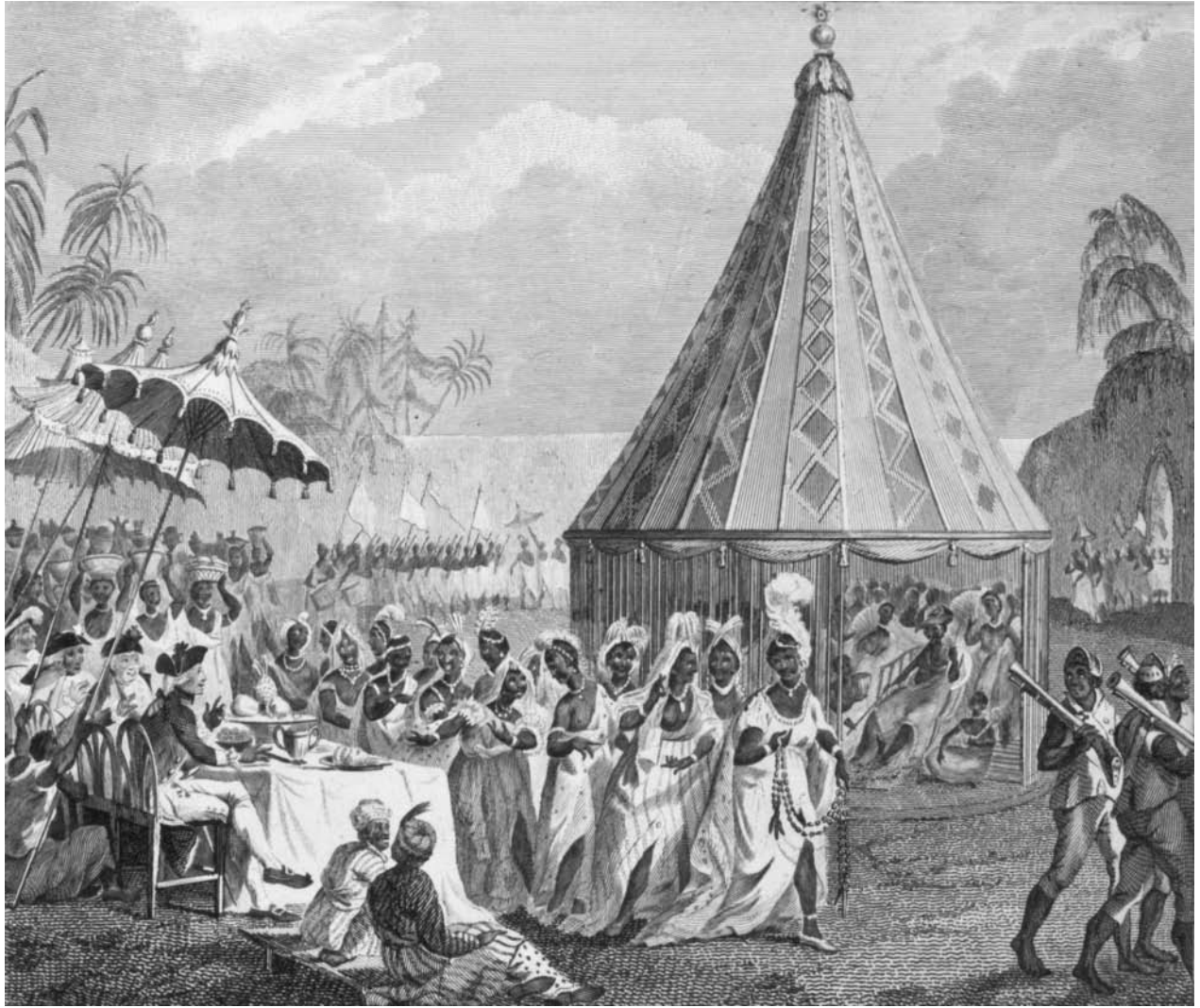
Dahomey Wives of the King. *Public Procession of the King's Women, an engraving by Francis Chesham, c. 1793, depicts a procession of the Dahomey wives of the king.* © HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS.

broke out in 1890, Behanzin (1889–1894) had reformed the female troops to maximize their efficiency in the face of European technology. Women soldiers fought heroically on the front line against French officers and African *tirailleurs* (riflemen), attempting to cut the enemy's throats with their teeth and sink enemy boats. Despite enormous casualties, they also engaged in guerrilla warfare. In 1894, the fifty survivors, along with the reserves, began to return to family life without seemingly transforming existing gender relationships.

There are many descriptions of Dahomean women warriors by European travelers, colonial administrators, and army officers, and a group posing as Amazons was on display at the zoological garden in Paris in 1890. Though seen through a voyeurist lens, the Amazones, who dis-

pelled the myth of women's physical inferiority, provided a welcome alternative to two other African icons promoted by nineteenth-century scientific racism: the bestial Hottentot Venus and the blissful *Tirailleur senegalais*. African images of Dahomean women soldiers are carved on bas-reliefs on the royal palaces in Abomey. The novelist Paul Hazoumé evoked those warriors in *Doguicimi* (1938). Roger Gnoan Mballa's controversial movie *Adangaman* (2000) focuses on their role as slave hunters. The Beninese singer Edia Sophie paid homage to them in the popular song "Oum kpé zon toé" (1965), and in 1961 a musical band of Guinean women gendarmes took the name Les Amazones de Guinée. The internationally renowned Beninese singer Angelique Kidjo often is referred to as the Amazon of Afrofunk.

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Sylvie Kandé

DAMIAN, PETER
c. 1007–1072

Born into a noble but poor family in or around 1007 in Ravenna, Italy, Peter Damian became an influential figure in the Catholic Church at a time when it was marked by scandals, corruption, and schism. Orphaned at an early age, he was eventually cared for by an older brother who then facilitated his education. Damian excelled in his studies first at Ravenna, then Faenza and Parma, and became a renowned teacher of rhetoric by the age of twenty-five. Rejecting the distractions and scandals associated with university life, around 1035 he joined the monastery at Fonte Avellana, where he became prior in 1043, leading the monastery into a new prosperity. This office he held until his death in 1072 in Faenza. Though he had retreated from the world, Peter kept close watch on the Church, and served frequently as papal legate. He was eventually named Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia—over his protest—in 1057. By the time of his death in 1072, he had earned a reputation as a reformer, opposed to simony and clerical marriage, and as a zealous combatant of sodomy.

While the act of sodomy had been criticized as early as Tertullian (c. 160–c. 230), and same-sex relations condemned both in church councils, such as the Council of Elvira (305–306), and in penitentials, as John Boswell claimed, an argument could be put forth for a certain tolerance of homosexual behaviors through the twelfth century. However, Damian's *Liber Gomorrhianus* (c. 1049), addressed to Pope Leo IX (r. 1049–1054), sharply condemns any attitude of leniency, and especially any papal leniency, in cases of "sins against nature." In the *Liber Gomorrhianus,* through a preface and twenty-six chapters, Damian categorizes and condemns homosexual acts without

mincing words. He elaborates a typology of four categories of "sins against nature": masturbation, mutual masturbation, interfemoral intercourse, and anal intercourse, with the latter being the most serious. Citing earlier ecclesiastic sources, he argues that males guilty of such acts should not be clerics. Following the same logic, he criticizes mutual confession by priests engaging in same-sex activities. Clerics who were sodomites should repent and remove themselves from the clergy. He denounces the inconsistencies and the laxness of the penitentials on this subject and rails against the morally corrupting influence of homosexuality. Mark D. Jordan (1997) credits Damian with moving sodomy into the category of sin, by likening it to blasphemy.

By invoking Gomorrah, Damian's polemic suggests a parallel between the moral state of the Church, corrupted by practicing sodomites, and the fate of the inhabitants of that city. The threat of destruction looms on the horizon. While Damian's text may then read as a classic example of European medieval homophobia, David Lorenzo Boyd (1995) has pointed out that Damian's argument can also be seen as expressing the fragility of the heteronormative model and the instability of the dominant. Derived from a gendered vision of behavior and located in the male body, the effect of the "unmanned man" and the "effeminate man" goes beyond the boundaries of the Church and disrupts the binary power system that structures medieval society.

Although Pope Leo IX recognized the value of Damian's intentions, he was critical of the excessive nature of the text and rejected Damien's call for executing those unnatural practitioners. Thus the immediate effect of Damian's text was less than he hoped for. Nonetheless, *Liber Gomorrhianus* reveals the anxieties of the medieval clergy in relation to sexuality and must inform any discussion of sodomy in the Middle Ages.

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Edith Benkov

DANCE

The human body as instrument means that dance is always gendered. The dichotomy between mind and body, primarily though not exclusively a Western notion, has generally privileged the mind. The Enlightenment body was the locus of emotion, not reason. The danced body, with its elaboration of human movement using repetition and redundancy to heighten the experience, has particularly antagonized those who favor the mind, and more often than not, negative perceptions have centered on sexuality. The power of the body in dance stems from two different sets of attributes: One, dance has the capacity to generate a kinesthetic response in the observer; two, embodied forms speak through a variety of voices and channels, creating multiple meanings that may be ambiguous and contradictory. Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1994 [1962]) describes the human body being in the world as the heart is in the organism; in this position, the body keeps the visible spectacle constantly alive. It breathes life into it, he says, and sustains it inwardly, and with it, forms a system.

Movement has always been controversial and associated with both goodness and evil. In the medieval notion of the Great Chain of Being, light, warmth, and movement are associated with the higher orders of beings. Ordered movement takes on even greater importance in the Elizabethan concept of the Cosmic Dance. In the *Inferno*, the poet Dante elaborates on life and movement. He puts the most evil sinners, the traitors such as Lucifer, in the eleventh circle of hell where they are frozen immobile for all eternity. They are forever removed from those angels who are moving, dancing, and singing around a God who is a point of light in constant motion (Royce 1984). In contrast, those whose sin was one of reckless passion are fated to be blown about forever by the ceaseless winds of the second circle, out of control after death just as they were in life.

The theatrical productions of the English dramatist Ben Jonson (1572–1637) reflected his conception of movement as the disposable shell of a masque, while the poetry of the text was its abiding essence (cf. Barish 1981). He gave form to his ideas by using formal, serene, mathematically perfect movement in the masques to portray goodness and a sense of proportion and jerky, backward, unnatural movements in the anti-masques to convey the opposite.

Dance reifies movement and the body, which is its instrument. It is useful to examine the presentation and perception of gender in dance by isolating three arenas. One is the arena of formal qualities, the technique and aesthetic choices that direct which forms, out of a vast range of possibilities, represent a particular genre. A second centers on the meanings or narratives implicit or explicit in a genre or in a dance composition. The third refers to meanings and assumptions that come from the larger context, which may be as narrow as a performance or as broad as society (Royce 1987b). None of these aspects exists independent of the others, but focusing on each, then on the ways in which they interact, reveals something fundamental about how cultures regard and manipulate the body.

FORMAL QUALITIES OF DANCE

Form can usefully be divided into body, technique, and style. Most cultures and virtually all dance genres have notions about the ideal body for dance, which may or may not be the same ideal for the body generally speaking. Even in societies in which everyone is expected to dance, such as some of the Tewa pueblos in the American Southwest, the featured dancers have bodies regarded as more pleasing for the dance than the corps. They are also regarded as "better" interpreters of the ritual. There is some relationship between the attributes of the body and the technique of the genre, but it is difficult to say which way the influence goes. For example, both Cook Islands and North African Muslim women's dances focus on the pelvic area, and the ideal form to show off the movements is a womanly torso, hips, and pelvis. But while the desired body type is the same, both the technique and the context are quite different. In Cook Islands dance, women and men dance together in opposing lines, whereas North African women dance for other women and not in the presence of men. Cook Islands women swing their hips from side to side, never in a circular fashion, and their shoulders remain motionless. Moroccan women rotate their hips in a series of circles that gradually involve the whole torso.

This "womanly" body, quite distinct from its male counterpart, is far from the one demanded by twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century classical ballet in which the ideal is the androgynous or gender-neutral body. The ideal state for the ballet dancer, male or female, is as instrument, athlete, abstraction—neutered and celibate. Whereas the classic "story" ballets have clearly designated male and female roles, the more contemporary repertoire does not rely on such narratives. The technique, then, for women and men, has become less distinct. With the exception of dance *en pointe* and to a lesser extent, supported adagio, women and men are expected to be

equally at home in most of what used to be two separate techniques.

A resistance to the androgynous, thin, long-necked and long-legged, small-headed female ballet body so beloved by George Balanchine (1904–1983) appeared in modern dance as a symbol of its total separation from ballet. Coincidentally with the acceptance of a wider range of acceptable and gendered bodies came the declaration of equal status for women dancers. The American choreographer Twyla Tharp (b. 1941), who can best be characterized as a crossover choreographer and a rebel, created a company in which there was no standard body type. Any and all shapes and sizes were accepted so long as the dancers could master the grueling technique and choreographic demands. Her company looked like a cross-section of the American public. Indeed, some of her pieces invited local audience members to participate. She would also frequently choreograph pieces for a cast of three women, only to change the cast at a later performance to three men. While the bodies were gendered, the choreography was not.

The American company Pilobolus (named for a fungus) not only has no standard body type, in its fundamental repertoire all bodies are used as building blocks for a choreographic architecture that has little or no reference to gender. In its beginning years in the 1970s, the Pilobolus creators depicted the subhuman and the fantastic, not using the body as dance normally conceives it. Their choreography denied the shape of the human body as well as the body's capabilities when used independent of other bodies. The shapes were mesmerizing but not human (Royce 1987a). As the company developed, its members began creating thematic pieces that allowed the human body to reappear, although the gendered body still remained in both form and narrative subsumed in the humanity, rather than the humanness, of the choreography. Their themes, then, are those reflecting humanity—love, conflict, sorrow, happiness, relationship—and while they are interpreted by gendered bodies, the focus does not lie with the bodies themselves.

Men's bodies have often stood for both men and women. Prior to the late seventeenth century, men danced both male and female roles in the ballets of the French court. In Kabuki theater, women's roles are played by males known as *onnagata*. The development of the *onnagata* provides an interesting commentary on the interchangeability of men and women. Kabuki in the 1600s was a popular form of theater performed by women as well as men. By 1629, the rowdiness that Kabuki seemed to generate in its audiences prompted the government to ban women from performing. Young men replaced them. People continued behaving in a scandalous manner leading the government to ban

Kabuki altogether in 1652. Kabuki was "reborn" by an implied connection to Nō theater, a traditional and respected form of dance-drama, and, like Nō, Kabuki was exclusively male. *Onnagata* regard their portrayal of women as somehow archetypical; they use gestures and postures taught to geishas, including slow, sculpted, deliberate movements, hips tucked under and forward, knees slightly bent and held together, and turned-in toes. It is a codified technique that signals "woman." It does this so well that it can be referenced when actors want to signal this kind of hyperstylized feminine principle.

Lindsay Kemp used the *onnagata* figure in his 1974 production of Jean Genet's *Notre-Dame des Fleurs* (1944; *Our Lady of the Flowers*, 1949) in order to make the audience comprehend immediately the transvestite nature of Divine. As he made his slow way across the balcony, dressed in a long, white, close-fitting gown, Divine did so with the sliding step of the *onnagata*—sliding the foot forward, raising the toes up, then pointing them down again, sliding the other foot forward. His hips were tucked under, knees bent, and his head cast down and to one side (Royce 2004). The power of the female contained in Kabuki *onnagata* technique, posture, and style conveys itself directly and with absolute clarity. Genet, in *Notre-Dame des Fleurs*, speaks to the elusiveness of masculinity and femininity in everyday gesture, when he describes Divine responding to a delicate lover by trying to be more masculine: "She tried for male gestures, which are rarely the gestures of males" (Genet 1963, p. 133). Kemp relied, not on exaggeration of ordinary gestures and movement, but rather on a form that everyone knows to be emblematic of woman.

THE MEANINGS OF VARIOUS DANCE MOVEMENTS

Formal qualities of the body and the movements codified into techniques and genres have a long history of dividing peoples into civilized and other—in cultural, class, and gender terms. While there are vast cultural differences across societies in terms of which particular movements are thought to be appropriate, some fundamental qualities of movement seem to have universal resonance. Ordered, economical, redundant, and inevitable—these are all qualities associated with movement that is pleasing, that is, civilized. Disordered and cluttered movement is unpleasant and a sign of a person or culture lacking discipline and aesthetic sensibility. One of the best demonstrations of this mode of thought comes from the Renaissance courts of Italy and France where to be a member of the court—a courtier—an aristocrat depended on the unmannered grace with which one moved through life. Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) describes this in his book *The Courtier* when he speaks about art, mundane and otherwise: "true art

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which does not seem to be art; nor must one be more careful of anything than of concealing it, because if it is discovered, this robs a man of all credit and causes him to be held in slight esteem. . . . Art, or any intense effort, if it is disclosed, deprives everything of grace'' (in Royce 2004, p. 22). *Sprezzatura*, or nonchalance, was his term for this essential quality of the courtier class.

In the fifteenth-century Italian court, proper grace was the key to one's social standing. The children of the court were taught this in dance lessons, but it carried across all other areas of deportment. Those who moved without grace—effortless grace—clearly did not belong to courtly society. Clumsiness in movement was also equated with spiritual failing: Movements of the body mirrored movements of the soul. If one was clumsy so was the other, and clumsiness of the soul meant corruption, vice, ugliness, and evil. A distinction was made between the clumsy, ugly dances of the peasants and the grace-filled, noble dances of the court (Nevile 2004). Court dance was elevated to its high status not only because of its formal properties and general deportment but also because of its link to intellectual and moral engagement. Properly performed and based solidly in the humanistic philosophy of the court, dance achieved salutary moral results, unlike the rude and riotous dancing of the peasant class, which was totally divorced from any philosophy whatsoever (Nevile 2004). In one sense, the activities of the court humanists of the fifteenth century can be viewed as prefigurations of the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1977) and his notions of making the body docile through discipline. Dancing masters of the courts molded their pupils' bodies into graceful, virtuous, moderate symbols of an ordered universe that saw those particular qualities as a pinnacle of accomplishment and their opposites as examples of the basest forms of life.

One of the paradoxes of this division into ordered, graceful courtly dance and lewd and rowdy peasant dance was that there was always an interchange between the court and countryside, with borrowings going both ways. The most famous example is that of the waltz. This dance was originally a variant of the German and Austrian *ländlers*, *voltas*, and *wellers*, all fast-moving, closed-couple dances done in the countryside. Aristocratic attitudes labeled these dances as sexually explicit because of the intimacy of the closed position and the rapid turns, which were thought to excite the passions of the performers. Under its late-eighteenth-century name, the waltz became a popular dance at court where the context of its performance, the wider stance between partners, and, above all, the ordered choreography made it morally and sexually acceptable. Eventually, when it left the courts and became the property of a broader class of people, it maintained this elite image, becoming a dance that was used to mark solemn occasions such as debutante balls,

graduations, and weddings. By the late nineteenth century, waltzing societies sprang up as institutions whose members pretended to high social status. The members of these societies agonized over whether or not polkas could be included, the polka never having lost its rowdy, sexually provocative image.

Another dance that has undergone similar changes of status is the tango. If anything, it has become even more highly charged in terms of sexuality. The tango originated in the lower-class sectors of Buenos Aires in the 1880s. The population of these areas was primarily composed of descendants of African slaves. The tango became a popular salon dance by the 1920s when it was danced by middle-aged and older dancers as well as by the younger set. In this form, it was considerably more subdued and less sexually overt than contemporary tango performances. From the 1940s on, the tango has been exported around the globe—to France, to Japan, to Finland—while becoming a staple of international ballroom dancing. As it traveled, the sexual aspects were exaggerated—partners were locked in tight embraces; legs snaked in and around partner's legs and body; the famous ''dip'' with the women bent backward, head almost to the floor became an essential feature. These are also features of the tango as it is performed in competitive ballroom dancing. This form of tango functions as a nonverbal shorthand for unbridled sexuality and passion in advertisements, in films such as *Last Tango in Paris* (1973), *Scent of a Woman* (1992), and *True Lies* (1994), in touring companies such as Tango Argentina, and, in an early manifestation, Rudolf Valentino's signature tangos of the 1920s.

In this exaggerated form, the tango also stood for male domination and female submission. The man directs his partner who is expected to submit and follow. As a couple, they are as alienated as the Argentine notion of *mufarse*—dwelling on one's inability to affect anything and the sense of exile from self and society. As Julie Taylor (1998) comments, the tango was the perfect symbol of the long civil war that Argentines experienced: ''The tango did not give us any rules or a representation of anything. It gave us a space to reflect on rules, to despair or to feel our bodies recognize, sometimes with a disconcerting solace, the way things are'' (pp. 84–85). During these difficult years of civil unrest when one might simply ''disappear'' without leaving a trace of ever having been, the citizens of Buenos Aires were drawn to *milongas*, underground gatherings where one could dance tangos. These *milongas* were banned but continued to be held as underground, illegal gatherings. In this regard, tango has become a national symbol of Argentina both for the Argentines and for the rest of the world. Argentines, according to Taylor, understand the potential of the tango for self-indulgent reflection, but it is the tango form and its responses—''related meditations on

Tango Dancers in Buenos Aires. © JON HICKS/CORBIS.

exile, identity, cultural vitality, gender, and the various forms of death" (p. 44)—that she explores.

CULTURAL NOTIONS OF DANCE

Because of the power in the elaborated, dense, and multi-vocalic form of movement that is dance and because the body is the instrument of that power, dance has been viewed across time and cultures as inherently sensual. On some occasions, dance is allowed to function in that uncontained way—fertility rites, rituals of reversal in which the proscribed becomes prescribed, shamanic practices in which the body becomes a vehicle for the gods and the shamans are possessed, rites of passage, or celebrations of marriage that mimic the sexual obligations of the partners. These opportunities are not randomly distributed; indeed, they are carefully constrained, representing marked-off spaces and time. Their use is disciplined and allows societies to recognize human sensuality and sexuality in a manner that does not disrupt community.

When societies with minimal knowledge of each other come into contact, the cultural meanings and contexts of their dances are not understood, and the dances are seen for their form alone. In this way, missionaries, reacting to the hip-swinging dances of the Cook Islanders, clothed them in Mother Hubbard outfits (form-concealing long dresses), and admonished them not to dance. Polynesian societies in general learned rather quickly that the way to retain their dances, given the presence of Christian missionaries, was to define what they did as illustrating with hand and body gestures the hymns taught them. The ring-shout dances and "patting juba" of the Africans enslaved and brought to the American South were similarly ways to maintain important modes of expression while obeying the restrictions against dance. The ring-shout was a dance done in a circle and consisted of shuffling and parallel movements of the feet that stayed close to the ground; voices provided the music. "Patting juba" was a form in which the individual made music by patting her arms and other parts of the body while chanting.

So long as their feet did not lift off the floor or cross each other, as in the ring-shout dance, so long as they did not use drums, as in "patting juba" where the body itself became the musical instrument, what they did could be considered "worship" or harmless diversion. In a wonderful example of misperceptions on the part of both societies, the English who colonized vast regions of Africa

were disgusted by what they interpreted as the flagrant sexuality of the multiunit torso form of much of West African dance, while the colonized Africans viewed as lewd the colonizers' closed-couple dances, such as waltzes, in which men and women danced together in close embraces. Africans' disgust with white European dances stemmed from the fact that men and women danced together touching each other, something not ever done in African dances where men and women danced separately. Similar reactions occurred in the early-twentieth-century United States when the multiunit torso of the African Americans met the single-unit torso of the North Europeans. Dances such as the black bottom, the Charleston, the big apple, and the turkey trot initially elicited shocked reactions on the part of white society (and were banned by the Vatican), but then were adopted by the youth who were the heart of the post–World War I enthusiasm for life.

Moving from the realm of social dance to theatrical dance in the United States, one sees the same cultural notions about what dance was ordered, civilized, and proper and what was not. Not surprisingly, gender and race influenced general perceptions and the responses to them. Comparing the responses of both public and critics to the dancer-choreographers Katherine Dunham (1909–2006), Pearl Primus (1919–1994), and Ruth St. Denis (1879–1968) reveals the effect of race and related ideas of propriety. Dunham and Primus were both African-American dancers who wanted to portray the dances of Haiti and the Caribbean, in Dunham's case, and of West Africa in the case of Primus. St. Denis, a white dancer from New Jersey, created oriental-style choreographies, based loosely on Indian, Egyptian, and Japanese themes. The public welcomed her flowing white costumes and highly stylized poses as the epitome of femininity, albeit somewhat exoticized. Despite undulating arms and hips, her dances were lauded as tasteful and elegant. Dunham and Primus were criticized for the sexuality of their dances and the "primitive" nature of their costumes. At that time in American theatrical dance, African Americans were relegated to tap, the Black Broadway musicals, and caricatures of themselves in early Hollywood movies. Dunham and Primus defied these categories and were criticized for it. Interestingly, their contemporary African-American male colleagues in dance, such as Asadata Dafora (1890–1965), and later, Alvin Ailey (1931–1989), were welcomed more uncritically both as dancers and choreographers (cf. Foulkes 2002).

CONCLUSION

Dance has been banned, feared for its power, criticized for corrupting morals, embraced as the symbol of the right order of the universe, lauded for providing release and entertainment, used as a medium for connection with the spirits, and seen as necessary for the efficacy of rituals of transformation, healing, and thanksgiving—all these being responses to the rhythmic, kinesthetic-appealing, ordered elaboration of movement known as dance. There are no neutral responses, no way to avoid reacting. We are tugged along despite ourselves. When the meaning inherent in the body and the form is compounded by explicit narrative meanings, and both of these are given additional meaning by the cultural context in which dance is performed, dance becomes a language much like that of ritual or prophesy. One can like it or dislike it, but one cannot argue with it. Dance exists in the moment, in the bodies of its performers, as designs in space and time. It does with us what it wills, and therein lies its seductive power.

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Anya Peterson Royce

DANDYISM

In the most general sense the term *dandyism* refers to a *performative* tradition of social sophistication, cultural refinement and aesthetic sensitivity in men. At the same time, and quite crucially, it also refers to a tradition of male hyper-fashionability that began most notably with

the trendsetting behavior of English socialite George "Beau" Brummell in the early nineteenth century and that has continued to this day in the highly stylized public personas of outlandishly *campy* male celebrities like Liberace, Elton John, and "the artist formerly known as Prince."

Because *dandies* are by definition fashion and trend-obsessed, it is virtually impossible to describe how a *dandy* acts or what he looks like in any historically unspecific sense. Nevertheless, evidence from different periods repeatedly stresses the point that where *dandies* are concerned, clothes really do make the man. As Thomas Carlyle quipped in *Sartor Resartus*, "A Dandy is a Clothes-wearing Man, a Man whose trade, office, and existence consists in the wearing of Clothes" (Carlyle 1831). In the early to mid-nineteenth century, then, one might claim to know a *dandy* by his flowing and unkempt locks of hair, his extravagantly draped cape or greatcoat, his fine patent leather shoes or knee length riding boots, his jaunty top hat, his silver tipped cane or his laced and pristine white gloves—all markers of high fashion in men during this period. Later, however, when nominally fashionable attire became more accessible to the common man in the form of commercially produced ready-to-wear clothing, dandies were often forced to distinguish themselves even more dramatically by taking sole personal responsibility for both defining and redefining the very leading edge of what constitutes men's *haute couture*.

While it would be easy in some regard to reduce dandyism to mere stylishness, doing so would also erase the somewhat obscure but very important history of the phenomenon. Among other things, it would ignore dandyism's paramount significance as a symptom of Western modernity. For Charles Baudelaire, who lionized the dandy as the hero of modernity in his 1863 essay "Le Peintre de la vie modern [The Painter of Modern Life]" men of this sort were ingenious, because they aspired to personify the idea of the self-made man in the most extreme, most embodied sense possible. Although he often failed to rival the man of modern commerce in wealth or material possessions, the dandy's ultimate goal was to go the captain of industry one better by transforming his very identity into the most marketable and potentially profitable commodity of all. Indeed, according to critic and literary historian Rhonda K. Garelick, "The reputed goal of [George Beau] Brummell's life was to turn his person into a social art-work" (Garelick 1998, p. 9).

So successful were some dandies at doing this, in fact, that they were often made the subjects of very widely read, highly fictionalized, biographies whose sole purpose was to pay homage to such extraordinary live as these. For example Brummell, who arguably accomplished very little during the course of life by any objective standard of productivity and left even less behind in the form of negative balance sheets at the time of his death, was nevertheless celebrated in several popular tracts including Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly's 1843 essay "Du Dandysme et de George Brummell." In this regard, Brummell and other dandies of the nineteenth century resembled quite closely those figures in modern celebrity culture that are "famous for being famous," and nothing else.

Although dandyism in some respects has far more to do with class than gender, it was nonetheless a highly gendered phenomenon from the very beginning. For one thing dandies were always male; Baudelaire, at least, was famously clear on this point and many other students of dandyism before and after Baudelaire have agreed. Precisely because the dandy aspired to become the very embodiment of modern decadence—the most extreme departure possible from the brutishness of raw, unrefined nature—and precisely because women in the context of the nineteenth century were widely understood to be so closely tied to nature by their temperament and reproductive capacity, women were simply thought to be ineligible for the title. They could be fashionable, of course. But no woman could ever be as totally and spectacularly unproductive of anything other than her own reputation as dandies were typically thought to have to be in order to qualify as such.

As the twentieth century dawned, and as the modern notion of sexual identity began to take shape, the phenomenon of dandyism increasingly assumed a new and somewhat sinister connotation. Specifically, the dandy's effeteness and dedication to fashion were increasingly read as signs of abnormality of some kind—a perfectly accurate reading, in fact, given that one of the dandy's self-conscious goals was to be utterly exceptional and absolutely unique.

Eventually, dandyism came to imply a sense of sexual deviance no doubt in part because of the term's close association with Oscar Wilde, a self-professed dandy who, in addition to being one of the most outspoken advocates of the British aestheticist movement of the late nineteenth century was also tried and convicted as a sodomite in the spring of 1895. If Wilde's rapier wit, hyper elegance and aesthetic sensitivity—in other words, his dandyism—had earned him an international reputation by that time, the very public revelation that he was also a sexual "degenerate" conversely earned him a special kind of ignominy in the minds of many on both sides of the Atlantic, and confirmed the legitimacy of a growing suspicion that dandyism was symptomatic of something more than heightened aesthetic sensitivity alone.

Located somewhere between the invert and the modern homosexual, the early twentieth century dandy came to represent the over-civilized male whose pathological obsession with fashion and social niceties like etiquette

marked him, in no uncertain terms, as effeminate and probably queer. In this sense, then, dandyism became a kind of sexualized gender—one that retained certain class-based connotations of effeteness, but one that also took on some of the negative aura then associated with homosexuality and other stigmatized forms of gender and sexual expression.

That said, it is important to note that if dandyism did eventually come to be associated with sexual inversion—homosexuality's late nineteenth-century conceptual progenitor—it was not originally seen as a predominantly sexual phenomenon. If anything, the early erotics of dandyism were rather one-sided and understood primarily in terms of personal magnetism—in other words, less in terms of the dandy's desire for women or men than in terms of women and men's mutual and irresistible desire for the dandy—as acquaintance, as confidant and occasionally as lover. Thus dandyism figures as prominently in the cultural histories of fame and personality as it does in the cultural history of gender or sexuality.

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Colin R. Johnson

DANTE ALIGHIERI
1265–1321

Dante Alighieri was born in Florence in 1265, but from 1302 on he lived in exile for political reasons. He died in Ravenna in 1321.

DIVINE COMEDY

He is most famous for the *Commedia*, later labeled *Divina* (*Divine Comedy*), composed from circa 1308 until his death. The poem narrates the visit of a hero-everyman to the Christian underworld, the Inferno (Hell, punishment), and then to the realms of Purgatory (expiation) and Paradise (beatitude). It comprises 100 cantos divided into a prologue and three canticles, or *cantiche* (1+33+33+33) totaling 14,233 verses (13, 10+3), written in terza rima, so that, in medieval numerology, everything is based on the numbers one and three. Aiding the *viator* (the hero-everyman or journeyman) are three female figures, Mary, Lucia, and Beatrice, constituting a female Trinity, contrasted to the three-headed monster Lucifer, and the three wild beasts who block the *viator*'s path. The poem raises many ethical, political, and theological questions and is a profound meditation on the significance of life, free will, and Christianity. The *viator* is guided through Hell and Purgatory by Virgil, the Roman poet whose hero, Aeneas, founded Rome and was a privileged instrument of providential history, because Jesus, the Messiah, chose to be born under Roman jurisdiction in Palestine. In Dante's view, Rome's providential history becomes reality as the center of Christianity and of the Holy See, through the evangelization and martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul. Thus, Dante the *viator* is chosen to visit the other world as a new Aeneas and a new Paul, combining the classical and Christian traditions. Beatrice, his muse, is the pilgrim's second and most important guide from the top of the Mount of Purgatory, the new Eden, to the Empyrean in Paradise, his inspiration and savior as the poet is lost in a dark wood. The mission to rescue him originated in Heaven with the Blessed Virgin Mary who, in turn, asked Lucia, and then Beatrice herself, to intervene on behalf of her friend. Thus the feminine Godhead is the sole originator of the salvation of one about to be lost forever in the second death, that of the soul.

In meeting Francesca da Rimini in the circle of the lustful (*Inf.* 5), the pilgrim-poet offers a meditation on love—courtly love and the *dolce stil nuovo* (sweet new-style) love Dante practiced—while her adulterous love story cannot but elicit condemnation from the Christian pilgrim and theologian. Such dichotomies are frequent in the work, combining pathos, sympathy, and ethical/religious condemnation. Similarly, in *Inferno* 13, amidst the sodomites, the pilgrim encounters his teacher Brunetto Latini, a famous rhetorician and most worthy citizen of Florence. The pilgrim shows him sincere affection, admiration, and recognition, for he recalls how the tutor taught him on Earth "how man becomes eternal"; yet, Brunetto is relegated to a circle of vice for eternal damnation. In *Inferno* 16, still among the sodomites, Dante is eager to encounter souls of other worthy Florentines, among them Jacopo Rusticucci, who sarcastically blames his sexual preference on his wife: "e' certo la fiera moglie piu' ch'altri mi nuoce" [surely my proud wife more than anything else hurts me] (*Inf.* 16:44–45). Such ambiguous representations render this work vastly significant and appealing. The classical sources, the encyclopedic knowledge, the rich

Dante Alighieri. PUBLIC DOMAIN.

poetic content, the historical, mythological, legendary, and folkloric elements, and the scientific and philosophical texture contribute to making this a widely imitated poem with a long-lasting impact.

Beatrice, above all, is the prime mover who guides the pilgrim-poet through the spheres of Paradise and represents divine grace, the "donna gentile" who encapsulates humanity's highest dignity, closest to the divine in this hierarchical universe. Her role exemplifies the way to God through the seven known spheres of the Ptolemaic system, the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, the Primum Mobile and the Empyrean, and the heaven of the blessed souls in which she herself resides. The grace she imparts has far exceeded that of any other figure of religious import. Her seat is next to Rachel, symbol of contemplation, a figure of the nation of Israel and the church, on the third tier of the Symbolic Rose. She has led the pilgrim-poet from slavery to freedom (*Par.* 31:79–90), from that first encounter when she was nine years old, to the second one nine years later, to her reproaches in Purgatory that made him weep, her step-by-step illumination through Paradise, and her final signal of assent to the lover, directing him to the Highest (31:91–93).

FEMALE HISTORICAL CHARACTERS

Dante's work is also considerably marked by certain female historical characters: Francesca da Rimini with her immortal love story and its powerful drama retold through her perfect knowledge of the art of rhetoric, while her lover Paolo does not utter a word and can only weep (*Inf.* 5:72–142); Pia dei Tolomei, victim of a malicious husband, with her strikingly courteous demeanor and paucity of words (*Purg.* 5:130–136); Sapia from Siena, an envious woman who acknowledges her faults, but also reproaches the *viator* for not understanding that everyone in this place is a citizen of the city of God (*Purg.* 13:85–154); Piccarda Donati and Costanza d'Altavilla, women in the Sphere of the Moon, who were forced to break their vows and are now most distant from God and perfection, but understand fully his design and accept in faith that "in sua volonta' e'nostra pace" [in his will rests our peace] (*Par.* 3–4). The courtesan Cunizza da Romano, along with the figure of Rahab, the harlot of Jericho, are unique in the way Dante transforms their ability to love and their *eros* (erotic love) into *agapos* (love of the divine), and places them in the heaven of lovers, Venus. A woman such as Matelda is idealized, with an aura of mystery and symbolism betraying the poet's admiration and deep respect for her figural model; further, she is the one who guides him through Eden before Beatrice appears, surely as a symbol of active life.

Other important women are the Hebrew women of the Mystic Rose of Paradise, who create the dividing wall between the New and Old Testament figures and are seated below Mary: Eve, Rachel, Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, and Ruth. They are figures of the church, and the mothers of humanity in the Hebrew and Christian tradition, although, interestingly, some of them were barren at first. These, together with Rachel and Leah, are respectively symbols of contemplative and active life, as Martha and Mary, their counterparts in the New Testament, are the most symbolically influential characters aside from Mary, Lucia, and Beatrice. Other notable women in Dante's *Commedia* include the many groups of mythological, historical, or legendary figures: eight of them in Limbo—Electra, Camilla, Penthesilea, Lavina, Lucretia, Julia, Marcia, and Cornelia—all worthy of praise as great souls (*Inf.* 4); and Semiramis, Dido, Cleopatra, and Helen of Troy, who all receive particular attention in the circle of lust.

Women are represented in exempla, such as the "vedovella" (*Purg.* 10:73–93) who contests the Emperor Trajan and forces him to do his duty to avenge the death of her son, an exemplum of filial devotion and tenacity. There is also Michal, "donna dispettosa e trista" (a woman scornful and afflicted) upset at the behavior of her husband David, King of Israel, whom Dante uses as an exemplum of humility. The most dramatic example of humility is of course Mary, who with her words "ecce ancilla Domini" accepts her charge (*Purg.* 10:4–45).

DANTE'S ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

At the same time, Dante remains a product of the Middle Ages, his views reflecting the prevailing attitude toward women. And while his writings do not make him a champion of women in the modern sense, among his contemporaries, Dante appears to be the most receptive to criticism from women, as shown in the *Vita nuova* (New life) and even the *Commedia*, and most sensitive to their role and needs. The *Vita nuova* indeed shows how women friends were his audience, and how they engaged him in changing the mode of poetizing, and of writing in praise of them, not merely pursuing his self-centered adumbrations and meditation. He addresses women in his major canzone, "Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore," [Ladies, Who Understand Love's Every Way] praising their deep understanding of love, their "leggiadro parlare," (fair way of speaking), recognizing that they are just as seized by the power of love as the other sex, "e simil face in donna omo valente" [Likewise a woman by man's worth is taken] (*Vita nuova*, 20). Many of the poems in the *Vita nuova*, including the last one, "Oltre la spera" (Beyond the sphere), are written at the specific request of women.

Mary, for Dante, remains the catalyst and the aim of all his journeys in the *Commedia*, and to her is dedicated the prayer of the last canto in *Paradise*. His song of praise is a poetic reaffirmation of Marian theological teachings, but also the final praise of one who is a sublimation of humankind. Without women, the *Commedia* would not be what it is. In the Mystic Rose of Paradise, of the eighteen blessed people, excluding Mary and Bernard, ten are women and eight men. This is significant, and an indication that Dante's Paradise is a temple to womanhood.

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Beatrice; Fornication; Literature: I. Overview; Love Poetry; Middle Ages; Political Satire; Politics; Sodomy.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

DAOISM (TAOISM)

Daoism is a Chinese teaching—or a class of teachings—named after and devoted to the Dao. The term *Daoism* is used for two broad traditions: a polytheistic religion that arose in the second century CE and a philosophy of quietism, mysticism, paradox, and strategy that preceded it. This latter philosophical tradition is epitomized by two texts: the *Laozi*, also known as the *Daode jing* (fourth century BCE; Classic of the way and its power), and the *Zhuangzi* (c. 130 BCE). It is convenient to distinguish philosophical from religious forms of Daoism, though there are many historical and conceptual continuities between them. In the West, the term Daoism has also been used over-vaguely to refer to a spontaneous or naturalistic attitude in Chinese or East Asian culture.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Daoism takes the cosmic Dao as the source and model of all things, embodied by the celestial deities and known to the sages, but neglected by most mortals. In addition to the Dao, religious Daoist teachings also involve heavens and hells peopled by cosmic deities, transcendent persons (*xian*), demons, and ancestors; a correlative cosmology linking the human body to the earth, seasons, and stars; a path to salvation through self-cultivation based on macrobiotic practices, meditation, and good deeds; systems of ritual and talismanry; a literature of scriptures, hagiographies, and poetry; networks of temples and shrines; and communities of nuns and monks, priests and priestesses, and laypersons. In the early twenty-first century, religious Daoism is practiced mainly in China and the Chinese diaspora, while the teachings of the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* are savored by readers around the world.

SEX AND GENDER

Daoist ideology of sex and gender in premodern China largely reflected the ideology of mainstream Chinese society, adding a few new forms of exploitation, yet also offering resources for women and men to escape social bonds or reinterpret mainstream ideology.

Daoism is often represented as the countercultural reaction to mainstream Confucian society, but in fact Chinese society was never uniformly "Confucian," and historical cases of Daoist opposition to mainstream values are the exception rather than the rule. According to mainstream social practice, women were confined to the domestic sphere, where they were to raise children and

run the household. Many Daoist texts require laypersons to fulfill their social duties as a basic part of their religious cultivation, and Daoist rules generally would not allow women to become nuns or otherwise neglect their family duties without the consent of the males of their clan.

Yet Daoism also offered resources for women to achieve relative social independence. Widows, spinsters, and other women without family support could become nuns (though official ordination was restricted by the government, and usually costly). As nuns, they were nearly the equals of male monastics, in contrast to the subjection of nuns to monks within Buddhism. One example of a woman who gained social benefits through Daoism is Tanyangzi (1558–1577), from a wealthy clan near present-day Nanjing. As a girl, Tanyangzi fasted to refine her physical form, had daily visions of Daoist goddesses, and desired to become a disciple of the bodhisattva Guanyin. When she was seventeen, her fiancé died before they could be wed, and she jumped at this chance to become a "widow" and a lay renunciant. Although opposed by her parents at first, she succeeded in her life choice, and eventually became the leader of a religious cult whose members included her father, brother, and their friends (Waltner 1987). Tanyangzi was able to use religion, primarily Daoism, to gain autonomy, respect, and salvation.

Is Daoism itself essentially sympathetic to women, or to the feminine? Lines from the *Laozi* such as "It can be thought of as the mother of heaven and earth. I do not know its name, so I style it 'the Dao'" (chap. 25), or "Know the male but keep the female, and be a ravine to the world" (chap. 28), may lead Western readers to view Daoism as a teaching that values the female over the male—yin over yang (Schipper 1993, Laughlin and Wong 1999). The Daoist meditation tradition of inner alchemy also seems to valorize the feminine, because the adept must conceive and gestate a holy embryo within him- or herself, a form of symbolic auto-pregnancy (Despeux and Kohn 2003). Chinese alchemy involves the inversion of yin and yang, so male sexual alchemists assume the bottom ("female") position when gathering *qi* (material energy) from their female partner, justifying this practice by reference to the *Dao de jing*.

In other cases, however, Daoists in fact devalue yin, which represents death, in favor of yang, which represents life. Inner alchemists agree that all people are born with a stock of primal yang *qi*, which they lose over the course of a lifetime. When one's yang *qi* is exhausted, the body has become pure yin, and one dies. Inner alchemy involves conjoining yin and yang energies with the goal of eventually eradicating the yin and producing a transcendent body of pure yang. So within inner alchemy, one stage of the process (gestation of the embryo) is gendered feminine, but the ultimate goal (producing a

spirit of pure yang) is gendered masculine. Thus, Daoist teachings at some points seem to valorize the feminine over the masculine, and other points the masculine over the feminine, even within the same practice. One cannot say whether Daoism as a whole is essentially sympathetic to women—characterizations of Daoism are best confined to specific persons, texts, or cases. A variety of positions exist within the tradition and are available for adoption or counter-reading by Daoist or modern interpreters (e.g., Laughlin and Wong 1999).

SEXUALITY

The general view of sexuality in traditional Chinese culture is that, while sexual intercourse is healthy in moderation, and necessary for producing heirs, overindulgence is perilous—especially for men, whose life essence is invested in their semen. The "art of the bedchamber" was practiced in lay society, but for health as much as for pleasure, with the male partner often avoiding ejaculation and recycling his semen up the spine to nourish his brain. Sexual appetite could be satisfied properly and skillfully, but always deliberately and carefully. Daoists also uniformly emphasized the restraint and sublimation of sexual appetites and behaviors, whether by controlled sexual stimulation or by strict celibacy.

Daoist teachings on sexuality can be divided into two categories: teachings found also in the larger culture and teachings unique to Daoism. For Daoists and non-Daoists alike, sexual intercourse could be a macrobiotic (*yangsheng*) practice by which sexual energy was roused, then recycled or released in a controlled fashion, bringing vitality to both partners. For non-Daoist practitioners, this could contribute to ordinary long life, and some Daoists thought it could bring lifespans of Methuselah-length, but not true transcendence. The earliest texts on macrobiotic sexual cultivation date back two thousand years (Harper 1987, Wile 1992).

Unique to Daoism are monastic celibacy, the early sexual ritual known as the "merging of *qi*" (*heqi*), and sexual alchemy. Celibacy has been a practice within Daoism since the fourth century CE if not earlier. Since the rise of the Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) movement in the thirteenth century, a large proportion of professional Daoists have been celibate. The officially recognized ordained Daoist clergy in Mainland China today are celibate Complete Perfection monks and nuns living in monasteries, but an uncounted number of married priests of Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity; i.e., Celestial Master) lineages are also active in rural areas.

The "merging of *qi*" was practiced by Celestial Master Daoists as early as the third century and as late as the tenth. The ritual was performed by paired adepts in a group setting and involved an elaborate sequence of dance-like movements and invocations of deities and

cosmic forces, with limited intercourse at several points (Schipper 1993, Wile 1992). This ritual was quite controversial and was criticized both by fourth-century Daoists, who reworked the ritual into a form of spiritual rather than physical sex, and by Buddhists, who saw it as no more than shameless lechery.

Also unique to Daoism is sexual alchemy (*yinyang shuangxiu* [dual cultivation of yin and yang]), a form of inner alchemy in which ingredients for the inner elixir are gathered from a partner through intercourse. The earliest known traces of sexual alchemy date to the tenth century, with more explicit texts appearing from the fourteenth century on. In one form of sexual alchemy, termed "battling to reap at the Three Peaks" (*sanfeng caizhan*), the ingredients to be gathered are tangible secretions, which the man sucks from the woman's mouth, breasts, and vagina, using his mouth and penis (Wile 1992). In a second form of sexual alchemy, the man draws only intangible *qi* from the woman, timing its appearance just before her menses, drawing it up through his penis, and combining it with his own seminal energy to form an initial inner elixir (Wile 1992). Practitioners of the second form of sexual alchemy often condemned those practicing the first form as mere charlatans, and nonsexual alchemists lumped the two forms together in their polemics.

While non-Daoist macrobiotic sexual cultivation teachings were often addressed to men and women together, the great majority of the Daoist literature on sexual alchemy is addressed solely to male practitioners, with women's benefit almost completely neglected (Wile 1992). Critics have even accused sexual alchemy of being a "kind of glorified male vampirism" (Schipper 1993, p. 148). While there is evidence that some women were practicing inner alchemy and sexual alchemy all along, the earliest known texts on inner and sexual alchemy explicitly addressed to women date to the eighteenth century (Despeux and Kohn 2003). Since the mid-twentieth century, Daoist teachers holding modern, Western values have introduced forms of sexual cultivation that treat male and female as equal partners and place a higher emphasis upon sexual enjoyment (Chia 1984). Researchers have yet to discover evidence of homosexual alchemy in traditional China, though some Daoist monastics were homosexual.

While the initial flourishing of sexual alchemy (fifteenth century) occurred long after the initial flourishing of inner alchemy (tenth century), in fact all inner alchemy can be seen as the sublimated sexual intercourse of abstract male and female agents within the adept's own body. All inner alchemy, even as practiced by celibate monastics, involves the refining of *jing*, which is, more or less literally, reproductive fluid (semen or blood). Suggestive parallels have been noted between Chinese sexual alchemy and Indian Tantric sexual practices, but the question of historical links awaits definitive study (Needham 1983).

DAOISM AND THE MODERN WEST

The terms *Dao* and *Daoism* have become familiar worldwide, mainly through translations of Daoist philosophical classics into European languages, but also through the spread of religious, spiritual, and health practices, including sexual practices. Since the nineteenth century, some in the West have known of Daoism through translations, missionary reports, and other cultural adaptations (Clarke 2000), yet Daoism has achieved a modicum of recognition in the West only since the 1960s and 1970s, when there was both an increase in Chinese immigration to the West and a generation of Westerners looking for new teachings from Asia.

Western seekers have been attracted to Daoism as a "third way"—an alternative both to traditional Western culture and society and to the revolutionary experiments of the 1960s and 1970s. Within feminist discourse, Daoism, with its goals of balancing yin and yang, and returning to a primal cosmic state of nondifferentiation, has been proposed as a third way between the twin ills of unreformed patriarchy and feminist "inverted sexism" (Laughlin and Wong 1999). Daoist teachings on sexual health, technique, and spiritual cultivation have also appealed to Western students seeking an alternative both to repressive sexual morality and to the unbridled excesses of the 1960s and 1970s (Chia 1984).

The forces of modernization, Westernization, and secularization have been slow to impact the monastic Daoism of the mountains of China or the priestly Daoism of the villages, but they have affected urban lay Daoists. The Daoist teachings brought to the West by lay teachers have appealed to Western students in part because this Daoism is already partially Westernized, combining Chinese traditional wisdom with modern scientism and Western liberal values. Such Daoist teachers have demythologized their teachings, rejecting Daoist deities, myths, and rituals as outmoded "superstition" or simply as inappropriate for their Western students.

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Clarke Hudson

DATE RAPE DRUGS

Date rape drugs are drugs that are used to assist in the execution of a sexual assault. Effects of date rape drugs can include memory loss, dizziness, sleepiness, confusion, visual disturbance, and loss of muscular control. Although alcohol and marijuana are statistically the drugs most often associated with sexual assault, the term *date rape drug* is most commonly applied to GHB (gamma hydroxybutyric acid), Rohypnol (flunitrazepam), and ketamine. All three drugs are odorless and all but tasteless when added to a flavored drink and are often used without the knowledge or consent of the victim. They are quickly metabolized, leaving little physical evidence to support a victim's claims of sexual assault; similarly, the memory loss often induced by the drugs may render victims unaware of the attack until eight to twelve hours after its occurrence and make collecting sufficient evidence to prosecute the offense difficult.

Street names for GHB include "G," "grievous bodily harm," and "liquid ecstasy" or "liquid X." GHB is available as a white powder and as an odorless, colorless liquid. It can be easily synthesized and its analogues—GBL and BD 1,4—are readily available. Its effects include relaxation, memory loss, and dizziness. GHB overdoses are fairly common and often severe; more emergency room visits and deaths are associated with GHB than with either Rohypnol or ketamine.

Rohypnol, commonly known as "roofies," is the brand name for the drug flunitrazepam. Though illegal in the United States, Rohypnol is prescribed in Latin American and Europe as a sleeping pill. Originally, the Rohypnol pill was white, but the drug's maker has begun including a dye that should render the dissolved pill visible in liquid. Rohypnol's most notable effect is anterograde amnesia, which renders its user incapable of remembering events that occur while under the drug's influence. Rohypnol also induces muscular relaxation or loss of muscle control.

Ketamine, often called "special K," comes in both liquid and powder form and is approved for use in the United States as a veterinary tranquilizer. It is closely related to PCP and produces the sensation of being separated from one's body. At higher doses, the drug also induces hallucinations and an inability to move.

The most common date rape drugs are also known as club drugs, because of their popularity and wide availability at nightclubs and raves. Indeed, reports of sexual assault related to GHB, Rohypnol, and ketamine are associated with the rise of the rave scene in the early 1990s, and the drugs are most widely used by teenagers and young adults. The euphoric effects of the drugs make them attractive substitutes for ecstasy, the club drug of choice, and they are readily available in nightclubs and bars. (GHB is easily synthesized in home labs; the smuggling of Rohypnol into the United States, especially from Mexico, has risen steadily; and ketamine is routinely stolen from veterinary clinics and diverted from suppliers.) The increased incidence of sexual assault related to the drugs led to the passage by the United States Congress of the Drug-Induced Rape Prevention and Punishment Act of 1996.

SEE ALSO *Rape.*

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Maureen Lauder

DATING

Although traditions of courtship have existed in cultures across the world since the beginning of recorded history, the ritual of dating is in many ways a distinctly American, distinctly twentieth-century invention. In the most general sense the term refers to the practice of two people exploring mutually held romantic and erotic interests

through one or more casual meetings that typically involve joint participation in some form of leisure or recreational activity. Common examples include dining out, seeing a movie, attending a live performance, or, in certain special cases, engaging jointly in some rare or extreme experience, the very rarity or extremity of which is intended to mark the occasion as exceptionally memorable or meaningful. Rides in hot air balloons, skydiving excursions, and impromptu trips to tropical beach resorts figure prominently in what has become a relatively cliché-ridden popular consensus regarding what constitutes a super-romantic date.

In modern parlance the term *dating* is often also used to refer to an extended period or established condition of exclusive romantic and sexual commitment between two people. Although there are no hard and fast rules governing the appropriate duration of such a period or condition, dating of this sort is widely understood to be an exercise in prolonged personal exploration through which two people assess whether or not they are truly well-suited to one another in an emotional and sexual sense. In other words, dating in this sense often serves as a means of practicing emotional and sexual fidelity and as an opportunity to test the durability of love and erotic attraction over an extended length of time. In the context of heterosexual relationships especially, people who are dating in this sense often regard the experience as being preliminary to formal engagement and marriage. Of course dating often serves a similar function in the lives of many lesbians and gay men as well. But the fact that same-sex relationships are currently ineligible for federally sanctioned, formal recognition in the United States means that the term *dating* is sometimes used by those involved in same-sex relationships to describe romantic attachments of any duration simply because there is no formally contractual or socially legitimated condition into which such relationships can eventually graduate.

Given its considerable flexibility, the term *dating* has more or less superseded in common usage all other words and phrases in English that denote the act of engaging in recurring romantic appointments with another person. This is probably because many of the available alternatives carry subtle but significant connotations that render them inaccurate or inappropriate in one sense or another. The term *courting*, for example, registers as old-fashioned or archaic, whereas the term *seeing* registers as slightly tentative or euphemistic. By contrast, the phrase *going out with* carries a slightly juvenile connation, possibly because it so closely resembles *going with*, a phrase that has enjoyed considerable popularity among American primary and secondary school students for some time. Since the 1990s American youth culture has either produced or adopted a whole range of related expressions, including *hooking up with* and *getting together with*. But

insofar as these expressions are imbued with a sense of vulgarity, and to the extent that they tend to describe furtive sexual liaisons rather than planned romantic encounters, they are in many respects more closely related to the dizzying array of slang terms that exist for sexual intercourse than for *dating* as such.

DATING AND CLASS

Because dating in the modern sense tends to involve expense of one sort or another, the casual, elective, and public nature of the practice also marks it, in some regard, as a decidedly middle-class ritual. Unlike the extremely wealthy who have tended to approach courtship and marriage instrumentally as a means of protecting or strategically augmenting existing family fortunes, and unlike the extremely poor who have enjoyed only limited access to the money and leisure time required to fully engage in the ritual, members of the middle class have wholeheartedly embraced dating precisely because it accords so well on so many levels with the popular American ideals of meritocracy and laissez-faire philosophy.

For example, insofar as dating in the modern sense can be understood as a ritual practice in which particular individuals vie against one another for the purpose of winning the romantic and sexual attention of women or men of quality, dating is a competitive activity—one that mirrors the free market economy in a structural sense. At the same time, it is also a markedly bourgeois tradition insofar as those who have the means to engage in dating tend to view the ritual as being primarily about ostensibly apolitical matters such as taste and feeling rather than the servicing of particular social and economic interests. Nevertheless, and despite popular resistance to the notion that dating primarily serves as a mechanism for sorting society into pairs whose individual members serve one another's social and economic interests in various ways, there is a general consensus that the ritual itself can be both highly rewarding and utterly exhausting in emotional, physical, and financial terms.

THE EVOLUTION OF DATING

In many ways the history of dating is merely one chapter in a much larger history of the rise of capitalism in the United States. Indeed, in some respects what most distinguishes dating from earlier forms of American courtship is the extent to which this modern ritual depends upon and is enacted through participation in various forms of consumption. As noted above, dating in the United States in the early twenty-first century almost always involves purchasing something: dinner at a restaurant; admission to a movie, concert, play, or other special event; a particularly flattering outfit; or popular romantic accoutrements including flowers, candy, wine, or other

small gifts. Although gestures of courtesy have probably always played some role in rituals of courtship in the United States and elsewhere, going out for the purpose of consuming conspicuously has not always defined romantic engagements in the way that it does now.

During the nineteenth century, courtship in the United States tended to take place in the context of a largely home-centered and female-controlled system known as *calling*. In this system, historian Beth Bailey explains:

> Women designated a day or days at home to receive callers; on other days they paid or returned calls. The caller would present her card to the maid (common even in moderate-income homes until the World War I era) who answered the door, and would be admitted or turned away with some excuse. The caller who regularly was not received quickly learned the limits of her family's social status, and the lady at home thus, in some measure, protected herself and her family from the social confusion and pressures engendered by the mobility and expansiveness of late nineteenth-century America.

(Bailey 1988, p. 15)

For whatever its functional similarity to the modern ritual of dating, calling also differed from it in some very important ways. First and most significantly, calling was, in one sense, considerably more private than modern dating. Despite the fact that calls were often complicated exercises in etiquette and social nicety, they were, nevertheless, private affairs in the sense that they occurred within the confines of domestic rather than commercial space and in terms of familial graciousness and hospitality. At the same time and precisely because calls took place within the home, they also entailed considerably more involvement on the part of parents acting as chaperones than is typically the case where modern dating is concerned. So in this sense calling was also a more—or at least differently—public experience than modern dating.

Calling remained the primary mode of formal courtship in the United States throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when dating began to emerge as both a practice and a colloquial expression. Many factors contributed to the demise of the old system of calling and the rise of dating as the primary form of courtship in the United States, but two factors contributed most: widespread urbanization and the advent of the automobile. Twentieth-century urbanization resulted simultaneously in a dramatic increase in the number of unmarried women and men living within arm's reach of one another in American cities and a dramatic decrease in the size of their respective living quarters. This in turn prompted American city dwellers of all ages, but particularly the young and single, to develop new ways of using public space for essentially private purposes, including courtship and the pursuit of sexual pleasure.

Indeed, as historian George Chauncey (1994) has noted in a slightly different context, privacy could often only be found in public in many densely populated American cities during the early twentieth century. For most working-class and many middle-class women and men, restaurants, cafes, theaters, public parks, and even public sidewalks necessarily served as alternative living space in overcrowded cities. Under such circumstances, it was almost inevitable that aspects of intimate life such as courtship would begin to spill out of the Victorian parlors where they had once occurred and into the streets. The most extreme example of this dialectical and somewhat counterintuitive relation between public space and the experience of privacy is undoubtedly the culture of cruising and public sex that emerged among homosexual men during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in most American cities. In many ways, though, the now familiar and wholly normative ritual of heterosexual dating was also an outgrowth of these same developments in the structure of American urban life.

Of course this is not to suggest that dating should be understood only as a solution of last resort to the romantic problems inherent to urban overpopulation. For even if American cities had not become so densely populated that cramped apartments no longer provided sufficient space for romance, it seems highly unlikely that urban youth culture, including the culture of courtship among the unmarried, would have remained indoor activities for very long. During the early twentieth century, especially, urban spaces teemed with alluring commercial venues offering inexpensive services and various forms of cheap amusement. To many city dwellers, including younger unmarried city dwellers, these attractions of modern urban life were simply too irresistible to ignore. Unlike calling, dating provided an excellent reason to go out and experience everything the city had to offer.

Among men the shift toward dating in the modern sense was regarded with some ambivalence, at least initially. While many middle-class men were happy to be able to avoid the hours of highly stylized social ritual that had played such an important function in the system of calling, they were also often surprised and overwhelmed by the added expense that dating entailed. Of course even in the 1920s American men were quick to explore and exploit the many benefits that came along with courting in public and being out of their parents' line of sight. Chief among these pricey benefits was the opportunity to press the limits of premarital sexual experimentation. For their part, many working-class men were simply happy to have the opportunity to compete for a woman's affection at all. Under the calling system many would simply never have made it

through the front door. In dating, however, men of working-class or men who came from less than desirable families had an improved chance of meeting a desirable women and earning her love and devotion before confronting anxious and judgmental parents, many of whom continued to exert pressure on their daughters to *marry up* to whatever extent they could.

Whereas men benefited in some ways in the shift from calling to dating, it was arguably women—particularly working-class women—who benefited the most. As historian Kathy Peiss (1986) has shown, working women in cities such as New York used the highly gendered protocols associated with dating in order to expand their ability to participate in America's burgeoning consumer culture. Rather than wasting their own paltry wages on dinners out and admission tickets, many working women chose to spend their limited financial resources on cosmetics, fashionable clothes, delicate lingerie, and other items that might make them more attractive to men. In so doing they were effectively investing their money in the hopes that an attractive new skirt or coveted pair of nylons would yield a profit, both figurative and literal. As many working women correctly calculated, the value of a night out on the town with a particularly well-heeled and generous date could be considerably higher in terms of both fun and dollars than simply staying in or paying one's own way.

The other major development that contributed to the emergence of dating was the arrival of the automobile. As a cause for dating's victory over calling, the automobile's significance has probably been somewhat exaggerated. For in point of fact the shift from calling to dating was already well under way by the time Henry Ford's manufacturing revolution managed to park a car in every American driveway. Nevertheless, automobiles did play an increasingly important role in the practice of American courtship as the twentieth century progressed.

Precisely because the automobile splits a certain kind of conceptual difference between the privacy of the home and the publicness of the street, it very quickly became a refuge of sorts for young people seeking a place to go where they might enjoy some modicum of privacy in public. Ironically, the place that many found to be most convenient in this regard was actually the backseat of a car. In rural and suburban areas, especially, the fact that cars were also legitimate modes of conveyance had the added benefit of expanding the size of the territory in which Americans might seek romantic partners. But where this history of dating is concerned, the importance of automobiles in motion actually pales in some respects when compared to the importance of automobiles at rest, or when parked, as couples would often seek out secluded areas in their automobiles for the purpose of furtive lovemaking.

FURTHER VARIATIONS

As American youth gained increased independence from their parents and as nineteenth-century traditions of formal courtship and socially mandated chaperonage began to erode, new variations on dating emerged. In many cases these variations preserved particular aspects of nineteenth-century courtship, which had been useful to someone in one sense or another. For example, by the mid-twentieth century nervous parents had grown especially fond of the institution of double dating because it satisfied their children's desire for social independence, while simultaneously preserving some aspects of chaperonage. As Beth Bailey points out, "Petting and necking would still go on, but weren't as likely to get out of hand with another couple sitting in the front seat" (Bailey 1988, p. 84).

Similarly, blind dating—a practice in which individuals allowed family members or friends to set them up on dates with people whom they had never met—preserved some aspects of traditional matchmaking, while simultaneously jettisoning the idea that it was appropriate for the facilitating third party to be involved in the affair beyond making initial introductions. In any case, whether it was done in groups or in pairs, by acquaintances or virtual strangers, the ritual of dating continued to be governed throughout most of the twentieth century by a number of largely unspoken social and cultural conventions, the most notable and consistent of which was the generally accepted belief that it was both normal and appropriate for men to both initiate dates and pay for them.

Interestingly, and somewhat ironically, it was this highly gendered convention regarding the propriety of who should ask and who should pay within the context of modern courtship that ultimately transformed the terms *date* and *dating* into extremely useful euphemisms within the professional argot of prostitutes and other sex workers in the United States. In the early 2000s the word *date* is routinely used to describe a paid sexual assignation in the language of American sexual commerce; similarly, the term *dating* is often used to describe an ongoing business relationship between a sex worker and a particular client. Indeed, precisely because it is still so widely accepted that men should demonstrate their social and economic privilege by paying for dates with women, and precisely because it is implicitly accepted that a date may end up leading to a sexual encounter, the choice that many sex workers make to refer to themselves as *escorts* and to their work as *professional dating* is both understandable and rather ingenious. Among other things, it exploits both the logic and language of social and cultural traditionalism where the gendered etiquette of courtship is concerned for the express purpose of blurring further the already rather blurry line that separates dating—that most venerable of all American traditions—from prostitution.

Of course as American traditions go, prostitution and other forms of sex work are as old as the hills—far older, in fact, than dating itself. Still, it is in many ways telling that most modern Americans consider dating and prostitution to be two radically different things despite the fact that both institutions in their most recognizably traditional forms essentially involve men compensating women, whether in cash or kind, for their otherwise categorically undervalued affective and sexual labor.

TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY DATING

The practice of dating has been further transformed in the twenty-first century as a result of significant shifts in the social and economic order of American culture. For example, feminism and the sexual revolution have altered the gender dynamics of dating in some important ways. Among other developments, the highly gendered conventions of dating described above—conventions that dictate that men should bear the primary responsibility for initiating and funding dates—are increasingly giving way to a more egalitarian worldview in which women are equally entitled to ask men out on dates and equally obligated to pay when they do. Similarly, casual sex has increasingly come to be seen as a legitimate part of casual dating.

In some respects these developments represent welcome if belated concessions to the demands of some second-wave feminists who argued that antiquated traditions of masculine chivalry were actually sugarcoated reassertions of men's privilege and prerogative in a patriarchal society. From another perspective, however, both can also be seen as manifestations of what historian and cultural theorist Barbara Ehrenreich (1983) has characterized as American men's "flight from commitment" during the second half of the twentieth century. After all, to the extent that American women are still generally overworked and underpaid relative to men, equality (where the obligation to fund the culture of romance is concerned) actually constitutes a new and unequal burden for women who previously benefited in financial terms from men's traditionalist sense that they had a duty to pay. Similarly, while the liberalization of attitudes toward premarital sex has had the desirable effect of allowing many American women to claim their rights to sexual pleasure and bodily self-determination, it has also in some respects underwritten men's increasing refusal to compensate women for sexual access in the form of material gifts, or to insure against the potential costs of unplanned pregnancy in the form of established personal and financial commitments.

Of course this is not to say that increased cost sharing, where the expense of romance is concerned, or sexual liberalization are unwelcome developments from a feminist perspective; but it is to suggest that gender equality in a truly meaningful sense entails far more than either allowing or encouraging women to conduct themselves on precisely the same terms that men do. Rather, in a society where men are often effectively overcompensated in advance in the form of a family wage, women's ability to survive is always contingent to some degree on their ability to recover their share of unequally distributed resources through de facto mechanisms of economic redistribution such as marriage and dating.

Beyond these significant but largely undertheorized shifts in gendered and sexual decorum, the nature of dating has also been transformed by the arrival of the personal computer and other major advances in information technology including, most notably, the Internet. During the 1990s, for example, online dating services gained huge followings among members of the professional elite who, strained by the growing demands of their careers, increasingly claimed to have little time or energy to invest in casual romantic encounters that were unlikely to pay off in the form of a meaningful long-term relationship. Additionally, many Americans began to express trepidation about the prospect of becoming involved romantically with someone who might eventually prove to be incompatible on some significant but unforeseen level.

Online dating companies took excellent advantage of these feelings of cynicism about, and intolerance toward the inconveniences of, modern dating by marketing their services in a few specific ways. *It's Just Lunch*, a company founded in Chicago in 1991, claims to lessen the pressures of modern dating by reintroducing a sense of low-stakes informality to the process and, notably, by minimizing the costs in terms of time and money that are typically associated with casual dating. Other popular online dating services such as eHarmony and match.com market their services by claiming to streamline the dating experience by matching singles using an almost scientific process. Economies of scale, they argue, improve the chances that customers will be able to locate someone who is perfectly compatible.

Additionally, many companies also claim that their services greatly improve the likelihood that dating will yield success in the form of a meaningful long-term relationship. Indeed, at the time this entry went to press match.com actually offered prospective clients a six-month guarantee promising that paying customers would find someone special in six months or would not have to pay for the service. Clearly, dating in the twenty-first century is not only an exercise in the consumption of commodities; it is, in fact, a highly commoditized process itself—one that paying clients increasingly expect will carry a customer-friendly guarantee in much the same way that groceries are expected to be guaranteed for

Young Couple Speed Dating. © IMAGE100/CORBIS.

purity and freshness or consumer electronics are expected to be warranted against manufacturing defects.

For all the many virtual solutions that have arisen in response to the problems of dating in the twenty-first century, there have also been a number of more material innovations in the way that courtship is conducted in the United States. For example, speed dating emerged in the late 1990s as an alternative to the more traditional slow form of the ritual. In effect, speed dating is a kind of structured game in which individuals are given the opportunity to introduce themselves to multiple people in a single evening. Typically, speed daters talk to one other participant in the game for anywhere between five and ten minutes. Then, when the event moderator gives a signal, participants switch dates in round-robin fashion until everyone involved has had the chance to meet everyone else. At the end of the evening participants indicate which dates interested them most. If two speed daters identify one another, then they are left to move their newly inaugurated relationship forward using more conventional means.

Organizers of speed dating events are often quick to argue that this variation on the familiar courtship ritual serves the particular romantic needs of busy middle-class professionals whose harried pace of life makes it absolutely imperative that they get the most out of every hour dedicated to the project of finding that special someone. Still, the fact that speed dating resembles nothing so much as musical chairs suggests that dating in the mod-

ern sense may actually be seen by many as a recreational end in itself rather than a means for finding a permanent mate. This may also explain, in part, why dating has become something of a spectator sport in the United States. Building on a tradition that began in 1965 with ABC's *The Dating Game*, reality-based television game shows such as *Who Wants to Marry a Multi-Millionaire?* (2000), *The Bachelor* (2002), *The Bachelorette* (2003), and *Joe Millionaire* (2003), have flooded airwaves during the first decade of the twenty-first century, winning enormous viewing audiences. In 2006 the Lifetime network's *Gay, Straight or Taken?* (2006) managed to collapse the entire panoply of issues surrounding gender, sexuality, and courtship in the United States into a single episodic game show demonstrating, perhaps more persuasively than anything, that dating has entered a very new, very strange phase in its almost century-old history.

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DAUGHTER OF THE NILE UNION

The Daughter of the Nile Union, or Bint al-Nil union, was a women's group founded by Duriya (or Doria) Shafiq (1908–1975) in Egypt in 1948, three years after launching a journal by the same name, *Bint al-Nil*.

Shafiq was the protégée of Huda Sha'rawi, the pioneering feminist and first woman in Egypt to unveil in 1923 (Malti-Douglas 1991). After Sha'rawi's death in 1947, Shafiq and other women formed the Daughter of the Nile Union, which contested repressive social, cultural, and legal obstacles to the full equality of women. Shafiq believed that only women understood other women's suffering and surrounded herself with a group of notable and prominent women, such as Samiha Mahir; Wasfiyya Shoukri; Mufida Abdul Rahman, the first woman in Egypt to earn a law degree; and Zaynab Labib, the first woman to serve at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Egypt (Nelson 1996). The Daughter of the Nile movement also broadened its outreach to awaken poor women, launching literacy centers and health programs in disadvantaged towns.

Because women's conditions were changing at a slow pace, the Daughter of the Nile movement undertook a more drastic approach and transformed itself into a militant movement. Its members clashed with Egyptian authorities over political rights, protested at the Parliament in 1951, and fasted and were arrested on numerous occasions (Badran and Cooke 2004, Badran 1995). Shafiq and Munira Thabet, among others, went on a hunger strike in 1954 in demand of women's political rights (Wassef and Wassef 2001).

The impact of the Daughter of the Nile movement was felt by women's communities throughout the world (Nelson 1996). Along with scores of other women, Shafiq spearheaded the movement that won the Egyptian women's right to vote in 1956 (Wassef and Wassef 2001). Though they countered foreign hegemonies, these feminists had to oppose religious fundamentalists' views that they were complicit with colonial institutions as they demanded their right to vote, an end to polygamy, and a change to divorce laws (Nelson 1996). The movement

gained the support of some distinguished intellectual men such as Taha Hussein.

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Hamid Bahri

DAUGHTERS OF BILITIS

The Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) was a lesbian social group founded in San Francisco in 1955 by Del Martin, her lover Phyllis Lyon, and three other lesbian couples, as an alternative to the lesbian bar scene. They named the organization after an 1894 book of poems by Pierre Louÿs, *Les Chansons de Bilitis* (The songs of Bilitis), which included lesbian love poetry. They also decided that using "daughters" would make them sound innocuous, like any other women's social group. Eventually, however, politics began to take up more and more time at meetings. Discussion of the problems facing lesbians influenced the group to focus less on socializing and more on educating the public. DOB began to work with the magazine *ONE, Inc.* and with the male homophile Mattachine Society to sponsor public forums and advocate legal reforms. DOB began publishing *The Ladder*, a newsletter and magazine, in October 1956. *The Ladder* was aimed not only at DOB's urban constituency but also at isolated lesbians who lived far away from supportive big-city communities.

During the 1950s, DOB emphasized the similarity between lesbians and heterosexuals, arguing that most lesbians were not barhopping, sex-crazed deviates, but rather sober, hard-working, respectable women. *The Ladder* published poetry, fiction, articles, first-person essays, and the views of the psychiatric profession concerning homosexuality. *The Ladder* frowned on butch–femme roles as derivative and unladylike, and advocated traditional feminine dress and manners. DOB's emphasis

on respectability mirrored the inclusive rhetoric of their brothers in the Mattachine Society, but alienated lesbians who did not share DOB's middle-class political and sexual sensibilities. Readers of *The Ladder* eventually began to object to the magazine's advocacy of feminine dress and comportment, and sometimes openly challenged the organization's emphasis on making lesbians more acceptable to mainstream society. Still, the DOB worked closely with other homophile organizations in the early 1960s to challenge discrimination and harassment of gay men and lesbians. DOB and the Mattachine Society put pressure on police departments to end police brutality against people perceived to be gay or lesbian, and in 1966 forced municipal departments in San Francisco to speak to lesbian and gay concerns in a series of public forums.

The women's movement of the late 1960s put pressure on DOB to abandon its middle-of-the-road respectability and alliances with gay men in favor of radical lesbian feminist politics. In 1968 Rita Laporte became DOB president, and Barbara Grier became the editor of *The Ladder*. With them came a feminist politics that many DOB members did not agree with. When Martin and Lyon tried to wrest control at the convention in 1970, Laporte and Grier refused to attend, took the membership list, and began publishing *The Ladder* themselves as an independent feminist magazine. DOB dissolved the national organization, and without its financial support, *The Ladder* ceased publication in 1972. Individual DOB chapters struggled to survive, but by the early twenty-first century only one remained, in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Daughters of Bilitis died with the 1960s, but it also achieved its goal of empowering lesbians to organize, to speak up and be heard in mainstream culture, and to push for political and social reform. It remains one of the most important groups of the 1950s and 1960s, and one of the organizations most crucial to gay, lesbian, and feminist history.

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Jaime Hovey

DEATH

In countries all over the world women have been linked with death. Even in societies where their public role has been severely limited, women play a prominent role in rituals associated with death and mourning. They have also been linked to death through their sexuality. These two areas in which women have traditionally been associated with death are not as distinct as they appear. In the funeral rituals of many preindustrial societies, mourning is juxtaposed with sexuality and humor. At Irish wakes dirges for the dead were followed by sexually suggestive games; in Venezuela and rural Greece women may still use language in their laments for the dead that would normally be regarded as crudely sexual; in Borneo and Madagascar women who are otherwise expected to behave modestly, join in obscene behavior with the males as part of the funeral ceremony. In the early twenty-first century, young men and women in urban centers of Africa attend funerals to find a mate. Wedding and death rituals are also symbolically intertwined in countries as far apart as rural China, Romania, and Greece, with the same sad laments being sung for brides as they leave the house of their parents as are performed at funerals.

Sex, through its connection to fertility and renewed life, may be opposed to death, but the two are never far apart. Eros and Thanatos, Love and Death, were regarded by the ancient Greeks as twin deities. Female sexuality, linked as it is to menstruation and birth, has always been mysterious and potentially frightening to men. Menstruating women, like those who have recently given birth, are frequently considered to be polluted and are forbidden to participate in religious ceremonies. The connection between female sexuality and death is also represented in the literature of many countries where mythical female creatures such as the Sirens, Fata Morgana, Circe, the Hindu goddess Kali, and the Maenads lure men to their deaths by their beauty or kill them while in a state of frenzied possession.

DEATH AS A RITE OF PASSAGE

In early twenty-first century European and North American societies, death frequently takes place in a hospital or a nursing home. A person is said to die at the moment when his or her vital signs cease. Often the precise time of death is observed on a screen. The machines are switched off; the patient is pronounced dead at 6.25 p.m. The modern view of death as a discrete event contrasts strongly with beliefs about death in earlier or less technically developed societies where death is widely regarded as a process rather than an event, as a rite of passage, a process fraught with danger and potentially threatening to the community as a whole.

The anthropologist Arnold van Gennep was the first to discuss the rituals of mourning as rites of passage, that is, as activities appropriate to a transitional phase, just as the rites of initiation are appropriate to adolescent boys about to enter manhood. There is a time, in many different societies of the world, when the dead are believed to inhabit neither the world of the living nor the world of the dead. Unless the suitable rituals of burial and mourning are performed, the dead will not, it is believed, successfully separate from the living. They may even cause the living harm. This makes the performance of death rituals one of the most important activities for the living.

Antrhopologists Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf challenged the universal applicability of van Gennep's theories in their work with the Bara people of Madagascar. The Bara believe that death is associated with order, with the father, and with ancestors. In contrast women are associated with vitality, flesh, and fecundity. The sex-related activities of the funeral nights are a way to keep a balance between the sterility and order of the male and the vitality of the female. The roles of women and men in the funeral preparations differ, with women weeping over the body while men see to the logistics of the ceremony. In Bara society, where death creates sterility and excessive order, only female vitality, represented by sexual intercourse and rebirth, can bring the dead safely to the world of the ancestors.

There has been a great change in the way people view death in modern European and North American societies. Researchers have pointed to hospitalization, medicalization, and secularization as contributing to a change in the rituals surrounding death. Strangely in an age where women have achieved greater freedom and prominence in many fields, their role in the rituals surrounding death has declined.

THE TRADITIONAL PROMINENCE OF WOMEN IN DEATH AND MOURNING RITUALS

Because they have commonly taken care of the dying and prepared the body for burial, engendered life, and are widely believed to have a superior ability to express the pain of grief, women have always played a prominent role in the rites of death. In the ancient world, men and women mourned differently; this is also common in the developing countries of the early twenty-first century. In the ancient Near East, preindustrial Europe, India, and parts of Africa, the archeological record is remarkably consistent. Depictions of funerary rituals on Neolithic pots from Anatolia, on Egyptian tombs, geometric Greek vases, or Etruscan sarcophagi show women standing beside the dead body, their hands raised to their heads, often tearing their loosened hair in what has been

recognized as a classical gesture of mourning. Men may also be present in these scenes of mourning, which date back at least to the Bronze Age, but their gestures are more restrained, and they rarely stand beside the dead body.

The sounds that these ancient women mourners made are lost, but contemporary descriptions and anthropological evidence support the view that the women with raised arms were weeping and singing dirges for the dead. Indeed one of the few constants of anthropological observation across the world is that women sing laments. In some cultures men lament too, but women are the chief performers of these wept songs that seem an indispensable part of death rituals in premodern societies. In Europe evidence for the prominent role of women in funeral rites, from the classical Greek and Roman periods to the nineteenth century, can be found in the periodic attempts to restrict their behavior, especially their laments.

In sixth century BCE Athens and a number of other Greek city states, laws were passed banning certain behavior and expenditure at funerals. These laws which Plutarch tells us were passed by Solon in an attempt to avoid blood feuding regulated "women's appearance in public, as well as their festivals, and put an end to wild and disorderly behavior . . . and . . . abolished the practice of lacerating the flesh at funerals, of reciting set dirges, and of lamenting a person at the funeral of another." Solon's laws may have been especially directed towards the custom of employing professional women mourners to wail at funerals, but the association between women's behavior at funerals and at their own festivals links the issues of sexuality and death. Women both lamented and made bawdy jokes about the dead Adonis at an annual festival celebrated on the rooftops of Athens.

In ancient Rome similar laws were passed to those Solon had introduced at Athens. Professional women mourners had played a central role in Roman funerals, both praising and lamenting the dead. Laws introduced in the Twelve Tables reduced lavish spending on funerals and singled out the behavior of women, forbidding them to scratch their cheeks as they sang laments.

Hired female mourners were the targets of criticism by the early Christian fathers. John Chrysostom described their loud laments as a "disease of females" (Alexiou, 1974:29) and linked their behavior to that of Bacchus's followers. By the fourth century C.E., nuns had replaced professional lament-singers at Christian funerals, especially those of the clergy, but even the nuns could not be trusted to maintain their composure in the face of death, and were criticized for their wild behavior. From the Medieval period to the nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church continued to frown on the role of women in funerals, especially their traditional practice of lamenting the dead. By the twentieth century the practice

had been stamped out in all but the remotest parts of Europe.

Ireland was one place where laments and funeral games continued well into the twentieth century. Women mourners tore their hair, bared their breasts, and sang dirges, some even drinking the blood of the dead in frenzied displays of grief. It is possible that this crazed behavior and loud wailing may have been a form of subversion, allowing women to talk about taboo subjects like pregnancy and sex among themselves. This situation was not unique: Those who have studied laments in countries as far apart as Venezuela, Finland, and Greece have noted that women use the occasion of the funeral to speak publicly of subjects they would never otherwise raise. The Warao women of Venezuela often criticize members of the tribe in their laments. However harsh or sexually explicit their words are, the laments are believed to tell a truth that the community respects (Briggs 1992:341). In the Peloponnese, Greek women may use the occasion of the funeral to berate the dead and challenge social institutions, and on the Korean island of Cheju, female shamans revive the truth of their violent past by assuming the voice of the dead.

To assume the voice of the dead or to speak to the dead through the medium of lament gave women a potentially dangerous power. Finnish-speaking women from Karelia who used their laments to communicate with the dead were warned not to forget themselves in case they failed to return to the world of the living. As mediums communicating with the spirit world, lament-singers are often considered vulnerable and polluted. In some societies only unmarried and post-menopausal women lament the dead. Powerful for a brief period, women mourners generally resume their inferior status following the funeral.

MODERN MOURNING AND THE MALE FUNERAL

From pagan antiquity to twentieth-century Europe, attempts have been made to control the ways the rituals of mourning are conducted. The distinction between the traditional behavior of men and women at funerals, and the role of women as leading actors in the rites of mourning have undergone a series of changes as social attitudes toward death have changed. Without the framework of a small, unchanging society to order behavior, the larger institutions of state have assumed responsibility for most aspects of life, including the proper conduct of funerals and mourning rituals. With the increasing specialization and expertise of larger urban societies, funerals became an industry; priests became the main actors in the rituals of mourning; undertakers prepared the body for burial; and women were left with a minor part to play. Funerals of the rich and famous remained splendid affairs, with elaborate ceremonies, sumptuous coffins,

and special clothing, but women no longer sang laments or used the occasion to make comments about their society. Not only did they have no special role in the rituals of mourning; one could argue that they had abdicated their once prominent position in funerals.

WOMEN'S SEXUALITY AND DEATH—LA PETITE MORT

In European and North American cultures, Aristotle's view of women as incomplete beings lacking a soul, and as mere vessels for the male seed, has had a pervasive influence on attitudes toward women, encouraging a view of the female as fleshly rather than spiritual. Similarly in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the biblical story of Eve's creation from Adam's rib and her responsibility for the expulsion of humankind from the Garden of Eden both reflected and perpetuated the identification of women with sin and sex.

Christianity contributed to the association of women with sexuality and death through its strong polarization of body and soul, sin and virtue. The early Christian theologians granted women a soul, but an inferior one. Women, being more carnal than men, had to make a greater effort be close to God, denying their sexuality and preferably remaining virgins. Women who failed to live up to the societal expectations of chastity were punished appropriately, by death.

In the Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods, fascination with death encouraged a fondness for the *momento mori*—a dancing skeleton, or a grinning death's head. Not unsurprisingly these reminders of mortality were often linked to beautiful young women. Sexual intercourse with women was believed, throughout the period, to rob men of their strength. The so-called *la petite mort* (little death)—a sensation of loss and depression that many men experience during coitus— was blamed on the sexual nature of women.

As the embodiment of the sin of lust, woman also contaminated and destroyed the purity of men. Before the discovery of penicillin, venereal disease provided a more concrete link between women, who were thought to be responsible for the disease, and death. There was even a widespread belief that the vagina was equipped with teeth—the *vagina dentata*—that could castrate the male.

In nineteenth-century European and North American literature the association of women and death was made explicit in the writings of such authors as Edgar Allen Poe, Thomas Hardy, Fyodor Dostoevsky, Leo Tolstoy and Gustav Flaubert. The adulterous women portrayed in their novels frequently died a grotesque and terrible death. While twentieth-century writers began to question the stereotype of the *fallen woman* as both death-dealing and death-bound, the association between women's sexuality and death has remained a constant.

Early feminists, particularly Betty Friedan, attacked the stereotypical role of women in European and North American society as a form of *death in life* (Friedan 1972, p. 16). Women were enjoined to come alive and reject the trap of marriage. In many societies, however, including those of Muslim Africa, the Middle East, and Hindu India, women are still associated with sin, impurity, and, by extension, with death. In the Middle East, women serve as professional mourners because of these socioreligious associations. In India child-brides may die as a result of forced intercourse, and despite laws prohibiting the practice, Hindu widows may cast themselves onto their husbands' funeral pyres in the belief that the sins they committed in a previous incarnation caused the deaths of their spouses. Genital mutilation and the cutting of the hymen with a knife are both still practiced in parts of Africa. Mary Daly reports that among the Bambaras, men fear death from the clitoris of the women who is not first cut.

Perhaps the ultimate association of death with women remains the prevalence of rape as a universal concomitant, often a deliberate weapon, of war. From Troy to Rome, Somalia to Bosnia, Nanking to Vietnam, women have been brutally raped in the context of war, often before being killed. When mass killing is legitimized, it seems the universal associations men make among sex, women, and death find their oldest and ugliest expression.

SEE ALSO *Cannibalism; Funerary Customs, Non-Western; Funerary Customs, Western.*

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Gail Holst-Warhaft

DEEP THROAT

SEE *Film, Gender and Eroticism: III. Cult and Marginal Cinema; Sexual Practices.*

DEMOGRAPHY

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I. AMERICA AND EUROPE

The countries of Europe and North America (the United States and Canada) are historically linked. Both the United States and Canada are populated largely by migrants from Europe. Political, cultural, and linguistic ties are also close. Nevertheless the countries of Europe and North America belong, demographically, to three different groups. On the one hand, the countries of western and much of central Europe are mature industrial democracies with the low birth and death rates characteristic of the third phase of the demographic transition. The same is true of Canada and the United States, with the difference that these two countries are lands of traditional immigration, whereas most western and central European countries have not traditionally been on the receiving end of large-scale immigration. Most eastern European countries and some central

European countries were part of the Soviet Bloc and possessed the economic and political institutions of the communist system until its collapse after 1989. This makes their demography, and their economics, distinct from that of western and central Europe. From the point of view of sex and gender, the most significant issue in the demography of all three zones is that of fertility levels, that is, the number of births per woman.

The dictatorial systems in communist countries made dramatic shifts in fertility policy possible. In Romania birthrates took a steep dip in the mid-1980s (lowering by 14.3 %) after having stabilized in previous years. In 1984 the leader, Nicolae Ceauşescu (1918–1989), tried to reverse this trend by suddenly and forcefully blocking access to abortion, up to that time (and as in most communist countries) the most common form of birth control. The heavy hand of the state came down on women and abortion providers. Gynecologist's offices were occupied, and factory physicians had their wages docked if their female workers did not meet a birth quota. In a move similar to policies in fascist Italy, unmarried individuals over twenty-five were assessed a 10 percent tax on wages. As the Romanian dictator put it: "The fetus is the socialist property of the whole society. Giving birth is a patriotic duty" (Teitelbaum and Winter 1998, pp. 118–119). Whereas the birthrate did go up, especially in the birth of third and fourth children, the resulting social stress contributed to political upheaval and eventually aided the fall of the regime in 1989. One of the first actions of the new government in 1990 was to relegalize abortion.

In the Soviet Union abortion remained the most popular form of birth control, but the government did institute a number of pronatal policies, adding support for large families being one example. These policies disproportionately benefited the already larger families in the non-European republics of the Caucasus and central Asia. Following the breakup of the Soviet Union and the disintegration of the communist system, however, birthrates plummeted in the Russian Federation, the principal successor state. They went from about 2.12 per woman between 1985 and 1990, to 1.55 between 1990 and 1995, 1.25 between the years 1995 and 2000, then slightly rebounding to 1.3 between 2000 and 2005. These figures are far below the rate for population replacement of approximately 2.1 births per woman. It is easiest to understand this plummeting fertility in terms of the collapse of the Russian economy and of general standards of welfare during the same period. After all, life expectancy also declined from age 68.8 between 1985 and 1990 to 64.8 between 2000 and 2005.

The example of another formerly communist nation, Poland, however, calls part of the conclusion into question. Poland, as with the other historically Catholic (as opposed to Orthodox) nations of eastern Europe (Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic), had a far smoother transition, both politically and economically,

from communism to capitalism and integration into the European Union. Yet in Poland births per woman also declined from 2.15 between 1985 and 1990 to 1.25 between 2000 and 2005. But the general welfare actually improved as measured in life expectancy, which increased from age 70.9 (1985–1990) to 74.6 (2000–2005).

Further, this decline in European fertility is not limited to eastern Europe. French fertility declined gradually but steadily from a postwar (baby boom) high of 2.73 (1950–1955) to 1.71 (1990–1995) only to rebound slightly to 1.88 (2000–2005). In Germany fertility rose from 2.16 (1950–1955) to a high of 2.49 (1960–1965) only to decline continually (despite the absorption of the German Democratic Republic) to 1.35 (2000–2005). Italy, which had no change of borders, had a similar pattern, a postwar rise from 2.32 (1950–1955) to 2.5 (1960–1965), a decline to 1.21 (1995–2000), with a rebound to 1.29 between the years 2000 and 2005.

Hence, these prosperous, mature industrial nations experienced, *grosso modo*, the same fertility declines as the formerly communist states. Because all these figures are far below replacement levels, it could be argued that the historic European stock is dying out. The populations of Italy and France continued to rise between the years 1950 and 2005 due largely to immigration. German population declined briefly during the 1970s and 1980s only to increase with reunification and then continue to grow.

The combination of declining fertility with immigration means that the makeup of populations is changing. Those on the far right see this as the suicide of European civilization (or of the white race). On the left and moderate right, these changing populations are a challenge that must be met either by assimilation (for some) or by multiculturalism (for others). The debate has been sharpest in France despite the fact that French fertility rates have remained higher than those of many of its European neighbors. The apparent paradox is because the French elite are used to debating demographic issues.

The French birthrate began to moderate as early as the eighteenth century, and France gradually lost its demographic advantage, and also much of its political power, over its neighbors during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Partly as a result successive French governments of both the right and the left since 1939 have maintained pronatal policies of extra support for larger families. Some of the slightly stronger French birthrate is the result of these policies. Some is the result of earlier immigration into France than in many of its west European neighbors, meaning that some of the births come from the children and grandchildren of immigrants from North Africa. A few mayors of the French right-wing party, the National Front, have attempted to restrict or redirect government welfare to national, that is, non-North African, families. Such attempts have been systematically overturned by the authorities of the French

Republic. The assimilation of immigrant populations has been a problem in almost all west European nations. The relatively high rates of unemployment in France and Germany have been an exacerbating factor, as have cultural clashes between Muslim immigrants (and their children) and Christian or post-Christian nations. Terrorism, for which European states such as France have been targets long before the attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, increases the public unease.

In the United States fertility rates have also declined, in this case from a postwar high of 3.71 births per woman between 1955 and 1960 to 2.03 between 2000 and 2005, a figure that is almost replacement level. Why have U.S. rates done so much better? American homes are larger and population density is far lower than in Europe. Yet Canada, also with a low population density, has had a European pattern of fertility decline—from 3.88 between 1955 and 1960 to 1.52 between 2000 and 2005, well below replacement level. Canadian welfare policies are closer to European models than to U.S. models.

Both Canada and the United States are traditional recipients of immigration, with Canada being even more open than the United States to migrants (but many more Canadian immigrants subsequently leave for a third country, often the United States). Yet fertility has more political salience in Canada. Leaders of the French-speaking community of Quebec have been concerned that particularly low fertility rates among francophones threaten the submergence of French-speaking Quebec (and francophone minorities in other provinces) by a rising number of English speakers. The problem has been exacerbated by immigration because, when given the choice, immigrants who are neither English nor French speaking overwhelmingly choose English-based education for their children.

The United States, too, has its periodic concerns over immigration. But such political dustups concern competition for employment, cultural challenges, and, since September 2001, security fears. No one publicly worries about the birthrate of citizens. When conservatives wish to express their anxieties about the future, they are more likely to focus on what they see as threats to the institution of marriage (either through its expansion to same-sex couples or through increasing numbers of unmarried couples).

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Allen Douglas

II. AUSTRALIA

The population of Australia reached 20 million in 2004 and at that time was growing by just over 1 percent a year. Half of that growth consisted of natural increase (births minus deaths), and the remainder was accounted for by positive net migration. Ethnically, the population of Australia is largely of Anglo-Celtic origin, reflecting the British colonization of the country since the late eighteenth century, although it has become increasingly ethnically diverse through a strong immigration program. In the 2001 census Aborigines made up 2 percent of the population, and around one-quarter of Australians were born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006a).

Women have been giving birth at progressively older ages, and more recent cohorts have smaller average family sizes than did cohorts in the past. For example, Australian women born in 1940 had an average of 2.8 children each, with a median age at birth of 25.6 years. In contrast, women born in 1965 had 2.1 children each, with a median age at birth of 28.7 years. The national total fertility rate was fairly constant at 1.8 births per woman over the decade after the mid-1990s. In 2005 two-thirds of births occurred within a legal marriage. Among the remainder the father was acknowledged on the birth register in 90 percent of cases (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006b).

Most Australians eventually marry, although the age at which they do so has been increasing over time. The median age at marriage rose six years over the two decades after 1985, reaching 32.0 years for men and 29.7 years for women in 2005. Three-quarters of couples who married in 2005 lived together before marriage. Marriages performed by civil celebrants are more common than are those performed by ministers of religion (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006c). Around one-third of marriages end in divorce (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006d), and remarriage after divorce is common. In the first decade of the twenty-first century marriage between same-sex partners was not permitted in Australia, and such marriages legally contracted in other countries were not recognized.

Life expectancy in Australia continues to be one of the highest in the world. Death rates in the period 2003–2005 implied average life expectancies at birth of 78.5 years for males and 83.3 years for females. Males experience higher average mortality at every age than do females, with the differential at its greatest in the late teens and twenties (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006e). Infant and maternal mortality are both very low by international standards. Five in a thousand live-born babies die before the first birthday, and there are four maternal deaths for every hundred thousand live births (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006f). Estimates

indicate that Aboriginal life expectancy is around 15 years lower than that of the general Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006e).

Schooling is compulsory between ages six and fifteen years, although most students stay in school until age seventeen or eighteen. Retention at older ages is higher for females than for males. Most Australians go on to receive further education; the levels are higher for females. In 2005 around 90 percent of men age twenty-five to fifty-four years were in the labor force. Participation rates were lower for women at around 75 percent over the same age range, reflecting women's status as primary caregivers for children. Participation rates have been declining for men and increasing for women (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006a).

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Rebecca Kippen

III. MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

For the purposes of this article, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) refers to the countries defined as MENA by the World Bank to include Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malta, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, West Bank and Gaza, and Yemen. An estimated 300 million people reside in the MENA region. The demography provides insight into a variety of important social, economic, and political factors in the region. Population growth rates, access to quality education, and the youth bulge, for instance, carry implications for economic development and political stability.

Social (human) development indicators have improved for the region since the 1970s. Only 1.6 percent of the population (or 5 million) survives below the international poverty line (living on less than U.S. $1 per day). This figure represents the lowest percentage for any region in the world. South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa rank highest with 31.2 percent and 44 percent of the population living on less than a dollar per day. Despite stagnant economic growth in most of the region, improvements in access to education and health are partly responsible for the steady reduction in poverty.

BASIC HEALTH:

Improved access to health in MENA has resulted in a reduction in fertility and mortality and a decline in the incidence of communicable diseases. Life expectancy at birth across the region is 69 years of age compared with 69 years in Europe and Central Asia and 70 years in East Asia and the Pacific. Eighty-eight percent of the population has reasonable access to water supplies, whereas 75 percent has access to improved sanitation or facilities that prevent human, animal, and insect contact with excreta. Maternal and child health care have improved since the 1980s. The infant mortality rate is 44 deaths per 1,000. The adolescent fertility rate—number of births given by women between their fifteenth and nineteenth birthdays—is 33, comparable to Europe and Central Asia (30) but significantly less than half that of Latin America and the Caribbean (78) and South Asia (80). Over the course of her lifetime, an average Egyptian girl is expected to bear 3.1 children, approximately half the birth rate for her counterpart during the 1970s. Ninety-three percent of children in the MENA region are immunized for measles, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus before their first birthday, which is among the highest regional rates of immunization in the world.

ACCESS TO EDUCATION:

Since 1970, significant inroads have been made toward improving access to education across MENA. Primary and secondary education enrollment rates are 104 percent and 67 percent, respectively. Completion rates for primary education are a respectable 89 percent for boys and 86 percent for girls. Despite these gains lack of quality and relevant education still haunts education systems in the region. Adult literacy rates, particularly female literacy, are still low. Only 59.4 percent of women in Egypt are literate compared with 39.6 percent of Moroccan women. Approximately 6.4 million primary-school-aged children are out of school. Parents often cite the lack of relevant education as the reason children abandon school. The tertiary (or higher education) enrollment rate is 23 percent, less than half that of Europe and Central Asia (47 percent). Graduates of education systems in the region are routinely ill-prepared to meet the challenges of the labor market, and unemployment is high.

MIGRATION:

Migration affects the MENA region in variety of ways. The lack of adequate economic opportunities sends many workers abroad seeking better paying jobs. Between 2000 and 2005 some 1.4 million residents of MENA left their homes and moved abroad. Workers living in foreign countries routinely send remittances to family members in their countries of origin. In 2004 the MENA region received an estimated $20.4 billion in officially recorded remittances. Real figures were almost certainly much higher.

Significant annual remittances notwithstanding, emigration from the MENA region also contributes to the *brain drain* as skilled and highly educated inhabitants migrate to developed nations in pursuit of more promising careers. Drafters of the 2003 Arab Human Development Report referred to the brain drain as "reverse development aid" (p. 145) as a result of the diminishing pool of Arab talent required for local development. An estimated 835,000 MENA refugees fled their countries of origin in 2004 and 1.4 million were awaiting asylum status in other countries, a significant decrease from figures a decade earlier (2.5 million). However, those figures are likely to increase as a result of violence in Iraq between 2004 and 2007 that sent a flood of refugees to Syria, Egypt, Jordan, and elsewhere.

Migration affects women and children in a variety of ways. Since the 1990s women have been migrating in increasing numbers—either as dependents or independently, particularly in the case of Moroccan women to the European Union. Because of Islamic traditions restricting women's movement without a male relative, spousal separation may make daily life more difficult for dependents left behind (Omelaniuk 2005). Women and children are the most vulnerable refugee populations. There is evidence to suggest that Iraqi women are trafficked to Syria, Jordan, and other Arab countries for commercial sexual exploitation.

YOUTH BULGE

Of the 300 million people living in the MENA region, more than one third is under the age of fifteen and roughly 62 percent are between the ages of fifteen and sixty-four. Only 4 percent of the population accounts for ages sixty-five and older. Although the population growth rate has declined from its peak of 3 percent in 1980 to 2 percent between 1990 and 2004, the MENA region still ranks second highest in world behind sub-Saharan Africa (2.5%). Most government infrastructures and systems in MENA are ill equipped to deal with such a substantial youth population, often referred to as the youth bulge. The youth bulge places significant strains on public education, health, and social services systems. Securing productive employment is also a problem for this demographic group. First-time job seekers often suffer the highest unemployment rates. The youth bulge also presents a huge political challenge for governments throughout the region because unemployed, undereducated, and frequently politically disenfranchised youth serve as a fertile field for recruitment by Islamic extremists.

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Craig Davis

IV. ASIA

The population of Asia was estimated in 2006 at 3.9 billion, which accounts for more than 60 percent of the world's population. Of the ten most populous countries in the world, six (China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Japan) are in Asia. The density of population per square mile in Asia, at 324, is 2.5 times the average for the world and is greater than the population density of any other continent. Between 2000 and 2005, the population grew at 1.2 percent per annum and virtually all of this growth was due to natural increase alone. Although trivial in terms of its effect on population change, the net migration rate for Asia is negative, with more persons leaving than entering each year (UN 2005 Population Reference Bureau 2006).

Most childbirth in Asia takes place within marriage. According to the Demographic and Health Surveys' data, although median age at first marriage for women has risen steadily, it remains below twenty years of age in

large parts of South and Southeast Asia and is as low as fifteen in Bangladesh. On average, women in Asia have 2.4 children. and 49 of every 1,000 infants die in their first year. Fertility rates have been falling in Asia with women in several countries, including China and Japan, having less than two children each. However, in Afghanistan, East Timor, and Yemen, women have more than six children on average. Almost one in three persons in Asia is below the age of fifteen and only 6 percent are sixty-five or over. With a young population, a relatively low mortality rate, and a fertility rate that is above replacement, the population of Asia is expected to top 4.7 billion by 2025 (Population Reference Bureau 2006).

Life expectancy in Asia has risen sharply in the last half century, from forty-seven to sixty-seven years, with women living four years longer than men. Despite greater female longevity, the sex ratio, at 104 males per 100 females, makes Asia the only continent with significantly more males than females (UN 2005). This high sex ratio is a consequence of a preference for sons in a number of Asian countries including China, India, and Pakistan. Historically, female infanticide or neglect was used to eliminate unwanted girl babies; in 2006, higher child mortality rates of girls than boys were still seen in countries like India, but there was much less evidence of infanticide. Instead, sex ratios at birth are becoming more masculine because new technologies allow pre-selection of the sex of a child before conception or can identify the sex of a fetus early in the pregnancy, thereby enabling sex-selective abortions.

The Web site supported by UNESCO reports that literacy and access to education vary greatly across Asia. Whereas most countries of Central and East Asia have near-universal literacy, rates in South and West Asia are only 74 percent for men and 49 percent for women. Even among male and female youth (ages fifteen to twenty-four), literacy rates remain relatively low at 84 and 67 percent, respectively. School enrollment has risen sharply in the region, but 14 percent of girls and 7 percent of boys who should be in school are not.

Asia has long had a tradition of finding a role for transgender individuals. This is reflected in the fact that in several countries, the spoken language has a word for the "third sex," for example *hijra* in South Asia and *kathoey* in Thailand. While neither term equates to the English "gay," each usually refers to persons born with male or androgynous genitalia but who have a female or non-male gender identity. *Hijra*s in India typically form their own communities and run households in which they socialize younger members into their distinct ways. In Thailand, the *kathoey* are visible members of society and are often found in female occupations. No reliable estimates exist for the numbers of transgender individuals in Asia, because potential sources of estimates, such as national censuses, do not provide separate information for transgender individuals.

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V. AFRICA

Africa is a vast and diverse continent more than three times the size of the continental United States, with more than a thousand ethnolinguistic groups; three major religions; diverse climates, vegetation, and wildlife; and a combined population of about 800 million. Africans are divided by boundaries of fifty-three nation-states, ethnic identities, class divisions, urban and rural locations, geographic barriers, and vast distances. The continent's demography is as diverse as its other features. For example the central African country of Gabon has just over 1 million people, the size of many American cities, whereas Nigeria has more than 115 million people. The Gambia is less than half the size of New Hampshire, whereas the Sudan is almost four times the size of Texas (Martin and O'Meara 1995). Contemporary diversity is deeply rooted in historical processes (e.g., the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, colonization, Cold War, globalization) that have intensified the continent's complexity (Falola 2003). Determining demographic trends in such a vast and diverse region of the world is understandably challenging.

African population densities vary depending on the geographic and climatic characteristics of a given area. Rain-forest regions are more densely populated than are those of the Savannah, whereas the vast desert of the Sahara is only marginally inhabited.

The United Nations *World Population Prospects 2006 Revision* confirms the diversity of demographic dynamics among various African regions. Overall, African populations continue to grow, yielding relatively youthful populations expected to age only moderately over the foreseeable future. The continent stands apart as the only major region of the world where population is still relatively abundant and largely young and where the number of elderly people, although increasing, is projected to be far below the number of children in 2050, that is, 1.2 billion.

Underlying these varied patterns of growth and changes in age structure are distinct trends in fertility and mortality. Even though African fertility rates have declined considerably since the late 1960s and are

expected to reach their lowest levels by 2050, they still remain higher than in other parts of the world. Between 2005 and 2010, fertility is projected to remain above five children per woman in most African countries; however, most countries with such high fertility rates are poor and are classified as among the least developed. Fertility levels in most other countries are expected to drop from 2.75 children per woman between 2005 and 2010 to 2.05 children per woman in the projected period 2045 to 2050. The decrease forecast in the least developed countries is even sharper: from 4.63 children per woman to 2.50. To achieve such levels, access to family planning also needs to be expanded.

Child mortality rates are a significant indicator of the development and well-being of children; although it has fallen in all geographic areas of the world, sub-Saharan Africa has lagged behind. By 2010 mortality in children younger than five years of age will reach 155 per 1,000 in the region. These levels are due to deteriorating social and economic conditions exacerbated by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which has taken a devastating toll in terms of population loss in sub-Saharan Africa.

Population aging is less pronounced in African societies: just 8 percent of the population is aged sixty or over in the early twenty-first century; however, by 2050, 20 percent of the population is projected to fall within that age range. The proportion of older people is expected to rise from 64 percent to nearly 80 percent in 2050. African populations will remain relatively young where fertility is still high. Between 2005 and 2050, the populations of Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Niger, and Uganda are projected to at least triple.

Life expectancy remains low in African countries, at just fifty-five years, and is projected to reach sixty-six years between 2045 and 2050, a full 11 years below the next lowest major area, Asia. The projected levels can only be attained by controlling the expansion of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, resurgent infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria, economic stagnation, protracted armed conflict, poverty, and violence against women. These factors have hindered reduction of mortality by at least fifteen years. Females' life expectancy at birth is higher than that of males, 55.8 versus 53.4, and this gender gap is expected to widen between 2045 and 2050.

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Bertrade Ngo-Ngijol Banoum

DENTAL DAM

SEE *Contraception: IV. Relation to Sexual Practices and Gender Roles.*

DESIRE, AS HISTORICAL CATEGORY

Over the nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries, European and American intellectuals posited desire as a sign of the cultural modernity of those regions. Followers of the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), for instance, believe that the psychoanalytic subject—the modern subject extraordinaire—arrived with the European Enlightenment. The philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) argued that the modern subject of desire superseded a premodern one as the emerging disciplinary technologies of the prison, school, clinic, and army conflated desire with identity. These models of modern desire thus spatialized time and mapped desire onto an imaginary Western European and North American world. Spatial images of maps, topographies, territories, Möbius strips, and knots served as heuristic media for describing the circulation of such desire. Philosopher Elizabeth Grosz provides an excellent overview of these models in *Volatile Bodies* (1994).

Such supersessionary thinking (modern desire trumps premodern desire) at work in these models of desire anxiously defends against temporality and the gaps it generates in-between becoming past, becoming present, becoming future. They confuse contingency with the organization of cause and effect and thus produce timeless law, such as the Oedipus complex, to guarantee the perpetual circulation of desire. What follows is an outline of three common versions of desire as a sign of the modern and then a consideration of the early twenty-first century critique that attempts to problematize the very claim of desire to periodize history.

A conventional psychoanalytic model of desire imagines a vessel. A self inhabits its interior; the Other, a *not-self*, is located outside of the container. The contact of the inside with the outside, self and Other, generates a current or force. Not unlike the electrical current of the voltaic cell first proclaimed to the Royal Society of London in 1800, desire links the self to the Other in

imaginary circuits. Desire is thus social. The energy supply is continuous and the subject can never exhaust it through speech. When these human *batteries* are joined in a series, desire surges through the group. The desiring group constructs social ways of being in the world. The charge of the battery, its positive or negative valence, is organized by the law conventionally understood as the law of Oedipus. This law posits the timeless prohibition of heterosexual kinship whereby the mother becomes sexually unavailable to her offspring under pain of their castration because she belongs to the father through exchange.

Alternatively Foucault's version of desire and disciplinarity used the projection of the sky in a planetarium (a scenic attraction that proliferated across Europe and North America in the 1930s) as the heuristic device to model desire based on the archive, or the law of what can be said. In the archive statements are "grouped together in distinct figures … but shine, as it were, like stars, some that seem close to us shining brightly from afar off, while others that are in fact close to us are already growing pale" (Foucault 1972, p. 129). The subject is produced as the effect of such statements. By folding these statements inward, the subject is able to produce itself as the subject of desire. Desire always realizes itself; it is an effect that retroactively is imagined as a cause. The set of statements is historically constructed and can change over time; thus Foucault's model of desire offers rich temporal potential. However, he spatialized time in *The History of Sexuality* (1980) by arguing that the homosexual as a historical category crafted in the late-nineteenth century superseded the notion of sodomitical acts, thus marking a temporal rupture between the premodern and the modern.

In an effort to clear the field of self and other, the philosophers Gilles Deleuze (1925–1995) and Félix Guattari (1930–1992), inspired by the work of Dutch philosopher Benedict Spinoza (1632–1677), rejected the binarism of self and Other, male and female, and, instead, imagined desire as a continuum of embodied subjectivities or *desiring machines*. Desire is not a lack, nor is it a pedagogy; rather desire is productive. Their model is based on a rigorous notion of immanence, a kind of non-organic vitalism, in which life exceeds the possibility of death and transcendence. What Deleuze and Guattari cannot explain is why "men fight for their servitude as stubbornly as though it were their salvation" (Deleuze and Guattari 1983, p. 29). They cannot see that repression itself is productive too and that desiring machines are inflected by the uneven durations of repression and its repetitions. Without that temporal insight, their desiring machines collapse into what Gayatri Spivak has called the *Subject of Europe* and into the instantaneous moments of a mechanical deterritorialization.

These conventional models of desire are incapable of imagining the normative Eurocentric violence that grounds them. Their critics have called for a problematization of temporality as a way of rethinking desire. Rather than use desire to periodize history, feminist, queer, and antirascist scholars are asking what structures such supersessionary thinking has forced and enforced by disavowing the temporal coexistence of different forms of desire. These critics of desire as a sign of the modern urge people to consider how desire is never contemporaneous with itself, it is thus always already spectral. Desire does not produce temporality; it is haunted by it. In other words, "the relations by which we are defined are not dyadic, but always refer to a historical legacy and futural horizon that is not contained by the Other, but which constitutes something like the Other of the Other, then it seems to follow that who we *are* fundamentally is a subject in a temporal chain of desire that only occasionally and provisionally assumes the form of a dyad." (Butler 2004, p. 151).

SEE ALSO *Castration; Foucault, Michel; Freud, Sigmund; Gender, Theories of; Queering, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Culture.*

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Kathleen Biddick

DETUMESCENCE

SEE *Genitals, Male.*

DIAPHRAGM

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods.*

DIETRICH, MARLENE
1901–1992

Born in Berlin on December 27, Marlene Dietrich was an actress and chanson singer whose public persona reached mythical proportions. Her highly unconventional sex life became notorious.

Dietrich, who made several silent films in the 1920s, was discovered in 1929 in Berlin by the Hollywood director Joseph von Sternberg, originally from Vienna. Von Sternberg was looking for a vamp type to star as the character Lola Lola in a film called *The Blue Angel* (1930). The film premiered in Berlin in April 1930 and turned Dietrich into one of the most sensational erotic icons in cinema history and popular entertainment culture.

In the film Dietrich plays a femme fatale in a shady night club who draws an uptight professor into her web and destroys him. Driving the eroticized atmosphere are several risqué songs that Lola Lola performs in a mixture of seductiveness and self-mockery, displaying black garters, silver top hat, and legs that would be fetishized throughout her career. Singing in a smoky lower register and lowering her eye lids suggestively, Dietrich embodied the decadent vamp figure envisioned by von Sternberg while accommodating his predilection for ambiguous sexuality. Dietrich became von Sternberg's creation, a creature of the director's complex, erotic imagination that informs the five films they made together in Hollywood between 1930 and 1935.

Marlene Dietrich. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.

The success of *The Blue Angel* enabled von Sternberg to obtain a contract for Dietrich from Paramount. Their first Hollywood movie, *Morocco* (1930), based on a story suggested by Dietrich, was a sensation. Dietrich plays a cafe singer, clad in a tuxedo, who kisses a young woman in the audience on the mouth, a classic film moment cherished in lesbian circles into the twenty-first century. The plot nevertheless goes on to show Dietrich's character, Amy Jolly, in love with a legionnaire (Gary Cooper) whom she follows into the desert, a captivating cinematic ending. Bisexuality by innuendo was possible although even partial nudity was not, anticipating the Production Code that set industry guidelines for United States Motion Pictures beginning in the mid-1930S. Mae West advised Dietrich on this point: "We have to do everything with the eyes" (Salber 2001, p. 90).

In the 1920s Berlin unconventional sexualities were the order of the day. Outfitted with monocle and silk pants, Dietrich frequented cross-dressing clubs such as the Eldorado. When she starred in a cabaret act with the daring drag queen Claire Waldof, she became the latter's lover for the length of the run. When she teamed up with a gamin in a show about two girlfriends, she added bunches of violets to their outfits, a gesture understood

to symbolize lesbian love. Berlin, with clubs for every erotic preoccupation, where transvestitism was more outrageous than nudity, likely molded Dietrich's nonchalant attitude in sexual matters. In 1924 she married Rudolf Sieber, a production assistant in film, and gave birth to a daughter Maria. Sieber complained about her lesbian affairs but realized that Dietrich could not be tied to a single gender identity. In her biography Maria Riva suggests that her mother was "neither man nor woman" (Riva 1992, p. 198). Sieber and Dietrich never divorced.

Von Sternberg, in his role as Pygmalion, engaged in a kind of gender-bending of his own, insisting: "I am Miss Dietrich—Miss Dietrich is me" (Spoto 1992, p. 54). The film *Blonde Venus* (1932) contains the first cross-dressing act in white tuxedo, a moment of sovereign glamour that became a staple for the star. "But … what stamped Dietrich on to filmgoers' imaginations was the way she was presented visually on the screen. Von Sternberg wrapped her in more metaphysical material than men's suiting"(Walker 1984, p. 80).

During the making of *Blonde Venus*, the young Cary Grant, like *Morocco*'s Gary Cooper, became amorously involved with Dietrich. Romantic entanglements on the set developed a pattern, exceptions not withstanding. In *Shanghai Express* (1932), for instance, Clive Brook was no more than her co-star. The film was very successful and is often considered von Sternberg's finest. The set decoration, visual improvisation of China, and atmosphere created by Les Garmes's camerawork, for which he received an Oscar, all added to Dietrich's mystique. Costume designer Travis Bantan wrapped Dietrich's Shanghai Lilly in black feathers and lace, fantasy costumes celebrated decades later as high camp.

Working with von Sternberg Marlene learned about lighting, specifically with regard to its chiseling effect on her facial features. Like the director, she aimed for a mystifying play of face and limbs, fully aware that this could lead viewers, whether heterosexual or homosexual, to identify with the image, the narcissistic aspect of cinema.

Dietrich's transgender screen appeal echoed in her off-screen romances. Among Dietrich's lesbian partners during her Hollywood years was Mercedes de Acosta who looked like "a young boy, jet-black hair cut like a toreador's close to the head, chalk-white face, deep-set black eyes" (Riva 1992, p. 154). De Acosta was a screenwriter and former lover of Greta Garbo who showered Dietrich with attention. During a stay at the Cote d'Azur in 1939, Dietrich enjoyed spending time onboard the yacht of the Canadian whisky-millionairess Jo Carstairs, amused at the latter's offer to build a palace in the Bahamas filled with young women.

Dietrich is better known as a woman with countless male lovers, both on-screen—James Stewart (*Destry Rides Again* [1939]), John Wayne (*Seven Sinners* [1940]), Jean Gabin (*Martin Roumagnac* [1946]), Michael Wilding (*Stage Fright* [1950]), Fritz Lang (*Rancho Notorious* [1952]) and off—French singer/actor Maurice Chevalier, Erich Maria Remarque (author of *All Quiet on the Western Front* [1929]), and actor John Gilbert. Maria Riva wrote in detail and with surprising frankness about the love-making techniques her mother employed, claiming that she was mostly after romance and less after sex. Biographers concur that Dietrich remained friends with former liaisons long after the romantic affairs ended.

Dietrich was a perfectionist not only with regard to controlling her screen image (which irritated directors of her later films such as Alfred Hitchcock). She also enhanced her stardom in unusual ways. For example, she cultivated platonic relationships with intellectual and literary figures such as Ernest Hemingway, Jean Cocteau, Charlie Chaplin, Noel Coward, and Orson Welles. To be sure, her glamorous persona continued to reign supreme; Dietrich defined it as something "indefinite, not accessible to normal women, an unreal paradise, desirable but basically unreachable" (Salber 2001, p. 118).

From April 1944 to July 1945, Dietrich, who had become a United States citizen in 1939 after years of voicing anti-Nazi sentiments, was engaged by the United Service Organizations (USO) to entertain American troops abroad. From Algiers (where she met Gabin again) to Berlin, she played the spirited comrade and, more memorably, appeared in the sequined dress that created an illusion of nudity. In this dress, complemented by a lavish white or black swan-down cape, the fifty-two year old Dietrich returned to the cabaret stage. Among the chansons on her program were some by Frederick Hollander, who had written for her in *The Blue Angel*. Dietrich's world tour lasted from 1953 to 1975 and included Las Vegas, New York, Rio de Janeiro, London, Paris, Berlin, cities in Scandinavia, The Soviet Union, Israel, and Sydney, where she gave her last public performance. Her husband, upon whom she relied throughout the years, died in 1976, after which Dietrich became a recluse in her Paris apartment until her death on May 6, 1992. According to her wishes, she was buried in Berlin.

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Ingeborg Hoesterey

DILDO

A dildo is a phallic object used for sexual gratification. Dildos can be erotic objects in their own right, but have historically been viewed as substitute or supplementary penises. Dildo-like objects have been around for at least 4,000 years, and have been found in archaeological sites around the world. They have been made of stone, jade, glass, pottery, rubber, silicone, horn, wax, and leather. 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 American states such as Texas, where the sale of dildos for sexual use is illegal. Dildos can also vibrate, though many people consider vibrators to be a separate class of sex toy.

Sources agree that while the origins of the word "dildo" are not precisely known, it may trace to the Italian *diletto*, which means delight. The dildo first appeared in English as an object that would satisfy a woman when her lover's stamina runs out in Thomas Nashe's *Choise of Valentines or the Merie Ballad of Nash his Dildo* (1593), a bawdy poem that circulated in unpublished form until 1899. As this poem illustrates, dildos in literature and song are usually comic in that they signify the sexual voraciousness of women and the virile insufficiency of men. Mainstream cultures have historically promoted lesbians as the stereotypical users of dildos. Rather than an actual representation of lesbian sexual practices, this belief reflects the inability of conventional societies to imagine sex without a penis or penis-substitute and the often associated tendency to label any kind of female sexual appetite as monstrous and deviant.

In gay male culture the dildo is most often used as a detachable object and an outsized representation of the penis. It can be used to penetrate repeatedly or can be inserted and left there, like a butt plug, another type of sex toy. Double-ended dildos can be used for mutual anal penetration. There appears to be little anxiety over whether or not dildos look like penises or are interchangeable with them in the gay community. Lesbian culture, however, has a historic anxiety over the relationship of dildos to penises, an anxiety that can be traced to feminist ambivalence about the relationship of lesbian gender roles and sexual practices to heterosexuality. Women who lived in established in urban United States lesbian communities in the middle part of the twentieth century report having seen dildos owned by others, but very few lesbians from this era admit to using them. Lesbian dildo use often involves the assistance of a harness to facilitate one partner's vaginal penetration by the other, and lesbians use double-ended dildos for mutual penetration.

In the 1980s feminist debates concerning the political correctness of penetration raged for months at a time in publications such as the magazine *Off Our Backs*, engendering a backlash movement of sexually radical lesbians, bisexuals, and queer-identified heterosexual women who allied themselves with gay male leather culture, sadomasochistic sexualities, and sexual practices where dildos and other sex toys figured prominently. By the 1990s dildo use lent a *sex-radical* aura of sexual autonomy and sexual empowerment to a wide range of lesbian, bisexual, and queer-identified straight women, facilitating a move to appropriate phallic penetration and phallic display for queer women's culture. For many women, dildos signified the transitivity of gender, and wearing them was seen as an act of *genderfuck*.

For other women, dildos signified something less playful and more serious. While many lesbians were seeking to disassociate dildos from their status as penis-substitutes and redefine them as lesbian-specific objects, a move analogous to the reclamation of butch-femme roles as lesbian-specific genders rather than heterosexual imitations, some butches began to signal their gender identity, sexual availability, and sexual prowess by wearing a dildo under their clothes in public, a practice known as *packing*. Transgender-identified butches wore dildos as an expression of their inner masculinity and male identification. The variety and uses of dildos multiplied; there were non-representational, multicolored *feminist dildos*; dildos that looked like circumcised, erect male penises, replete with veins and scrotal sacs; and flaccid, non-penetrative dildos for wearing in one's pants around town. Advertising shifted from the anxious feminist insistence on the incommensurability of dildos and penises to a new comfort with realistic-looking dildos.

The proliferation of sex boutiques and sex toys in the 1980s and 1990s led to unprecedented popularity for the dildo. Sex toys and videos became acceptable as vehicles for safe sex in the midst of the HIV-AIDS epidemic. Stores such as San Francisco's Good Vibrations targeted heterosexual couples and single women as well as lesbians. One of their bestselling videos, *Bend Over Boyfriend*, features women using strap-on dildos to anally penetrate male partners. The recent dildo craze of casting real penises to create silicone replicas further conflates real penises with their substitutes, confounding original and copy. Dildo use is no longer a subcultural practice, nor does it say much about a person's gender identity, beyond indicating an ability to participate in commodity acquisition. Not everyone has or wants a penis but, these days, almost anyone can have a dildo.

SEE ALSO *Sexual Practices.*

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Jaime Hovey

DISABILITY, FETISHIZATION OF

While disabled people have often been stigmatized, a certain fascination with various impairments can also be traced throughout the history of Western societies. Sometimes this fascination has taken the form of what disability scholar Harlan Hahn refers to as a subversive sensualism. For example, in the Middle Ages dwarfs and people with intellectual impairments played an important role in the royal courts as fools or jesters, where they were allowed much satirical freedom, and at least during the thirteenth century, would often perform naked for these royal bodies. Whether this sociosexual fascination with impaired bodies transposed into a psychosexual fetishization during the distant past is uncertain. More recently, with the advent of the Internet and Web sites devoted to the latter phenomenon, there is ample evidence that some people experience a heightened sexual desire for various bodies that fall outside the range of either functional and/or aesthetic normative standards. Those persons who experience a marked sexual attraction to the impairments of disabled people are currently referred to as devotees. While one explanation views this desire as a more pronounced version of the eroticization of unusual physical features, another view proposes that it is simply an example of sexual preference among the range of body types (that is, slender versus voluptuous, tall versus short, and so forth). A point worth noting is that sexual attraction to an impairment does not necessarily trump the desire for what are considered more conventionally attractive features. Rather, desire for non-normative bodies is often superimposed on attraction to these normative features.

There are devotees of people with many different kinds of impairment from blindness to quadriplegia. Generally devotees are sexually attracted to single impairments. Those persons with amputations are the most commonly desired. In terms of gender, men overwhelmingly outnumber women devotees. Sometimes it is a disabled person's crutches, prosthesis or other adaptive device that drives a particular devotee's desire. According to some sources, an extension of devotee desire is when non-disabled people desire to pass as disabled by using an assistive device such as crutches or a wheelchair; these persons are referred to as *pretenders*.

Further along on this continuum are those persons who actually want to acquire an impairment, feeling that they are in the wrong body. Referred to within the scientific literature as body integrity identity disorder (BIID), this is sometimes likened to the feelings of transgender people about their desire for an altered body. These people have been known to undergo surgical procedures for impairment or in extreme instances to impair themselves. It is interesting to ponder the similarities and differences between undergoing surgery to acquire what is considered in Western societies a functionally impaired and thus deviant body to the body resculpting and mutilation that occurs in some other cultures and which although impairing the individual in certain ways achieves what is considered a normative sexual desirability (for example, foot binding in the history of China, lip piercing by certain African tribes to accommodate the large decorative disks worn on the lower lip). In this short entry, the sexual desire for a person with an impairment will be elaborated and not these purported extensions.

Psychiatric understanding of fetishism views it as a sexual perversion that focuses on a non-genital body part or inanimate object in order to achieve sexual gratification. In this sense, devotees exhibit typical fetishistic tendencies—that is, being sexually attracted to non-genital body parts such as amputee stumps or items of assistive technology. While not considered to be a problem per se unless it is combined with other psychological disorders, the concept of fetishism is yet cast in negative terms in the literature because of its association with the processes of denial, regression, and narcissism. The fetishism for people with certain impairments expands on this negativity and as such is cast in an even more pathological light. Indeed, biomedical discourse generally views the fetishism for impaired bodies as a deviant desire, which requires therapeutic attention. In a cultural sense, this kind of understanding strives to bring devotee desire back within the normative range of relationships.

There are a number of concerns about the concept of fetishization of impaired bodies that emerge from scholars and concerned observers outside psychiatry and the biomedical sciences, only a few of which will be dealt with in this short entry. Some have seen devotee desire as a transgressive overturning of the biomedical hierarchical ordering of bodies. Yet as may be seen from the discussion above of the subversive sensualism of impaired bodies, biomedicine may be a latecomer to this process. If anything, biomedicine may simply have assisted in

refining what was initially a much cruder and less functional ranking of bodies. A related perspective questions the easy assumption of an opposition between deviant and normative desire, that is, acceptable versus unacceptable desire, which pervades discussion of fetishism and especially the attraction to impaired bodies. Indeed, what does labeling disability fetishism as pathological say about the cultural perception of impaired bodies?

Another set of concerns surrounds the issue of whether devotees are exploiting disabled people. This concern has especially been voiced in the case of women amputees. Yet those using this argument have a difficult time explaining disabled women who knowingly embrace the devotee's sexual attraction to their impairment; and while there are some disabled women who are suspicious of desire based on fetishism and find it exploitative, there are others who exalt the opportunity and pleasure they access via the devotee community. Some of the latter have noted feeling a boost in sexual self-esteem. But this sense of sexual empowerment can be complicated by what amputee Kath Duncan notes from her own sexual adventures with devotees: that they remain primarily focused on her outline and not on how she views herself. Nevertheless, evidence exists that devotee desire can sometimes lead to genuinely intimate relationships.

While there are a number of personal narratives available written by disabled people who voice their own feelings of being the object of fetishistic desire and speculate on the motivations of devotees, this phenomenon remains virtually unstudied. What is especially needed is systematic qualitative research among devotees and the disabled people who choose to interact with them in order to begin to understand the either exceptional or normative, depending on the point of view, psychological, social, and cultural dynamics that are being articulated.

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Russell Shuttleworth

DISABILITY, SEX AND

Historically, in modern European and North American societies, disabled people's sexuality was generally avoided in cultural discourse, or if it was mentioned, disabled people were cursorily viewed as asexual. During the second half of the twentieth century, medical and rehabilitation professionals carved out a cultural space for disability and sexuality within the parameters of physiology, restoration of sexual function, and psychological adjustment. Whereas activists and scholars occasionally mentioned some of the cultural and sociopolitical implications of disability and sexuality, until the mid-1990s, a functional view of this subject held sway. However, around the turn of the twenty-first century, the convergence of disability activism, progressive social policy, and changing trends in human science research gradually provided impetus to raising disability and sexuality as both a conceptual and social justice issue. The political battles of the Disability Rights Movement and disability legislation have resulted in increased access for many disabled people to social contexts in which they were previously excluded. The philosophy of independent living has meant that people with significant impairments are increasingly moving out into the community—into their own homes/apartments or, at minimum, into group-home-living situations. This public exposure and greater societal access is also growing into a sense among disabled people of their right to a sexual life. At the same time, human science research is finally prioritizing disabled people's own sexual concerns and critically investigating this intersection within a sexual inequality and sexual access conceptual frame.

The result of this change in research perspective and the claiming of sexuality by disabled people is that a wide range of important issues are finally emerging from the shadows. These issues include access to quality reproductive health care for disabled women, sexual abuse, lack of positive media images of disability and sexuality, disability and gender issues, barriers to sexual expression and/or negotiating sexual intimacy with others, the high rate of poor sexual self-esteem and poor body image, use of sex workers and sexual surrogates, personal assistant services and facilitated sex, disability fetishism, and the multiple oppressions that ethnic and sexual minority disabled persons face. Only several of these issues can be dealt with in this short article.

One concern that is emerging as important is the issue of facilitated sex. Facilitated sex is sexual activity in which a disabled person is assisted by someone who provides personal care or personal assistant services (PAS). This assistance could include positioning disabled persons for masturbation, undressing them, helping them to stimulate themselves, helping them to stimulate their partner's body, positioning them for sex with a partner, transferring them to a bed, purchasing condoms, or soliciting the services of a sex worker. In the United States there is still no nationally based PAS program, and services vary from state to state.

While the pragmatic and ethical issues of facilitated sex abound in those situations where the disabled person resides in a familial, an institutional, or a quasi-institutional setting and/or has no input into the decision of who provides PAS for them—even for those disabled people living independently in the community who control this decision and directly pay their personal assistants—there are a myriad of concerns. The most obvious is that there are no public policy guidelines in place to govern practice around facilitated sex. Negotiating this service with a personal assistant is left entirely up to the disabled person and is fraught with ethical and legal dilemmas. For example, facilitated sex transgresses the normative view of sex as private and as an autonomous project. Therefore, even though they may be helping an individual with sexual activity, personal assistants risk being viewed as sexual participants, and because payment is involved, they may be legally liable.

A controversial issue among disabled people is the world of *devotees*, or amputee fetish. This issue challenges traditional notions of sexuality, desire, and appropriateness within the disability community. Devotees are people who are romantically interested or sexually aroused by people with certain impairments. Whereas there are devotees of people with many different kinds of impairments, amputees are those most commonly fetishized. In terms of gender, men overwhelmingly outnumber women devotees. The traditional medical understanding of this phenomenon labeled the desire for an impaired body as *pathological*. Discussion within the disability community has been heated. A question that is often raised is what does labeling disability fetishism as pathological say about the cultural perception of impaired bodies? Whereas there are some disabled women who are suspicious of desire based on fetishism and find it exploitative, there are others who exalt the opportunity, pleasure, and sometimes, intimate relationships they access via the devotee community.

A more general issue for many people with moderate to significant impairments is the multiple obstacles to sexual access that they often face; that is, access to sexual expression, sexual well-being, and negotiating sexual inti-macy with others. Sexual well-being is reliant on psychological, social, and cultural supports that sustain a positive sense of one's sexual self. The availability of these supports for disabled people is often constrained. For instance, people with early onset impairments sometimes report that when they were growing up, family members did not expect them to experience a sex life or marriage. Disabled people's sexual expression and opportunity to negotiate sexual intimacy with others is also situated within a cultural and sociostructural framework of inclusion–exclusion. Depending on a disabled person's particular situation, other relevant aspects of this framework may include physical access to environments and social contexts in which sexually relevant interpersonal encounters may occur, monetary access, programmatic access to personal assistance services, access to transportation, communication access, and many others. Perhaps the most powerful influence on disabled people's interpersonal sexual negotiations, and which presents formidable difficulties, is the adverse context of cultural images and meanings of disability and sexual desirability.

Yet many disabled people resist hegemonic notions of sociality, bodily function, desirability, and the sexually oppressive practices that often ensue and manage to experience either normative sexual lives or carve out alternative and creative sexualities. For example, some persons with spinal-cord injuries who may have lost genital sensation and/or erogenous zone sensitivity learn to shift their erotic attention to areas of their body that are still sensitive. Another example is the incorporation of spasticity into lovemaking by a couple in which one person has significant cerebral palsy. By resisting sexual oppression and incorporating their own corporeal difference into their sexuality, some disabled people manage to expand the cultural sense of what constitutes sexual expression and sexual relationality.

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Russell Shuttleworth

DISCIPLINE

SEE *Bondage and Discipline.*

DIVINE
1945–1988

Harris Glenn Milstead, born on October 19, 1945, in Baltimore, Maryland, was best known as Divine, his adopted persona, in which he performed on stage and in film as a larger-than-life woman. Divine appeared in more than a dozen films, most notably in her collaborations with director and childhood friend John Waters. She debuted in *Roman Candles* in 1966, and first achieved cult celebrity status in *Pink Flamingos* (1972), in which her character fought to retain the title of the "world's filthiest person." In her most famous scene, Divine eats actual dog feces on screen, thus essentially securing her character's title for herself.

Her fame and significance stem largely from the fact that she did not play a man in drag, but rather played female characters as a female. This was reinforced when she was offered roles as a woman in projects beyond her work with Waters, such as her 1985 appearance in *Lust in the Dust* for the director Paul Bartel. She rarely appeared onscreen as a man, and the roles in which she did are largely forgettable, although at the time of her death she was about to begin shooting on the television series *Married … with Children*, in which she was to have a recurring role as a man.

Divine's acts of gender displacement were equaled only by her celebration of poor taste. In part because of the success of her films with gay audiences, the chic for lowbrow or trash taste became a permanent part of gay camp sensibility. Her collaborations with Waters also changed film culture. The films broke with Hollywood style by using handheld cameras and natural light sources, working with a company of actors over several films, and encouraging improvisation.

Divine was obese, yet usually played roles in which she was sexually active and an object of men's desire. As such,

her sexual activity as well as her gender position were nonnormative. In 1981 she starred in *Polyester* with Tab Hunter, himself a former matinee idol whose career was nearly destroyed when his homosexuality was revealed. As a gay man playing a straight man in love with a man playing a woman, the pairing was unique and transgressive by almost all standards. It was often difficult to determine in Divine's films if her suitors were attracted to her obesity, or if her appeal was separate from her physicality. Her insistence upon being recognized and accepted as a sex object despite her distance from any conventional notion of beauty or femininity has rendered her an icon. She has many imitators, amateur and professional, most notably Chi Chi LaRue, a director of gay pornographic films.

Divine's most mainstream role came in 1988, when she starred as the mother in John Waters's *Hairspray*. It was also to be her last starring role, as she died of a heart attack in her sleep on March 7, at age forty-two, just as the film was gaining popularity. Divine is most remembered for flagrantly ignoring stereotypes of gender, taste, and body image.

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DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP

Domestic partnership is an "alternative family" based on cohabitation by two adults, with or without children, in a relationship marked by mutual emotional and financial commitment, which may be recognized for a variety of purposes by businesses or government. The term emerged during the late 1970s and early 1980s as part of the attempt by lesbians and gay men to attain recognition for their families. This came after a series of unsuccessful lawsuits had persuaded many that the right of same-sex couples to marry could not then be won in the courts.

Although some activists sought same-sex marriage as their ultimate priority, others rejected legal marriage as an appropriate model for same-sex families, believing that marriage reflected the state of opposite-sex, biologically procreative families under a patriarchal social order that discounted the status and value of women. These critics also tied the historical legal structure of marriage to transmission of ownership in land and material wealth. Further, the women's movement has generated a wide debate about
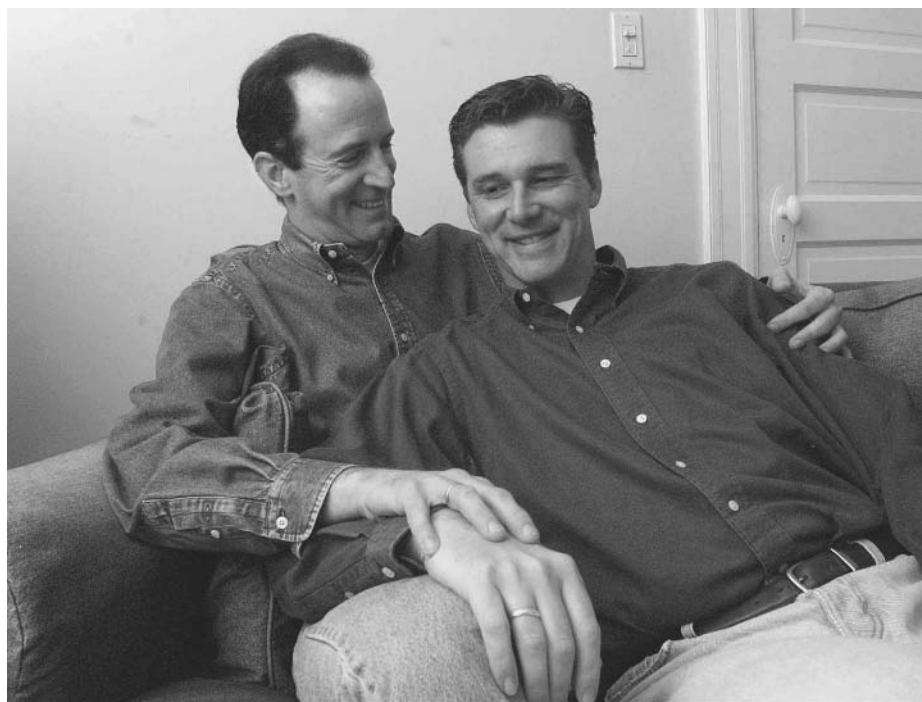
Domestic Partners Kent Bloom and Mike Ownbey. AP IMAGES.

the desirability of marriage, even in its more egalitarian forms. Although domestic partnership was first seen mostly as a gay rights issue, it has also been adopted in some places for opposite-sex couples, especially older couples concerned about loss of government benefits if they marry.

Domestic partnership came to be favored by those who rejected marriage because, as it has no fixed legal status, it remained open to being formulated as circumstances might dictate. A domestic partnership proposal could be a simple government registry carrying no tangible rights or benefits, or might approximate the rights and responsibilities of marriage. It could be a voluntary private-sector concept for extending rights or benefits in the workplace or the marketplace. Domestic partnership was also attractive for some opposite-sex couples who did not desire to marry but wanted recognition for their relationship that would include some of the rights that traditionally accompany marriage.

In its earliest incarnation, domestic partnership was presented to employers as a pay equity issue. Indeed, employee benefits such as health, dental, and vision insurance, survivor's benefits, and bereavement and family leave account for a significant proportion of total compensation, and employees with domestic partners could be seen as paid less than their married colleagues for the same work. Some consumers also argued that it was discriminatory for businesses to not recognize nonmarital families for family membership rates and discounts.

The earliest recognition of domestic partnerships came from private businesses, nonprofit organizations, and smaller municipalities. The *Village Voice*, a weekly New York City newspaper, was among the first employers to provide benefits to nonmarital partners of employees in 1982. The concept spread to private employers and nonprofit organizations, including educational institutions, during the early 1980s, and was adopted by some governmental employers, such as the California cities of West Hollywood and Berkeley.

The Task Force on Family Diversity, established in the mid-1980s by the Los Angeles City Council, gave the concept new impetus. The task force issued recommendations for government policy, some of which were adopted in a Los Angeles city law. It circulated its reports to other cities, where they provided a template for legislation. Proponents in New York City used the Los Angeles task force report to craft local legislation as a parallel strategy to a lawsuit by the Lesbian and Gay Teachers Association (LGTA). Mayor David Dinkins established a partnership registry by executive order, then settled the LGTA case by authorizing partnership benefits for employees in mayoral agencies. His successor, Rudolph Giuliani, won enactment of an expansive city ordinance that conferred on registered partners all spousal rights available under city laws.

Domestic partnership achieved its broadest state-law form in California, where legislation establishing a simple partnership registry for same-sex couples and elderly

opposite-sex couples was expanded through a series of amendments to a status of quasi-marriage. Thus, effective January 1, 2005, California afforded registered domestic partners almost all the rights of spouses under state law.

SUBJECTS OF DEBATE

The most frequent objections to extending benefits relate to anticipated costs and difficulties of administration. The AIDS epidemic fueled such fears, because domestic partnership was identified mainly with same-sex couples, and gay men were seen as the group with the highest risk for an expensive disease. Private businesses were concerned about how to define eligibility and how to ensure that only those qualified could obtain benefits.

Both of these concerns were assuaged as benefits consultants studied such programs in operation, resulting in publications providing model policies, sample forms, and data on costs. Studies showed that including same-sex partners had minimal impact on an employer's benefits costs, in the range of about 1 percent of overall costs, twice that if opposite-sex partners were also included, but still far less than had been feared. These data relied on employers requiring employees to prove the qualifications of their household, or to insist on registration with the local government registries that began to proliferate during the 1990s.

A completely different range of concerns emanates from social and religious conservatives, who see domestic partnership as a threat to the traditional family. For those to whom homosexuality is anathema, official recognition of homosexual relationships is clearly anathema as well. Others fear that offering domestic partnership as an easy alternative to marriage would undermine the family as a central feature of traditional religious and moral philosophies. In some places consumer boycotts were threatened against employers who adopted partnership benefits plans, and repeal initiatives appeared on local ballots.

During the 1980s, domestic partnership became a significant goal of gay rights advocates, but the number of private and public entities recognizing domestic partners really began to increase during the 1990s. Domestic partnership grew considerably in the private sector, especially at colleges and universities, in professional workplaces such as law and accounting firms, and in the financial services, high technology, and entertainment industries. Later in the decade manufacturing, transportation, and health-care industries also adopted such policies, as did major cities and a few states.

Opposition gained renewed force in the first decade of the twenty-first century in reaction to some successes in the campaign for same-sex marriage, most notably in a 1993 Hawaii Supreme Court decision suggesting the possibility that same-sex couples could win the right to marry from the courts and a 2003 Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court decision that was the first in the United States to order a state to allow same-sex couples to marry. In the meantime, the U.S. Congress had responded to this trend in 1996 with the Defense of Marriage Act, which precluded federal agencies from recognizing registered domestic partners for federal rights or benefits.

The Internal Revenue Service interpreted the tax code unfavorably to domestic partners, requiring that the value of partnership benefits be treated as taxable income (unlike the value of benefits provided to legal spouses). Many states passed laws and constitutional amendments, aimed primarily at barring same-sex marriage, that could also prevent municipalities from recognizing domestic partners. During the summer of 2005, Congress considered a proposed Federal Marriage Amendment that might be construed to outlaw domestic partnership as well, but the measure did not receive enough support to be sent to the states for ratification at that time, and fared little better during the 2006 session.

Domestic partnership is normally limited to adult couples in an economically interdependent household. Both partners must be old enough to consent to contracting within the jurisdiction. From there, domestic partnership plans vary in how they handle such matters as waiting periods to qualify for benefits, methods of termination, waiting periods for starting new partnerships after terminating old ones, and, most significantly, whether the status is open to opposite-sex couples. Attempts by opposite-sex couples excluded from domestic partnership plans to challenge them as discriminatory have generally been rejected by the courts, on the ground that opposite-sex couples can marry to obtain benefits. Nevertheless, many advocates for domestic partnership have argued that it should be open to both kinds of couples.

LEGISLATIVE AND LITIGATION ISSUES

Litigation to secure domestic partnership benefits has enjoyed mixed success. Because of preemption by the federal Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), state courts may not order private-sector employers to provide partnership benefits, so litigation has focused on state and local government. Until 1998, most cases foundered on courts accepting the argument that there is no unlawful discrimination when same-sex couples are treated the same as unmarried opposite-sex couples. In that year, the Oregon Court of Appeals ruled that state constitutional and statutory principles were violated by denying benefits to same-sex partners of employees of a state college, which led to a state law extending the benefits to state employees generally. Since then, the Alaska Supreme Court and a New Hampshire superior court have refused to equate unmarried same-sex and opposite-sex couples for this purpose, finding that the state's denial of marriage rights placed

same-sex in a different category and rendered the denial of benefits discriminatory.

Some municipal plans have been challenged on the ground that local governments lack authority to set policy in the field of domestic relations, normally subject to state legislation. Some courts have invalidated municipal domestic partnership plans on this basis, but most plans have survived the challenge, and in some cases further tinkering with the domestic partnership law, specifically by changing the definition or scope of coverage, made it possible to survive subsequent challenges. In Atlanta, Georgia, for example, the state supreme court first invalidated a domestic partnership ordinance as contradictory to a state law governing eligibility for employee benefits, but the city council's second attempt was sustained when it introduced a requirement of financial interdependency for domestic partners.

Although state and local governments may not require private employers to establish domestic partnership benefit programs, some municipal governments have sought to influence private companies by restricting contracting with companies that do not provide such benefits. The New York City Council's attempt to enact such a law over the mayor's veto was rejected by the state courts, which found a state law requiring the award of public contracts to the lowest responsible bidder to take priority. San Francisco's ordinance partially survived judicial review, although portions were found to be unenforceable because of federal preemption.

In some states, constitutional amendments prohibiting same-sex marriage also forbade the bestowal of "incidents" or "benefits" of marriage on unmarried or same-sex couples. Questions arose about the continued validity of state or municipal domestic partnership programs in these states. The California courts found that a voter-initiated ban on same-sex marriage did not preclude the legislature from adopting its domestic partnership law. In one of the first cases addressing the state constitutional issue, a Utah judge ruled in 2006 that employment-related insurance is not a "benefit" of marriage, but rather a benefit of employment; this enabled the implementation of Salt Lake City's ordinance allowing city employees to sign up an "adult designee" to be covered by their health plan.

Some have seen domestic partnership, or its near relation, civil unions, as preferable to same-sex marriage in dealing with the inequities suffered by same-sex couples. The first jurisdiction to embrace "civil unions" was Vermont, where the legislature, under orders from the state supreme court to extend equal rights of marriage to same-sex couples, invented civil unions to bestow virtually all the state law rights of marriage on same-sex couples. The court's opinion was in December 1999 and the legislature passed the Civil Union Act in 2000. In its effect, the Vermont law is similar to the final version of California's

Domestic Partnership law. Connecticut has enacted a similar civil union law, and New Jersey responded to a state supreme court mandate to provide equal rights for same-sex couples by enacting a civil union law in 2006. Polling shows that many members of the public who are opposed to same-sex marriage recognize the inequities of depriving same-sex couples of any legal status, and are willing to support alternative forms of recognition. Thus, it seems likely that domestic partnership will continue to flourish alongside the efforts by activists to secure the right to marry for same-sex couples. In some cases it may prove a legislative stepping-stone toward something approximating marriage. It is difficult to predict whether marriage will ultimately sweep the field, or whether the increasing popularity of domestic partnership among unmarried heterosexual couples might give the latter more permanent life.

SEE ALSO *Family; Family, Alternative.*

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence can be defined as any domestic partner or interfamilial altercation that involves emotional, psychological, verbal, or physical abuse. The abuse may be sufficient to warrant the involvement of law enforcement officials, but this definition includes acts that are not illegal, such as verbal abuse. There is no crime labeled domestic violence; rather, the crimes committed defined legally as domestic violence include assault, assault and battery, rape, stalking, aggravated assault, and assault with a dangerous/deadly weapon.

Domestic violence affects all socioeconomic, racial, and ethnic categories. The majority of victims are women, but the scope of domestic violence is not limited to women. Adult children and spouses victimize the elderly; children can be physically, psychologically, or sexually abused by parents, relatives, or siblings; gay men and lesbians can perpetrate or be victims of abuse within same-sex relationships; and intimate dating partners can commit assault or rape. The act committed determines the crime, not the relationship between the offender and victim, but the relationship determines if the crime is classified as domestic. The relationship is recognized as domestic if partners are married, unmarried but live together, cohabiting same-sex partners, roommates, and family members. Yet there is no broadly accepted conception of what constitutes a domestic relationship. Because domestic violence generally falls under the jurisdiction of state legislation, the definitions of domestic relationships vary in each state.

PREVALENCE

Law enforcement reports indicate that the most frequent act of domestic violence is the battery of women. Domestic violence is the leading cause of injury and death for women in the United States, and close to two in five women have reported being victims of physical or sexual assault in their lifetimes. In 1999 domestic violence caused 32 percent of the homicides in women (National Coalition Against Domestic Violence [NCADV]). Women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four experience the highest rate of domestic violence—sixteen of every 1,000 women (NCADV). Seventy percent of the teenage and college age women who report being raped say the assault occurred during the course of a date (NCADV). Child abuse accounts for the leading cause of death in children, usually at the hands of one or both parents. In 2002 approximately 1,400 children died as a result of abuse or neglect, and nearly 900,000 children were found to be victims of abuse or neglect across the United States (National Center for Victims of Crime [NCVC]). Abuse of the elderly is a prevalent form of domestic violence. Neglect is the most common type of this abuse with physical and/or financial exploitation being the goal(s). Women are the majority of the victims; however offenders are equally likely to be male or female.

The national prevalence of elder abuse is difficult to ascertain because there are no nationwide tracking systems for this type of abuse. However data is collected from state agencies to estimate the pervasiveness of elder abuse. Approximately one to two million men and women over the age of sixty-five have been injured or mistreated (National Center on Elder Abuse [NCEA]). And at least one in five incidents of elder abuse occur through financial exploitation, which suggests that there are as many as five million financial exploitation cases annually (NCEA). While abuse within gay and lesbian relationships is still under-researched, researchers are paying more attention to this type of domestic violence. In 2003, for example, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered individuals reported 6,523 incidents of domestic violence, with men constituting 44 percent of the victims (NCVC).

MODELS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE THEORIES

There are a number of approaches to understanding how domestic violence occurs. Because a single answer does not exist, scholars and professionals have created categories, such as psychiatric, social-psychological, and sociocultural, to organize various models of domestic violence

theories. The psychiatric model identifies substance abuse, personality disorders, and mental illness as the causes of domestic violence and included in this model are the psychopathology and substance abuse theories. The psychopathological theory stipulates that individuals can suffer from a variety of mental illnesses, which trigger aggressive behavior towards family members and intimate partners. Yet medical professionals have not elaborated on the personality traits that are affiliated specifically with domestic violence acts. The substance abuse theory suggests that drug and/or alcohol use contributes to domestic violence. While these substances do not directly cause violence, they do prompt impaired judgment and lowered inhibitions that can facilitate aggressive and violent behavior.

The social-psychological model looks at external factors that affect family members and intimate partners and includes theories defined as social learning, exchange, frustration-aggression, ecological, and sociobiology/evolutionary. The social learning theory identifies modeling and reinforcement as the two tactics used to learn behavior. An individual models behaviors from those around him or her and these behaviors are then reinforced by the same people. Behaviors can be both violent and nonviolent. This theory does not explain, however, the occurrence of spontaneous aggressive acts.

The exchange theory argues that interactions within the family or between intimate partners are based on a system of rewards and punishments. Violence perpetrated by one individual against another in a domestic setting is done so to realize particular goals as long as it does not offset the aggression. Next the frustration-aggression theory is based on the notion that individuals will exhibit aggressive behavior towards impediments of their goals. If a family member or intimate partner encounters difficulty in achieving a goal because another family member or partner functions as an obstacle, then violence could result. This theory does not take into account the range of cultures and what behaviors are acceptable within these cultures. The ecological theory includes examinations of the domestic environment and the systems in which the family develops. It also specifies that domestic violence occurs when the family is disparate from the community. To prevent violence, services and assistance must be readily available in the immediate community. Finally the sociobiology/evolutionary theory is based on the idea that parents will more often exhibit violence towards children who are not their own. The risk of abuse increases when there is an absence of an emotional bond between parent and child.

The sociocultural model of domestic violence includes theories called, variously, the culture of violence, patriarchy, general systems, social conflict, and resource. The theories consider the societal roles of men and women as well as cultural attitudes towards gender and violence. The culture of violence theory contends that violence is not distributed evenly, but is more prevalent within lower socioeconomic categories. This theory does not account for the various sources by which people learn violent and aggressive behaviors that permeate all subcultures and socioeconomic categories (e.g., the media). The patriarchy theory attempts to explain domestic violence via the patriarchal structure of our culture, namely males dominating society with females in subordinated positions. This structure explains the historical pattern of violence perpetrated by men against women. The general systems theory of domestic violence posits that violence results from the social systems in which the family and intimate partners live. The levels of violence are also sustained by the family system. The social conflict theory examines communications, marriages/partnerships, and large conflicts and suggests that isolation/alienation can create domestic violence. Finally the resource theory contends that the individual who controls resources, like money and property, will assume the dominant position within the domestic setting, and that violence depends on these resources. Possessing a large amount of resources increases the power one has in the family; however, access to those resources also lessens the potential for the actual deployment of violence. Violence is more often perpetrated by an individual with fewer resources and a lower socioeconomic status.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

The majority of victims of intimate partner abuse are women, and they are assaulted by someone who is a former or current spouse, cohabiting partner (opposite or same-sex), date, or boyfriend or girlfriend. When the victim is female, 93.4 percent of the time the offender is male, and when the victim is male, 85.9 percent of the time the perpetrator is male (Gosselin 2000). Studies focusing on the adult male batterer have identified characteristics and personality risk-factors that characterize this type of abuser, but these factors can also be applied to female perpetrators, abusers in gay and lesbian relationships, and elder and child abuse situations. These characteristics, behaviors, and tactics of the offender of intimate partner domestic violence can include controlling behaviors (i.e., attempts to control the victim's time, dress, and behavior), fear and intimidation, manipulation, excessive rule-making, and isolation.

The average male abuser, as revealed through statistics on court appearances and encounters with law enforcement officials, is thirty-two years old (with two-thirds in their mid-twenties), possesses low self-esteem, is frequently jealous and possessive, and is overly dependent on the victim. He often denies responsibility for his actions, blaming others for his behavior, and minimizes

the effects of his actions on the victim. Some personality risk-factors in male abusers include an aggressive personality, insecurity, emotional dependence, low empathy, and low impulse control. Also substantial evidence exists linking alcohol and/or drug abuse and the frequency of domestic violence occurrences. Furthermore studies have indicated there is not one single type of male abuser. Three categories of offenders have been identified: family-only, dysphoric or borderline, and antisocial or generally violent (Gosselin 2000). The last type is the most aggressive and is likely to have had a past that includes abuse as a child or a violent family history.

Within heterosexual intimate partner relationships, 6 to 10 percent of the abusers are women (Gosselin 2000, p. 105). In the majority of these cases, women are engaged in self-defending acts, or, in other words, aggressive physical acts to prevent further abuse. Battery in lesbian relationships can occur as often as in heterosexual relationships, and 22 to 46 percent of all lesbians have indicated being in an abusive (physical, emotional, and/or sexual) relationship (Gosselin 2000). Women also have a high rate of being both victims and perpetrators in teen dating relationships. This type of abuse is an epidemic problem, and women often cite their aggression as self-defense.

Finally perpetrators of abuse in gay male relationships share many of the same characteristics identified earlier but also exhibit an unclear understanding of the concept of masculinity. This stems from the systemic homophobia and imposed expectations of masculinity on males. This type of abuse, like abuse within lesbian relationships, has been underreported and under-researched in the past but is currently receiving more attention from the sociological and legal fields.

CHILD ABUSE

The majority of child abuse is perpetrated by the parents (77%) or other relatives (11%) whereas only 2 percent of offenders were from outside of the home (i.e., childcare providers) (Gosselin 2000). Women accounted for 75 percent of the abusers in neglect and medical child abuse cases (Gosselin 2000). Fathers and mothers are equally likely to physically abuse children, and when a parent substitute is involved, the offender is usually the male or the father substitute. This form of domestic abuse is not constituted by a single act of physical violence, deprivation, or molestation. Emotional abuse is included in a broad definition of child abuse but may not be legally prohibited. Emotional abuse can include demanding unrealistic expectations from a child, aggressive or excessive parental behavior, or insisting a child perform beyond his or her abilities. Also child abuse can include sexual abuse, usually perpetrated by a parent, relative, or caretaker, and girls are the most frequent victims of sexual abuse, which often goes unreported.

Research has identified characteristics within the family that can generally contribute to abuse. These factors include family size (the larger the family, the greater risk for abuse), income level, single-parent households, and alcohol and drug abuse. Additionally violence among siblings occurs more often than spousal abuse and parent-child abuse; yet it is also underreported. The child offender is often male and larger than his siblings, and this type of abuse can often manifest similarly to intimate partner abuse (Gosselin 2000).

ELDER ABUSE

In the realm of domestic violence, less information exists on elder abuse than child abuse, for example. Adult children are the most frequent offenders of elder abuse, and men and women are equally likely to be the perpetrators. Sociological and psychological research has identified three categories of elder abuse: stress-precipitated, greed, and intentional harm (Gosselin 2000). The final category is the most dangerous because the offender's intention is to harm whereas the stress-precipitated and greed abusers generally do not intend physical harm. Within legal parameters, seven types of elder abuse have been identified including: financial exploitation; misuse of restraints; neglect and abandonment; physical abuse; emotional abuse; self-endangerment and sexual abuse. While every state does not include each form or uniformly define elder abuse, many laws overlap to cover elder abuse. The National Center on Elder Abuse (NCEA) identifies similar categories but does not include the misuse of restraints and distinguishes neglect and abandonment as separate incidents. The most prevalent form of elder abuse is neglect, which accounts for 55 percent of elder abuse cases (NCEA).

EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

There are generally four categories of the types of physical injuries sustained as a result of domestic violence: those that heal and leave no trace; those that leave visible scars; unknown long-term injuries; and long-term catastrophic injuries (Wallace 2002). Some traumatic injuries that can result from domestic violence include gun shot wounds, stab wounds, burns, and head trauma as well as the variety of physical injuries resulting from sexual assault, including the possible transmission of sexually transmitted diseases and/or HIV.

Emotional and psychological responses to domestic violence vary for each individual. A number of factors determine how a victim will respond including the frequency and severity of the abuse and personality of the victim. Mental health professionals have identified three

stages in the reaction process to traumatic events: impact; recoil; and reorganization (Wallace 2002). The impact stage occurs directly following the violent event, when victims can feel a sense of shock, vulnerability, and helplessness. The temporal duration of this stage varies but can last a number of days. The recoil stage involves victims beginning to accept the violence they have endured, but they can also experience denial, fear, and anger. The reorganization stage finds victims beginning to release feelings of fear and anger and starting to normalize their lives.

Much attention has been paid to the psychological effects of domestic violence. Some of the psychological responses include borderline personality disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder (of which battered women syndrome is a subcategory), Stockholm Syndrome, and self-inflicted violence (Gosselin 2000). These psychological effects are in addition to the range of physical injuries, both temporary and permanent, that victims endure. Additionally teenage girls who are victims of assault (physical or sexual) are more likely to engage in substance abuse and attempt suicide (NCADV "dating violence"). Women who suffer from violence at the hand of an intimate partner can experience feelings of helplessness, fear, and personal failure as well as the need to consider her financial situation, the pursuit of legal action, and personal security. Victims of assault may confront feelings of anger and fear and may face medical bills, lost work time, and physical injury.

According to scholar Harvey Wallace, the cost of domestic violence for society includes medical and mental health care, victim services, lost workdays, lost school days, lost housework, pain and suffering, loss of enjoyment, death, legal costs, and second-generation costs. He also notes the cost of society's responses to crime, which include fear of crime, funding the criminal justice system, creation of victim service organizations and non-criminal programs, imprisoned offender costs, and justice costs. Moreover tangible losses, such as property damage, medical care, mental health care, and victim services, often surpass the intangible losses, like fatal and non-fatal injuries. It is estimated that intimate partner violence costs $5.8 billion annually, which includes healthcare expenses, lost productivity, and lost earnings.

LEGAL RESPONSES

Domestic violence has traditionally fallen under the jurisdiction of the states. Changes in statutes to address domestic violence crimes have come in the areas of police response, how cases are handled by the judiciary and prosecutors, increasing the availability and deployment of civil orders of protection, and the development of additional educational resources. Every state has adopted reforms to address these concerns, including enacting domestic violence codes, removing barriers to obtaining arrest warrants, and expanding grounds for arrest. Reforms on the state level began by the passage of criminal statutes on domestic violence. Laws also started to include enhanced punishments for domestic violence-related crimes, such as aggravated assault and battery. Police departments nationwide worked to standardize and institute practices for responding specifically to domestic violence crimes and victims, and practices that went beyond the actual arrest. Some of these new practices include arranging social services for victims, providing transportation for victims if necessary, removing dangerous weapons from the crime scene, and ensuring that violators of protective orders are not released prematurely by law enforcement officials. Laws that address how prosecutors and the judiciary handle domestic violence cases frequently offer more prosecutorial options and some mandated judicial action, such as limits on plea bargaining and creating written policies on working up domestic violence cases.

A significant tool in the defense against domestic violence has been the civil order of protection, better known as a restraining order. Protection orders are intended to create distance between offender and victim and provide relief from abuse for the victim. For an order of protection to be granted, an abusive offense must have occurred and the victim must be in imminent physical harm. In all states but Texas and Washington, where it is a felony, the violation of a protection order is a misdemeanor offense. Additionally as part of the reformation process, many states expanded the duration and scope of protection orders as well as increased the punishment for violation of those orders.

While states oversee much of the domestic violence legislation, some federal laws are applicable. Some federal statutes prohibit crossing state lines to commit domestic violence crimes or to violate protection orders. In 1984 the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act was passed to provide funds for victim assistance in the form of local community programs such as shelters and counseling services as well as research projects. Also the Federal Crimes Bill of 1994 included Title IV of the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (VAWA), which allocated additional resources for the local prosecutions of domestic violence crimes. The VAWA provides for federal penalties for sex crimes and mandatory restitution to victims Additionally the VAWA increased training for law enforcement and judicial personnel and improved the criminal justice response to domestic violence crimes. In 2000 Congress reauthorized the VAWA, and in 2005 the bill was up for reauthorization again and was signed into law in January 2006. The most recent version of the bill requests funds for legal assistance in the amount of $65 million annually as well as the continuation of

financial support for the privacy protection of victims. The VAWA also includes cyberstalking in the broad definition of stalking, which facilitates the prosecution of those who stalk using telecommunication tools.

In 1996 Congress enacted anti-stalking legislation that makes it illegal for individuals to cross state lines with the intention of causing the physical harm or harassment of another person; the latest version of the VAWA expands the classification of stalking. Prior to 1990 no state had anti-stalking legislation and all harassment offenses were misdemeanors. In 1993 the National Institute of Justice proposed a model anti-stalking code, and the suggested components included the condition that a specific threat is not necessary if fear is present regardless of intent, and that violation of the statute be considered a felony. Many states adopted some or all of these propositions, but some states did require a finding that an explicit threat be present and that the offender have the means to commit the act. Penalties for stalking offenses vary greatly among the states, ranging from misdemeanor to felony punishments. More recently however states have reevaluated their anti-stalking statutes to take into account a variety of factors, including the use of cyber threats as a means of stalking and the need for psychological evaluations of defendants. Some laws provide for the creation of address confidentiality programs for alleged victims of stalking, and prohibit anyone subject to an order of protection from purchasing firearms or explosive devices.

GETTING HELP

More recently social services for victims of domestic violence have increased dramatically; yet the rate of incidents remains unchanged. According to the NCADV, support comes from a variety of sources, including crisis intervention, emotional support, legal assistance and advocacy, and other services. Crisis intervention can include crisis intervention services, crisis hot lines, shelters or other emergency residential facilities, medical services, transportation networks, and laws that allow either victims or perpetrators to be removed from the home. Emotional support can be found in self-help support groups, assertiveness training, self-esteem and confidence-building sessions, and parenting skills courses. Legal assistance and advocacy can include representation in child custody and property matters, financial support proceedings, applications for protection orders and public assistance benefits, and help with immigration status. Housing and safe accommodations, child care, and access to community services constitute other available support services for victims of domestic violence. The NCADV also suggests victims of domestic violence develop a safety plan that takes into consideration whether the victim is still in the abusive relationship. The organization also offers suggestions for workplace safety, proposes legal guidelines, and proffers tips on internet safety and identity theft protection.

SEE ALSO *Incest; Sex Crimes; Violence.*

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DOMINATION

In the context of a subculture commonly known as the BDSM (bondage and discipline, domination and submission, sadomasochism) community, the term *domination* refers to the mental, physical, and/or emotional manipulation by one person (the dominant or top) of

another person (the submissive or bottom) to create sexual or erotic pleasure in both parties.

Although domination often is linked to sex, it does not necessarily include sexual activity. The most important aspect of the dominant-submissive relationship is the exchange of power that takes place. Domination is thus a mechanism by which the top focuses on eliciting forbidden or shameful emotions or behaviors from the bottom in a manner that brings pleasure to both parties. The role of the submissive is to express his or her will or desire and then give control to the dominant; the dominant then takes responsibility for the surrender of control by the submissive. In particular, a responsible top will remain constantly aware of and responsive to the bottom's physical and emotional state and ensure the safety of the submissive. In exchange for the surrender of control by the submissive, the dominant is entrusted with the power of eliciting certain reactions from the submissive. Much of the power and pleasure derived by tops stems from the control they wield over the bottoms' physical and emotional state of being.

SAFETY AND CONSENT

Because the thrill of domination for both parties is reliant on the stimulation of particular erotic, painful, or shameful emotions, sensations, and associations, domination can be psychologically as well as physically dangerous. BDSM practitioners thus advocate a variety of safety measures to ensure the physical and mental well-being of both parties. A dominant is expected to be constantly aware of the physical and emotional state of the submissive because the endorphins released by a combination of pain and sexual stimulation can cause a bottom to be so unaware of the outside world that he or she is incapable of recognizing significant physical danger. The dominant is thus responsible for ensuring that any physical stimulation of pain falls within limits that are acceptable to both parties.

The pleasure derived from domination and submission is very much dependent on the emotional and mental interchange between the partners. Thus, clear communication, negotiation, and planning beforehand are practiced widely. The participants in a domination scene generally discuss in advance the activities in which they are interested and establish limits on those activities. BDSM advocates recommend that submissives be given a "safety word" that can be invoked to stop the proceedings, and responsible dominants often set up verbal and nonverbal methods for checking on the well-being of the submissive. Dominants also should ensure that all the equipment used is safe and take precautions that will enable the quick release of any restraints in an emergency.

In contrast to the role domination plays in the popular imagination, domination is not about cruelty and most dominants are not particularly cruel or sadistic people. Domination is about the giving of pain in a way that is ultimately acceptable and pleasurable to both parties. Dominants thus are entrusted with the task of working their submissives up to the level of pain (whether physical or mental) that they wish to inflict and doing it in a manner that allows the submissives to revel in and enjoy that pain. The informed consent of both parties involved is perhaps the most important element in the success of a domination scene.

FORMS OF DOMINATION

Most relationships include one partner who is more or less dominant than the other. Even in conventional sexual relationships this power differential may be expressed in ways that could be considered domination, such as bondage, role-playing, and rough sex. For members of the BDSM community, however, domination is defined more specifically as an erotic power exchange that is consensual and knowingly undertaken by both parties. The BDSM community places a great deal of emphasis on the need for clear communication and negotiation between partners to establish beforehand the activities and limits that are acceptable to both persons.

The forms of domination vary widely. In some cases the power exchange has little, if anything, to do with sex: A submissive may be ordered to perform household chores or run errands or may choose to do so to please his or her master. In other cases the power exchange centers on sexual activity: Submissives may be ordered to perform fellatio or cunnilingus or otherwise please their dominants; may be tied and gagged, bound to a bed, or suspended from a ceiling; or may be sexually teased or enticed. Some power exchanges center on pain or humiliation: The submissive may be beaten, whipped, tortured, subjected to verbal abuse, or urinated on. This pain and humiliation may or may not involve sexual activities or contact with the genitalia, depending on the preferences of the parties. Domination sometimes also involves the punishment of the submissive for errors in carrying out the dominant's orders or for failing to anticipate his or her needs and desires. Many domination scenes involve fairly extensive props: equipment for binding limbs and genitals, suits designed for sensory deprivation, nipple and genital clamps, hot wax, electrical stimulation, whips, chains, handcuffs, leather, dog collars, cages, costumes, and the like. Some participants set aside a special room, referred to as a dungeon, for BDSM activities and equipment.

Domination is practiced by both men and women, whether gay, straight, or transgendered. Whether someone is sexually dominant appears to have little relation to

that person's relative dominance or submission in the rest of his or her day-to-day activities. Anecdotal evidence suggests that more submissives than dominants participate in BDSM activities. Some people, known as "switches," enjoy taking on both the dominant and submissive roles, but generally even those who identify as dominant occasionally take on the submissive role.

SITES AND CONTEXTS OF DOMINATION

The importance and centrality of domination in people's lives vary considerably. For some people domination is only an occasional recreational activity, whereas others may identify primarily as dominants, considering other categories of identity (such as sexual orientation) to be less central to their identities.

Some dominants are open about their sexual preferences, and others are closeted. Some engage in domination purely within the confines of a monogamous relationship, whereas for others participation in domination activities may occur with multiple partners or relative strangers. Some dominants have only a single submissive, and others have ongoing relationships with several. For some couples domination and submission are simply one of many ways of relating to one another; other couples (a fairly small minority) live full-time in a dominant-submissive or master-slave relationship.

Certain dominants earn a living through professional domination; their clients pay them to enact particular scenes or fantasies. Although those scenes may be sexual in nature, most professional dominants do not have sex with their clients and do not regard themselves as prostitutes. Because the clientele for such services tends to consist of heterosexual males, professional female dominants, who are known as dominatrices or pro dommes, are much more common than male dominants.

In many cities informal BDSM communities have arisen, establishing a loose network of people interested in BDSM activities and involved in BDSM education, events, clubs, businesses, or activism. There is also a significant BDSM community on the Internet that provides opportunities for education, matchmaking, information sharing, and even cyberdomination. The degree of participation in these communities varies considerably. Some people who engage in domination do not consider themselves part of the BDSM community, whereas others are involved in the community full-time or in multiple capacities.

Cities with active BDSM communities often have BDSM clubs. Those clubs may offer little more than a venue for like-minded people to meet and converse, but many also provide an opportunity for people to join an assortment of domination and submission "scenes."

Those scenes may range from fantasy enactment and role-playing to slave auctions to sexual encounters.

DOMINATION AND PSYCHOLOGY

Like much sexual behavior, domination has tended to be pathologized in scientific studies. The earliest scientific work in this area was undertaken by the psychologists Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Sigmund Freud, both of whom believed that sadomasochism is based in a love of cruelty and asserted the abnormality of sadomasochism while acknowledging its roots in so-called normal sexual behavior. Havelock Ellis, a contemporary of Freud and Krafft-Ebing, was the first scientist to treat sadomasochism as a normal aspect of human sexuality; he was also the first to distinguish between pain and cruelty, arguing that pain is both inflicted and felt as a manifestation of love.

Although the BDSM community often argues strenuously for the normality and the fundamentally caring nature of the activities in which it engages, popular perception and popular depictions of domination tend to view it as a freakish activity that is founded in cruelty and lack of respect for the submissive participant. Until the American Psychiatric Association's 1994 publication of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV) sexual domination and submission were considered sexual disorders. New diagnostic guidelines require that to be considered sexually deviant, the subject must have an ongoing obsession with sexual sadomasochism that causes interference with his or her daily life and/or other relationships.

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DON JUAN

Don Juan has spawned a sizable cultural, political, and social production in Europe for at least six centuries. His fictional, allegorical, and philosophical figure has educed

key questions about the sexes and their relations, about domination, resistance, identities, and stereotypes; through the ages he has forced readers to rethink correspondences between lust, trust, love, and relations. He has performed, and been performed, within and without the frame of literary fiction, engaging sex and gender with a looking glass in a variety of literatures and societies. Because he has exercised such influence, his figure has oftentimes been read as an allegory of masculinity (and, in broader terms, of gender) and as an arresting *imago* significantly indebted to myth and legend, especially those pertaining to regulatory fictions of sexuality. As Leo Weinstein put it in a 1959 work, "Strange as it may seem, Don Juan is at his best in a society that keeps its women behind barred windows and permits them to go out only in the company of chaperones" (p. 37).

TRICKING AUTHORITY

It makes sense, in fact, that Don Juan's beginnings have been identified with seventeenth-century Spain, where the allegorical power of Don Juan's dominant, unrepressed masculinity was a formidable competitor for the paternalistic, heteronormative sexual politics that characterized Counter-Reformation Spain. In 1564 marriage was squarely positioned center-stage in a monumental show of imperial politics, as the law of the land was dictated throughout the peninsula: Every Catholic man was to emulate Christ's union with the church by marrying a Catholic woman for strict purposes of procreation; their union would be legally and spiritually binding only if officially sanctioned by an ecclesiastical officer and two witnesses representing the Universal Catholic Monarchy, or ruling church-state in Spain. In that context the dramatic character of Don Juan Tenorio played with the institution of marriage to no end, reacting with strong defensive swerves in a text from the early 1600s titled *The Trickster of Seville and the Stone Guest*. There, he openly resisted the principles and doctrines of marriage and, in "The End," when audiences knew to expect a multiple wedding scene, the same Don Juan who had broken his promise to marry four times and left as many women to live in dishonor hell, agreed to give his hand in virtual matrimony to the Stone Guest, with whom he was united forever after in the symbolic realm of catharsis. This is one of the most poignantly ironic scenes of simultaneous recognition and interrogation of the Spanish church-state's power ever staged by a single subject. The more the Monarchy reached out to police sex and gender, the more tricks Don Juan turned, questioning such closure of life forces.

In artistic terms, Don Juan spoiled the show of Spain's early modern church-state by stealing another one: that of the first professional European theaters.

Uncannily, his behavior toward literature and the arts was as restless as his earlier incarnations in myth, legend, and history; he resisted the constraining frame of one text/one author, and made a grand entrance onto the vast stage of European literatures and cultures to play the archetypical swindler forever after. Centuries before Luigi Pirandello (1867–1936) sent out his characters in search of an author, neither playwrights nor textual boundaries were safe from Don Juan's guile. The result is puzzling, for as James Mandrell (1992) notes, "whereas it is customary to speak of Sophocles' Oedipus, Ovid's Narcissus, Shakespeare's Hamlet, Cervantes's Don Quijote, and Goethe's Faust, with respect to Don Juan, there are simply too many equally important works to single out one version as more significant than any other" (p. 1). Even the first irruption of Don Juan into literary textuality cannot be wedded to a single pen or text.

Two authorial figures have been associated with *The Trickster*: Tirso de Molina, the pseudonym for the monk-playwright Gabriel Téllez (c. 1580–1648), who for centuries stood as its single author, and Andrés de Claramonte (c. 1580–1626), a playwright and director of an incorporated theatrical company, to whom Adolfo Rodríguez López-Vázquez attributed the text in 1983. A second play, titled *Tan largo me lo fiáis* (I still have a lot of time, or, You trust me too much), was wrongly attributed to Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681). *Tan largo* bore an uncanny resemblance to *The Trickster*, and is said to have been published and staged at the same time. Their *Coloratura* representation of Don Juan, appearing simultaneously in different theaters, as well as the spectacular nature of the masculine voice shown in the title, follow the tradition of dissemination of the myth of Don Juan by means of popular sayings performed by troubadours in late-medieval Iberia. As the braggart title announces, *Tan Largo* voices Don Juan's defiant modus operandi, which he reiterates every time he faces his *hubris*—the prospect of a repressed, controlled, monogamous masculinity. These two dramatic texts overlap as much as they differ from each other, a literary gesture that stamped the seductive, teasing, and deceiving manner of Don Juan on the collective memory for audiences, readers, and critics to ponder.

The irruption of the mythical persona of Don Juan on the Spanish stages showed a man without a name, a seducer, a libertine, a sexual predator, a madman, a trickster, a demon—in sum, the basics of an archetype of dominant, free-roaming masculinity. Stages and narrative fiction in seventeenth-century Spain often came to depend on Don Juan for survival, as evidenced by the ubiquitous appearance of his figure under the robe of arrogant, deceiving men, manly women, pathetic fools, dandies, and fallen noblemen literally named "Don Juan" or figuratively evoking his figure by mimicking him. Therefore,

one could argue with David Whitton (1995) that *The Trickster* does not represent a mere literary debut, for "in addition to its sensational story, the play broaches two major themes which, at the emergence of the modern world, were starting to take a grip on Western consciousness: the clash between the rationalist mind and phenomena which transcend the material world, and the tension between the individual ego and the moral restraints of society" (p. 1). This clash, the competing encounter of the opposing forces of *physis*, or nature, and *nomos*, the spirit of the law, triangulate in Don Juan with another mythical force, *philía*, which signifies the friendship, kinship, and unconditional affection that he violates every time he performs his *burla*, or trick.

ON BECOMING PHILOSOPHY

As the context for the legislation of gender relations unfolded in Europe, Don Juan continued to challenge key assumptions of marriage, virtue, and honor. Across the northern border of the peninsula and less than half a century after the publication of *The Trickster*, Jean-Baptiste Poquelin (Molière) wrote *Dom Juan; or, The Feast of Pierre*, first performed at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal in 1665. Rather than focusing on the negotiations of the physical aspects of the seduction that preoccupied Tenorio—women, cities, court protocols, presence-absence of bodies, (in)visibility on and off the stage—Dom Juan rambled frequently about philosophical and metaphysical questions, presenting audiences with a cynical, brainy version of a libertine. Although he broke free from the constricting frame of classical theater units (time, place, unity of action), Dom Juan switched from the physical prowess of the Sevillian hunk and zoned in the inner territories of his character. The subtitle of the play reveals his great capacity to see within, for the word *pierre* denotes both the proper name of the commander (Peter) and the material with which the funerary statue is made (stone). His hypocritical gestures of rebellion against his social context offered a high-resolution psychological picture of a terribly complex masculinity.

The libertine's cynicism and capacity to reflect socio-psychological traits continued to grow in the eighteenth century. As women gained relatively more solvency in public spheres, the figure of Don Juan channeled many anxieties that such apertures elicited; as Weinstein (1959) reasons, the struggle of Don Juan in the eighteenth century "takes place in the open field of the drawing room, the weapons are wit, skill, and ingenuity, and if he does not watch his step, the seducer may find that the woman has turned the tables on him" (p. 39). Several authors experimented with aspects of this tectonic-plate change in gender relations. In England, as reflected in the title of his 1747–1748 novel *Clarissa Harlowe*, Samuel Richardson underscored the centrality of the woman in

the tale of Lovelace, considered by some as the ultimate seducer—despite his loss of protagonistic capital. In France, Pierre Choderlos de Laclos, in his 1782 novel *Dangerous Liaisons*, tested the power of man versus woman, as the Vicomte de Valmont and Madame de Merteuil, both award-winning sexual predators, raced each other for the prize of most seductive character. In Spain, the nostalgia with which Antonio de Zamora returned to Tirso's text heavily distorted the once spectacular tricks of the seducer, as it is revealed in the title of his 1744 play, *No hay plazo que no se cumplia ni deuda que no se pague y convidado de piedra*—translated by Joan Ramon Resina (2000) as "For every term there is a due date and every debt must be paid, and the stone guest" (p. 54).

Audiences had to wait for Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Lorenzo Da Ponte to collaborate on an artistic experiment that would most radically redefine Don Juan's audio-visual language of representation. In the fall of 1787 in Prague, Don Juan crossed another historic threshold and entered the plateau of musical recollection in a capital operatic text, *The Reprobate Punished; or, Don Giovanni*. Originally characterized as an opera buffa or *drama giocoso* (humorous drama), this text engaged the words, actions, and physical presence of all characters to transcend the limits of logic and rhetoric in representing the story of Don Giovanni. The death of Donna Anna's father—a moment of climax and dramatic representation in Don Juan's previous textual lives—reaches a peak with a lyrical trio of voices in *Don Giovanni* that reveal at once glimpses of wrath, bravado, annoyance, and cowardice. The brief trio in F minor is only eighteen measures long and flows with a solemn rhythm that profoundly engages the questions eternally posed by Don Juan (*physis, nomos, philía*). The text unfolds in poetic, comic, ironic, sentimental, and melodic turns, stimulating the senses and paving the way for the gripping conclusion, in which demons seize the unrepentant Don Giovanni and drag him to the underworld.

WOMEN, HONOR, COMPETITION

After this, it seems that Don Juan had exhausted all possible tricks. He had tried a number of variations and, despite the dubious nature of his character, he had reached the heights of sublime expression. Thus argued Søren Kierkegaard for whom *Don Giovanni* "deserves the highest place among all the classic works of art" (Kierkegaard 1944, vol. 1, p. 52). According to Weinstein (1959), Kierkegaard held *Don Giovanni* in such high regard because it rendered the most abstract idea (the sensuous and erotic genius of Don Juan, expressed in all its immediacy) in the most abstract of media (music). But there was one more trick left for Don Juan to turn, as he was to repent from his transgressions and let the woman be his savior—a trick that he performed during the nineteenth century. The

1813 tale *Don Juan* by E. T. A. Hoffmann, the 1830 dramatic poem *The Stone Guest* by Alexander Pushkin, and the 1844 play *Don Juan Tenorio* by José Zorrilla y Moral underscored this component of what has been understood as the modern Don Juan, the one who can understand the contradictions of transgressing the laws of nature and society, and still be able to move to repentance by virtue of his connection with a woman.

Regardless of the outcome, the period, or the setting, the political economy of Don Juan's tricks left women time and again in positions of powerlessness, silence, or even death. This has locked Don Juan in a gendered perception of the sexual predatory role, even in the case of the Romantic ladies who came to rescue Don Juan from the hell in which his pathetic self had become by the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, as argued elsewhere, the violations of the laws of marriage, trust, and honor performed by Don Juan in literature are not aimed directly at the sexed aspect of the female bodies and figures (Carrión 1995). His most significant targets were fathers, brothers, husbands, noblemen, and kings in the families and nations in which he seduced women. For the women around him he feigns words of intimate, lyric love; but he addresses his most meaningful speech, actions, and madness to the men. As a result, the female literary partners of Don Juan ended up signifying as strict currency for a series of transactions of power between men, especially in the earlier stages of his development in Europe.

Be that as it may, despite the fact that Don Juan became a singular authority in the brethren of European arts and letters, only by virtue of the power of this currency, the women, did he acquire more complex meaning in public spaces. In *The Trickster*, for instance, Isabel, Tisbea, Arminta, and Ana occupy a secondary place; only the voice of the latter is projected onstage from the depths of the backstage, screaming for the restitution of her honor. But each one of them made his tricks possible, even if that meant cultural, social, or even physical annihilation. In Molière's text Elvire overcomes her rage against him and prays for his soul, a juggling act that Dom Juan never matches. With Mozart and Da Ponte, *Don Giovanni* (the character turning text, the ultimate trick) absorbs the lyricism of Elvire's arie to reach the highest levels of artistic accomplishments. And with Hoffmann, Pushkin, and Zorrilla, the carnavalesque libertine joins the pantheon of stoned folks by virtue of the redemptory nature of the Romantic heroines—Anna in *Don Juan* and *The Stone Guest*, and Doña Inés in *Don Juan Tenorio*.

Two women, however, have complicated to no end Don Juan's role of predatory sex and dominant gender alignment: Tisbea in *The Trickster*, who declares herself the keeper of her own sexuality and honor ("en las pajas," which can be read either as in the haystack or as by masturbating herself), and Merteuil, who, unlike any other woman on Earth competed with Valmont for the prize of most dangerous sexual predator. Thinking of these women as meaningful in their own right can yield new meanings for Don Juan's tricks, through which readers can perceive the radical critique of a control of sex and gender that his otherwise predatory, dominant, and masculinist role is designed to articulate.

PSYCHOANALYSIS, A LAST TURN OF THE SCREW

Within the confines of the artistic looking glass, the more immoral the tricks, the more plasticity there is in the aesthetic effect. The poetry, the philosophical ramblings, the light, the music, and the physical, intellectual, and vital stimulation that these texts offer have all been—and will continue to be—great contributions to the realms of the senses, the intellect, the body, and fantasies. Outside of the artistic confines, performing Don Juan as a senseless exercise of literal, dominant masculinity for the sake of merely abusing women has yielded rather infelicitous and, unfortunately, too frequent readings of this figure, both in their lack of aesthetic results and twisted political economies. This abusive reading of both women and Don Juan is related to what has been termed the "Don Juan complex," which the Austrian psychoanalyst Otto Rank, pupil of Sigmund Freud, associated with the exercise and discourses of the *ius primae noctis*, or first night law, the despotic right of the feudal lord to deflower the bride of his peasants. Igor M. Kadyrov (2000) called these psychosocial dynamics "neurotic and more primitive aspects of personality ... [a] core-psychopathology indebted to earliest preoedipal (in classical terms) trauma" (p. 43), and, at best, related to poor readings of Don Juan's artistic experiences.

By recklessly and endlessly enacting a loudly proclaimed infringement of a promise he has uttered for every woman he tricks, Don Juan presents readers with an untenable, yet greatly desired fantasy: a glimpse of the possibility that a single subject can actually adhere to the promise of control and civilization, while at the very same time holding the power to lead a life of great, uncontrolled sexual prowess. To resolve the dramatic conflict, these artistic texts bring the father back from the dead in a fashion more splendid than what he knew when he was alive. The apparition of the ghost who, like Don Juan, comes from—as he heads to—time immemorial no doubt incites another unsustainable fantasy for readers of these texts to visually and collectively apprehend: Audiences can see Don Juan repeatedly killing the father, who comes back from the dead as a fabulous, cryptic presence onstage that both haunts and escorts

Don Juan in his voyage across the centuries and European borders.

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Domination; Gender Identity; Gender Stereotype; Literature: I. Overview.*

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María M. Carrión

DRAG KINGS

Drag kings are artists, activists, queer people, and others that dress in constantly-evolving styles of *drag* for theatrical performances (and occasionally other artistic mediums, such as photography) which aim for a masculine realness, a parodied presentation of masculinity, and/or a political intervention or critique.

DRAG KING STYLE AND MASCULINE EMBODIMENT

For their performances, most drag kings dress in male attire and bind their breasts with bandages or tight-fitting sports bras. Drag kings have also made an art of the crafting of facial hair. It can be drawn on with eyeliner, and accentuated with dark eye shadow for an unshaven look. The most common method of applying facial hair is to affix clippings of real hair to the face with spirit gum or other liquid adhesives. Some drag kings also *pack*, or put socks, dildos, or home-made packages in their underwear to give the appearance of a penis. Drag kings usually prefer the use of male pronouns when they are performing or dressed in drag. Performances can be solo or ensemble acts and usually are comprised of lip-syncing and dancing. Other acts consist of the impersonation of celebrities or stock character types and may contain brief skits. Well-wrought performances have a variety of different effects: they incite the crowd with a seductive drag king earnestly displaying his own masculinity; they entertain with a choreographed song-and-dance number; or they provide a playful or unswerving critique of, for example, the binary (male/female) gender system or hetero-normativity.

Some drag kings explain that their performances allow for the expression of an inner part of themselves—their own embodied, expressive masculinity—or describe their involvement with drag king culture as a starting point for a transgendered identity. Others view their drag king personas as direct political and activist action, while still others find their way to drag king culture through performance art or involvement in a local queer community. Accordingly drag kings may identify as women, as butch, as transsexuals, as transgendered, as genderqueer, or they may regard their performances as quite removed from their gendered or sexual identities. Some drag kings dress and perform in female drag to participate in ensemble acts or even to emcee events. Such activity illustrates one way in which drag king culture often interrogates notions of what constitutes drag, thus, pushing the boundaries of performance, theater, and gender.

HISTORY OF KINGING

Female male impersonators date back to the 1800s and share a history that includes such performers as Vesta Tilley, British music hall's most famous male impersonator. However, these music hall performances catered to straight audiences and bear little resemblance to drag king acts. In this sense, drag kings have more in common with their queer counterpart, the *drag queen*. By literally performing genders, the drag king and queen expose the construction and fluidity, rather than the nature or truth, of gender. However many critics call attention to the disparate implications of performing masculinity as opposed to femininity in a patriarchal culture and cite the different cultural origins and histories of drag kings and queens.

Although the term drag queen dates back to an earlier century, the term drag king arose in the mid-1990s in conjunction with these distinctly lesbian subcultural practices and with the proliferation of queer genders that stand in opposition to the normative gender dichotomy. In their many manifestations, drag kings occupy a significant and sometimes activist role in gay, lesbian, and queer cultural spaces, organizing and participating in drag king contests and shows, creating

drag king troupes, and hosting gender workshops. While large cities and college towns have produced most of the more sizeable drag king scenes, drag kings also perform on stages and at bars in rural settings, making it clear that the phenomenon has infiltrated queer culture at large and has produced encompassing and supportive networks for kings, lesbian performance artists, and gender-benders. The International Drag King Extravaganza (IDKE), founded in 1999 in Columbus, Ohio, is the premiere annual (and now traveling) conference for drag kings, although the immense and immediate popularity of drag kings and *kinging* (the gerund with which many kings refer to their art) has spurred many other weekend-long events into existence. Judith Halberstam, an academic who has charted and championed the rise of drag king culture in such books as *Female Masculinity* (1998) and *The Drag King Book* (1999), did much to theorize drag king performances in particular and, more broadly, to outline their significance to queer culture and the unsettling of traditional masculinity. Well-known drag kings include Mildred "Dréd" Gerestant, Carlos Las Vegas, Pat Riarch, Elvis Herselvis, and Murray Hill, who ran a campy mayoral campaign in New York City in 1997 that proposed "Gay rights for all!"

DRAG KING CULTURE AND SCENES

While kinging began as contests based on individual appearance that developed into theatrical performance, it has evolved into a concentrated group and community-based scene. Drag king culture bears a strong allegiance and commitment to the creation and maintenance of queer spaces, and drag kings are likely to be staples at gay bars, pride parades, and festivals. Wherever drag kings perform, audience members regularly attend the event in some degree of drag.

Drag king culture is organized in terms of the founding and preservation of performance troupes, which sometimes function as families, and the clubs where these troupes perform. Many troupes, such as the renowned D.C. Kings and Chicago Kings, employ names that refer to their geographical location. H.I.S. Kings, founders of IDKE, was one of the first drag troupes, and the Disposable Boy Toys (Santa Barbara, California) referred to itself as a *political feminist collective*. Famous drag king clubs include New York City's Club Casanova and London's Club Wotever. International drag king scenes are organized along similar lines and exist in countries such as Japan, Australia, Germany, and Spain. Drag king culture has at times been critiqued for being butch exclusive or misogynist and for controversial racial appropriation, yet many of the more political troupes pointedly confront these issues in their performances.

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Emma Crandall

DRAG QUEENS

Drag queens is a slang term that is used to describe one variation of male-to-female cross-dressing; drag queens are men who dress as women. They are typified by exaggeration and excess, often resulting in a clownish or cartoonlike presentation. Wigs, makeup, and fashion often are overdone or out of proportion, creating an exaggerated femininity that is instantly recognizable as false or appropriated. That recognition is central to the drag queen aesthetic; drag queens attempt to make the constructed nature of their gender obvious, intentionally borrowing both masculine and feminine qualities simultaneously to create a gender position outside of either. The term is believed to have developed in the homosexual community of Great Britain in the nineteenth century and derives from the slang words *drag* (clothing) and *queen* (an effeminate man).

The term often is used interchangeably with related but significantly different forms of cross-dressing: transvestitism and female impersonation. Transvestitism can be a fetishistic practice in which erotic pleasure is derived from an individual wearing clothes typically associated with the opposite sex. It more commonly applies to people who wear clothes inappropriate to their recognized sex, regardless of motive. It need not, and often is not, tied to sexuality in any way. While drag queens are a form of transvestitism in this general sense, they are almost always identified by their sexuality (gay men) and often have an intentionally transgressive function. Therefore, while related, the two terms are not synonymous.

In female impersonation the goal is to *pass* as a woman: to persuade observers that the impersonator is biologically a woman. This differs from the central goal of drag, which is to violate normative gender categories by refusing to occupy fully either masculine or feminine styles. Also related but not identical are various types of female-to-male cross-dressing. *Drag kings* are linked most closely to drag queens, but they have a different set of goals and expectations and should not be considered as a female version of drag queens.

The term drag queen has evolved over time, and this makes it difficult to discuss drag queens in a historical

sense. At the beginning of the twentieth century, for example, a drag queen almost exclusively meant a male sex worker who dressed as a woman. In the later twentieth century, however, the term became more closely associated with theatrical performance, usually in a cabaret or nightclub. Drag queens were particularly visible participants in the Stonewall riots of 1969. This brought both the gay rights movement and drag queens into the public eye, and the popular understanding of drag queens (excessive in appearance and behavior, obviously nonnormative) generally has remained constant since that time.

DRAG QUEENS IN GAY CULTURE

Drag shows in gay clubs are a mainstay of gay culture. Some clubs specialize in drag, and many others have shows on regular nights. Those clubs generally have a drag queen hostess who is a local drag favorite and who introduces the drag artists and functions as a mother figure to the drag community. Outside the club setting drag queens are regular fixtures and favorites in gay pride parades and other events staged for the larger community. They can be a target of criticism within and without the gay community because they are the most visible manifestation of homosexuality. Many straight people find drag queens offensive and frightening and base their entire understanding of homosexuals on that relatively small group. By contrast, the leather community is equally visible in gay pride events, but its members are less reviled, possibly because they are seen as hypermasculine or closer to a normative understanding of gender.

DEFINING DRAG QUEENS

Marjorie Garber (1992) differentiates the *passing drag queen* (who emphasizes femininity if not the actual ability to pass as a woman) from the *radical drag queen*, "who *wants* the discontinuity of hairy chest or moustache to clash with a revealingly cut dress" (p. 49). A passing drag queen appropriates and deploys feminine traits and appearance and may be considered to defy normative expectations of gender and reinforce them simultaneously. Drag of this type does not question femininity but does question the body on which femininity may be superimposed. A radical drag queen, in contrast, mocks gender categories in a broader way by combining the masculine and the feminine in a jarring fashion.

Some drag queens specialize in impersonation, although only in a narrow sense. A drag queen will not attempt to impersonate femaleness in a general way but will attempt to impersonate a specific woman, usually a celebrity. The impersonation is intentionally inexact, however. As with other forms of drag, it tends to overemphasize specific characteristics, generally the celebrity's

mannerisms and fashion. The impersonation also may be dislocated in time if the drag queen chooses to wear a costume associated with a specific moment in the celebrity's past. In either case there is little chance that the drag queen will be mistaken for the celebrity; instead the queen will be recognized as gesturing toward her in a stylized fashion.

Drag queens generally are thought of as part of a camp gay aesthetic. Drag usually falls into the category of *low camp*, which Christopher Isherwood explains as "a swishy little boy with peroxided hair, dressed in a picture hat and a feather boa, pretending to be Marlene Dietrich" (1956, p. 106). This would fit Garber's formulation of passing drag because it emphasizes the feminine, although it clearly denotes a drag queen who does not intend to pass successfully either as a woman or as Marlene Dietrich. This impersonation often is thought of as a kind of homage to women who are gay icons, women who would be recognized and admired by a gay audience. Celebrities who are emulated frequently by drag queens include Judy Garland, Barbra Streisand, Liza Minnelli, Cher, Bette Midler, and Tina Turner. It is notable that all these women are singers, for musical performance is often part of drag shows.

Drag queens are often most visible in a kind of mock performance in which they lip-synch to prerecorded songs before an audience. In this way their performance is doubly removed from any sense of an original: The performer is a man dressed as a woman, and the performance depends on a preexisting performance by another person. These performances usually are characterized by exaggeration as well. Songs often are selected because of the opportunities they give the drag queen to engage in stylized theatrics such as complicated hand gestures, contortions of the body, and overemphasized vibrato on sustained notes. In drag shows of this sort it is common for audience members to show their appreciation for a good performance by giving the drag queen money; this aligns drag queens with strippers, who also play upon gender expectations and receive cash tips.

THEORIZING DRAG QUEENS

All formulations of drag are complicated by the general perception that drag queens are humorous. For many people this removes them automatically from the realm of the political, as humor generally is not seen as a serious mode of political or critical discussion. This reading of drag would reduce it to entertainment or comic fun, a position that most theorists of drag find unacceptable. The humor inherent in drag does not deny its seriousness for them. Instead, it is thought of as part of its method of critique; it is a part of the drag aesthetic just as it is a part of satire.

Drag Queens. *Two drag queens pose for a photo during a gay parade in Bangkok, Thailand.* © **NARONG SANGNAK/EPA/CORBIS.**

One of the primary theorists of drag, Judith Butler (1990), has examined drag as a performance of gender. Her idea of performance differs from the theatrical performance mode in which drag queens often operate: Butler is more interested in the general state of being of the drag queen than in the drag queen's specific activity at a moment in time. She has written that "in imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself—as well as its contingency" (p. 175). She imagines drag as a parody of gender: not of a specific gender category but of the idea of normative gender.

DRAG NAMES

Drag queens almost always create names for their characters and while in character expect to be addressed in the feminine as *she*. Those names are most often stylized and cartoonish, much like drag itself. They are often jokes or plays on words and fall into several general categories. Some drag queens play with the sound of language and choose names that are homonyms for other things or concepts that often are completely unrelated to drag (Hedda Lettuce, Flotilla DeBarge, Miss Understood). Some drag queens refer to celebrities by adopting part of a celebrity name or through some permutation of multiple names (Harlow, named after Jean Harlow, and Varla Jean Merman, who combines Marilyn Monroe's birth name, Norma Jean, with Ethel Merman). Still others choose names that are intentionally overfeminized, seem to call attention to the artificiality of the feminine, and are often overtly sexual (The Lady Chablis, Lady Bunny, Clover Honey). Others appropriate the names of products, usually products associated with illicit activity or high fashion (Coco Peru, Virginia Slim, Shirley Q Liquor). Another category of drag name is the single moniker, which signals a kind of celebrity status in drag as it does in the rest of popular culture. Many of the single-named drag queens are the most famous and have a degree of celebrity even in mainstream popular culture (Divine, RuPaul).

FAMOUS DRAG QUEENS

Although cross-dressing has been a popular part of mainstream culture for millennia, drag queens are a more recent development. The rise of music hall variety shows and vaudeville in the nineteenth century gave a certain amount of visibility to work in drag, although no real celebrities emerged in that period. Conversely, some female performers did become celebrities for their work in men's attire and appearance in British music halls. Vesta Tilley, for example, was one of the biggest music hall stars in England and the United States from the 1880s until her retirement in 1920. She appeared on stage dressed as a rich young fop and sang songs that criticized the leisurely life of the upper classes. The tradition of male celebrities who appeared in drag without actually being drag queens continued with the development of television. Two of the most famous actors who regularly appeared in drag were Milton Berle and Flip Wilson, although their drag sketches were only a small part of their overall repertory.

The first true celebrity drag queens emerged in the 1970s. Divine, who appeared in films from the late 1960s into the 1980s, was one of the first whose life and career seemed inseparable. She maintained her drag persona consistently for decades and is remembered almost entirely as Divine rather than for her life as a male out of drag. She appeared in a number of films by the director John Waters, as did her fellow drag queen Holly Woodlawn. Although these performers were known to the general public as celebrities, their films remained popular mostly with fringe communities.

Dame Edna Everage, by contrast, is a mainstream drag queen whose performances have been seen by a wide variety of audiences. In the 1980s she rose to fame in Australia and then later in the United Kingdom and the United States. Her celebrity was increased because she maintained a single character rather than (as Divine did) performing multiple characters in different films or appearances. Also, the man who appears as Dame Everage is married and ostensibly heterosexual. Some claim that this adds to Dame Edna's appeal with mainstream audiences, as her appearances can be seen as pure camp fun because her underlying heterosexuality implies a reaffirmation of gender positions rather than a critique of them.

The early 1980s saw a small explosion of drag queens on stage. Harvery Fierstein won two Tony Awards in 1983 for *Torch Song Trilogy*, in which he played a drag queen at a New York cabaret. The next year he helped write the musical *La Cage Aux Folles*, which is set in a French drag club. Charles Busch, a playwright and performer, began to appear on the New York stage in his own plays, beginning with *Vampire Lesbians of Sodom* (1984), in which he played a female role. Since that time he has performed in many plays and

films as a woman. Other drag-based shows, such as the San Francisco *Beach Blanket Babylon* (which opened in 1974), have brought drag queens to the public eye, but few have produced celebrity performers.

In the late 1990s the first true drag queen superstar rose to fame. RuPaul is a toweringly tall hyperfeminized drag queen who bills herself as Supermodel of the World. Her recording career, although quite brief, resulted in two songs that were played in gay dance clubs and then broke into general play. Although drag queens had been performing openly for decades, the public treated RuPaul as a complete novelty and embraced her warmly. She eventually hosted a talk show on cable television, appeared in small roles in several films, and maintained a high profile on the dance club circuit. Although the substance of her career was similar to that of other previous drag queens, RuPaul managed to captivate the imagination of a large, general audience, breaking out of the confines of an exclusively gay following.

SEE ALSO *Divine.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

DREAMS AND EROTICISM, DREAM BOOKS

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, dreams have been closely linked with eroticism, in large part because of Sigmund Freud's groundbreaking and influential

Interpretation of Dreams (1900). Arguing that dreams express, in coded form, the fulfillment of unconscious wishes, Freud connected dreams to primary drives, especially the libido, and thus turned dreams and their interpretation definitively toward the erotic. As Freud suggests, "The more one is concerned with the solution of dreams, the more one is driven to recognize that the majority of the dreams of adults deal with sexual material and give expression to erotic wishes." Although the later twentieth century saw a shift, especially among brain scientists like J. Allan Hobson, toward understanding dreams as physiological events without latent meaning, the idea that dreams bring us close to our secret, sexual selves remains firmly in place in Western culture.

Earlier in the history of dream interpretation, the linkage between dreams and the erotic was weaker. From antiquity through the Middle Ages and early modernity, dreams were understood as complex phenomena, linked to the individual psyche and body but also to cosmic, even divine, forces. Some dreams might reliably predict future events; others were understood to be essentially meaningless, or even positively deceptive. In all of this, eroticism had a part, but it was not an essential quality of the dream or dream interpretation.

As early as the Hebrew Bible, dreams and their interpretation are approached in a double manner. The dreams interpreted by Joseph in Genesis or by the prophet Daniel are understood to be reliable revelations of the historical future; the same is true in the New Testament, when God's angel appears to Joseph in his dreams. But the Bible also expresses a strong distrust of dream divination, associating it, in Deuteronomy 18:9–12, with "abhorrent" magical practices like wizardry. In ancient Greece and Rome, we encounter a similar complexity. In treatises on sleep and waking, dreams, and dream divination, Aristotle (384–322 BCE) expresses a deep skepticism about the possibility of dreams predicting the future; he reads dreams primarily as physiological, arguing that, when dreams do seem accurately to foretell the future, this is by "mere coincidence."

Nevertheless, dream divination played an important role in classical culture. Dream incubation—the performance of rituals in a sacred place in order to stimulate predictive or curative dreams—was part of common religious practice. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) wrote a treatise *De Divinatione*, aware and supportive of the Aristotelian skepticism about dream divination, but also presenting arguments in support of predictive dreams. When Cicero's treatise was taken up by later writers, it was often, despite his own intentions, to buttress belief in divination. Late-antique writers like Macrobius and Calcidius (fourth and fifth centuries), and early Christian writers like Augustine of Hippo

(354–430) and Gregory the Great (540–604), thus inherited complex ideas about dreaming, which they reemphasized. Macrobius, for instance, recognized five kinds of dream, two meaningless, three predictive. Calcidius, Augustine, and Gregory developed similar schemas, with the Christian writers adding a moral dimension to the understanding of dreams by arguing that they may be sent by either angels or demons. Such late-antique and early Christian systems of dream classification were reproduced and elaborated throughout the Middle Ages and into modernity.

The belief in dream divination was reflected in literary works from Homer (c. 750 BCE), the Bible, and Virgil (70–19 BCE) on; it also spawned a distinct literary genre, that of the dream book, a key to dream interpretation based on the dream's manifest content. Thus, to dream of falling down a hill might signify future riches. (Freud recognized a certain distant kinship between his own method for interpreting dreams and the "decoding" method represented in the dream books.) It is known that such books existed in the ancient Middle East; for instance, A. Leo Oppenheim has translated an Assyrian dream book. Biblical dream interpretations—that seven lean cows eating seven fat ones predicts seven years of prosperity followed by seven of famine (Genesis 41)—seem linked to such traditions.

Artemidorus of Daldis (second century CE) compiled an influential version of the genre in Greek, the *Oneirocritica* (later translated into Arabic, and influential in medieval Islam); this work contains a remarkable richness of dream contents, including four chapters devoted to erotic dreams, as experienced primarily by men. Artemidorus divides such dreams into three types based on the sexual acts they represent: (1) acts in conformity with the law, including sex with wives, mistresses, prostitutes, women encountered unexpectedly, servants and slaves (male or female), friends and acquaintances (male or female), as well as masturbation; (2) acts contrary to law, including especially incest, understood largely to mean sex between parents and children; and (3) acts contrary to nature, including deviations like oral sex from "natural" sexual positions, as well as sex with gods, animals, or corpses; self-penetration or oral contact with one's own penis; and female-female sex involving penetration. Michel Foucault begins the third volume of his *History of Sexuality* with a discussion of this material, emphasizing especially the ways in which Artemidorus understands erotic dreams as relating to the dreamer's *social* status.

Dream books proliferated in the European Middle Ages despite their being prohibited by canon law. In order to counteract such Christian prohibitions, dream books often tried to associate themselves with biblical dream interpretation. Dream books in the tradition of

Artemidorus took the title *Somniale Danielis* (The Dream Book of Daniel) and incorporated a prologue tracing their dream code back to the Bible. We also find other kinds of medieval dream book—for instance, the dream-lunar, which associates the dream's meaning with the phase of the moon; and the dream alphabet, which keys dream significations to the letters of the alphabet found when, upon awakening, the dreamer opens a book at random. Dream books remained popular after the Middle Ages, and are in fact still published, under such titles as *The Mystic Dream Book: 2500 Dreams Explained*. The erotic content of the medieval dream books is much reduced compared to what we find in Artemidorus, most likely because of an expanding Christian reprobation of sexual material. Sometimes the dreams interpreted are specifically erotic—for instance, from the *Somniale Danielis*, "To sleep with one's sister in a dream signifies loss; with one's mother, security" —but there is nothing essentially erotic about the medieval genre.

It is not, however, only with Freud that dreams again become significantly linked to eroticism. The experience of wet dreams emphasized to ancient and medieval writers that dreams might have a connection to the physiology of sexual arousal, and many Christian thinkers wrote about what this might imply for the moral state of the dreamer. On the one hand, the intemperate or uncontrolled emission of semen was understood to be polluting and the sexual ideas accompanying the wet dream dangerous. On the other, given that wet dreams occur during sleep, when the individual is unable to make rational decisions or moral choices, they were understood to be generally blameless. Still, early (pre-Christian) traditions connected the "proper" mastery of one's passions to the disappearance of disturbed, passionate dreams, and some Christian writers argued that wet dreams occurred more frequently in individuals predisposed to sexual sin, or even that they might be sent as demonic temptations. Wet dreams were never wholly cleansed of the taint of pollution and moral culpability.

Other dream experiences were also closely connected to the body and sex. The incubus, a nightmare in which the dreamer feels a heavy weight pressing upon him or her, was understood to be caused by a demon attempting to engage in sexual intercourse. The male incubus was complemented by a female equivalent, the succubus, a demon taking female shape in order to tempt men— often religious men like monks—into sexual sin.

Aristotle's skeptical treatises on dreaming were first made available to the European Middle Ages in Latin translation in the twelfth century, and their emphasis on the non-predictive status of dreams, and on the dream's somatic and psychological status, significantly shaped later medieval thinking. The idea that dreams might predict the future by no means disappeared, but the sense that the dream reflected psychosomatic process was highlighted. This shift in later medieval dream theory might in part explain the most striking medieval eroticizing of dreams, the development of a tradition of romantic poetry intimately linked to dreaming.

In the twelfth century, dream poems in Latin like Alain de Lille's *Plaint of Nature* appear, taking up questions about human sexual behavior; at roughly the same moment, vernacular romances like Chrétien de Troyes's arise, considering the trials and joys of "courtly love." These two traditions—courtly romance and dream poetry—are brought together in the thirteenth century in Guillaume de Lorris's and Jean de Meun's *Romance of the Rose*, an immensely popular poem. The *Romance* depicts the dream of a lover pursuing his beloved, the (allegorical) rose. Romantic love and erotic experience are absolutely central to this dream, and we can see the linkage established here between dreaming and eroticism picked up in many later medieval writers—Dante (1256–1321), Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), Jean Froissart (c. 1333–c. 1405), Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300–1377), Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1340–1400). An early modern text like William Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1596) belongs to this same tradition, as do many later works exploring the lover's psychology through the representation of dreams.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Ancient Rome; Freud, Sigmund; Middle Ages; Psychoanalysis.*

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Steven F. Kruger

DRUGS, RECREATIONAL

There has been a long association between drugs and sex. In Greek mythology *aphrodisiacs* were festivals held in the honor of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. Since that time the term has come to signify foods, drinks, drugs, and other agents that arouse sexual desire.

MIND-SET AND SOCIAL SETTING

Despite the ability of a drug to provoke physiological arousal, its aphrodisiacal effects are often contextual and depend on what users call the set and setting: or mind-set and social setting. Thus, it is important to distinguish between the psychopharmacological and physiological effects of drugs. Each user brings to each drug a set of expectations that, though often socially determined and situated, strongly influences the user's experiences. Moreover, each drug has a "social pharmacology" that often determines a user's experience by providing a social or cultural context for that experience.

For example, the drug ecstasy, or MDMA, functions uniquely in three ways: First, physiologically MDMA simulates an increased level of serotonin, a mood-enhancing, naturally occurring neurochemical, while also raising the brain's level of dopamine, another mood-enhancing chemical, promoting feelings of elation and euphoria. Second, the general social pharmacology of MDMA suggests that ecstasy is a "love drug" and often depicts its use in the context of sensual and sexual activity. Third, an individual's unique psychopharmacology combines the physiological effects with the social pharmacology while integrating the user's expectations, state of mind, experience, and so on. Thus, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact effects of MDMA, or any drug, on one causal factor. However, the combination of causal factors is such that MDMA often is considered a sexually enhancing recreational drug and is used as such (Rhodes 1996).

THE EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC RECREATIONAL DRUGS

The following descriptions of recreational drugs consider both their physiological effects and social pharmacologies.

Alcohol Typically considered a sedative, alcohol long has been associated with promiscuous and compulsive sexual behavior. Its legality and prevalence make alcohol the most widely used recreational drug other than caffeine. The social pharmacology of alcohol is not linked to or limited by a specific subculture or socioeconomic group; however, research suggests that heavy drinkers are more likely to engage in risky sexual behavior (Temple and Leigh 1992).

Marijuana Marijuana typically is placed in a class of drugs by itself, but THC (tetrahydrocannabinol), the active ingredient, is considered a psychotropic substance, that is, a chemical that alters brain functioning (Kuo and associates 2004). A large range of often contradictory physiological effects are attributed to marijuana use, ranging from feelings of euphoria and relaxation to paranoia and intense stimulation. Marijuana has been used as an aphrodisiac for at least three thousand years in Indian Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi medicines and has been used predominantly as a libido stimulant among many ethnic groups worldwide. Evidence suggests that the effects of marijuana are determined largely by the social framework and individual expectations that surround its use. For this reason, the social context in which marijuana is used sets the stage for the user's experience. Among many subculture groups marijuana highs are regarded as intensifying the sexual charge of the social context; thus, it is perceived as heightening sexual tension and arousal for its users.

Hallucinogens and Psychedelics Although many hallucinogenic drugs, such as LSD (D-lysergic acid diethylamide), typically are not regarded as aphrodisiacs, some, such as MDMA and psilocybin, are used for their sexual enhancement effects. Psychedelics often provoke synesthesia, heightened feelings of intimacy, and enhanced spiritual awareness, and in some settings these effects may function as sexual enhancers.

Ecstasy Ecstasy has a reputation as being a sex drug or, as it often is called, a "love drug." MDMA functions as a serotonin agonist and dopamine booster and produces physiological feelings of elation and euphoria (Parrot and associates 2001). These feelings typically are linked to sensations of increased intimacy and heightened sexual arousal. Ecstasy most often is associated with the underground "rave" and dance culture, but its use is not limited to that group.

Stimulants Stimulants, or amphetamines such as speed and "crank," reportedly delay orgasm and are popular sex drugs. However, the sexual effects of stimulants may be psychological interpretations of physiological effects (Rhodes 1996). That is, stimulants cause increased heartbeat, increased levels of adrenaline, and sensations of euphoria, which are translated into feelings of sexual arousal. Long-term stimulant use, however, may have the opposite effect. Extended periods of stimulant use may decrease a user's libido and ability to perform sexually. Amphetamines in general are considered "club drugs" and often are ingested in situations and settings that are already sexually charged.

Cocaine Cocaine, another stimulant, typically is used as a sexual enhancer because of its numbing and sedative effects. Users report an extended duration of sexual activity linked to the numbing effects of cocaine and thus view the drug as a method of prolonging sexual pleasure (Rhodes 1996). Some men allegedly put cocaine on their penises before sex for its numbing effects and as a more direct method of forestalling orgasm. Cocaine is regarded widely as the paragon of recreation sex drugs, and its use is not necessarily limited to specific subculture or socioeconomic groups.

Opiates Opiates and other depressants generally dampen or inhibit sexual arousal, making them less attractive as sexual enhancers. Opiates such as heroin, morphine, and opium are not necessarily linked causally to promiscuous sexual behavior, although opiate users tend to engage in risky behaviors in general; thus, the link between opiate use and promiscuous sexual behavior is one of lifestyle choices rather than physiological or socially determined effects.

Alkyl Nitrates (Poppers) Alkyl nitrates, or "poppers," such as amyl nitrate and butyl nitrate, historically have been used for their sex-enhancing properties. Amyl nitrate, the most popular of the poppers, was created and prescribed as a treatment for angina (Newell, Spitz, and Wilson 1988). Poppers relax and open blood vessels around the sex organs, promoting erection and increased sensitivity in and around the user's genitals. Poppers are also popular among gay men because of their effect of relaxing sphincter muscles, making anal sex less painful and thus more pleasurable. In the rave culture poppers are used in conjunction with either MDMA or cocaine to heighten feelings of euphoria and physical sensitivity.

Prescription Drugs Prescription drugs such as Viagra, Cialis, and Uprima are becoming increasingly popular as recreational drugs. Although they typically are pre-scribed as aids for sufferers of erectile dysfunction (ED), these drugs often are purchased and used illegally as sexual enhancers. Drugs such as Viagra frequently are used in conjunction with other recreational drugs to combat the negative sexual side effects of drugs that decrease sexual arousal. For example, ED drugs are used to combat the numbing and erection-reducing effects of poppers, stimulants, MDMA, and opiates. This method of use may reduce the user's blood pressure drastically and dangerously.

Date Rape Drugs Although not used for recreational purposes, date rape drugs are associated with risky sexual behavior. Drugs such as ketamine (commonly known as special K, vitamin K, ket, or kit kat), Rohypnol (or roofies, roach, R-2, or shays), and gamma-hydroxybutyerate (GHB) (or liquid ecstasy, liquid X, cherry meth, or Georgia home boy) are put into the drinks of unsuspecting users. The physiological effect is to render the user either unconscious or otherwise incapacitated so that the administrator of the drug can assault the user sexually. Date rape drugs generally do not have a positive social pharmacology. However, they typically are seen as being administered by men to women in social settings where alcohol is being used; because the administrator and the user are already familiar with each other, they are viewed as facilitators of date rape.

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Jeremy C. Justus

DUGHDOVA

SEE *Zoroastrianism.*

DULCINEA

Dulcinea is the name given by the self-proclaimed knight-errant Don Quixote to his imaginary beloved in Miguel de Cervantes's novel *Don Quixote* (Part One, 1605; Part Two, 1615).

Having read countless novels of chivalry, a middle-aged man with a propensity for extravagant fantasy renames himself Don Quixote and decides to become a knight-errant. He then provides himself with the necessities for that profession: horse, armor, and new name, though all are comically inadequate. Since all knights have an object of adoration in the form of a lady, Don Quixote next tends to that item on his list. Vaguely remembering a girl from the village of El Toboso named Aldonza Lorenzo with whom he once had been in love (unknown to her), Don Quixote reconfigures the woman in his mind, names her Dulcinea del Toboso, and proceeds to evoke her in adulation before every new adventure. On several occasions, at the risk of his life, he demands recklessly that she be declared the most beautiful and virtuous of all women. On at least three occasions he comes close to glimpsing a figure whom he takes to be Dulcinea, though in each case the sighting is compromised by delusion or uncertainty.

Cervantes's construction of Dulcinea as a woman invented by the imagination of a man, with only the most remote connection to real life, raises issues about the nature of objectification and the relationship between desire and fantasy. As a fantasy, Dulcinea propels Don Quixote forward and commands many of his moods and acts throughout the novel. His ideas on love and loyalty center on Dulcinea, and he speaks at length about his devotion to her.

Dulcinea can represent a number of phenomena, depending on the reader: A psychoanalytic reading might stress Don Quixote's misguided attribution of power to a fantasy; a feminist reading would consider a male's objectification of a female as a way to gain control over his erotic drive as well as the object of that desire; other approaches would point to the critique of chivalry inherent in Quixote's hilarious projection or Dulcinea's role as a foil to the real female characters in the novel. The rich tradition of *Don Quixote* criticism does not allow a single interpretation.

Regardless of one's critical perspective, Dulcinea's impact on the representation of sexual desirability cannot be underestimated. The influence of *Don Quixote* on modern literature has been immense, and Dulcinea has played a significant role in the interpretation of almost all the major themes explored by subsequent novelists, such as the relationship between reality and appearance, control and loss, and desire and inhibition. Her portrayal also raises questions about the nature of the ideal woman as conceived by a male mentality driven by fantasy and projection and her role in simultaneously stabilizing and threatening a man's drives. Dulcinea is one of the most compelling and rich portrayals of male fantasy in literature.

SEE ALSO *Gender Stereotype; Literature: I. Overview.*

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Leyla Rouhi

DWARVES AND GIANTS

Dwarves and giants are part of a sexual fetish based on a substantial difference in size, so that one individual is a giant compared to another who is tiny. These size fetishes are called macrophilia, or the attraction to large people, and microphilia, or the attraction to small people. Some people fantasize about giants, thus seeing themselves as small and sometimes weak and endangered. Others fantasize about being the giant. Still others have a particular fetish for dwarves, which are not necessarily the opposite of giants, because they have a distinct set of cultural associations all their own. Because both dwarves and giants can exist as real people and as cultural fantasies and myths, sexual fetishes differ based on whether one is aroused by extraordinarily tall or short people or by the mythological ideas of godlike giants or fairy-tale dwarves.

GIANTS, MACROPHILIA, AND MICROPHILIA

Cultural references to giants are found in the Bible, Greek and Roman mythology, Norse mythology, and in tales of medieval Europe. Giants are a race of creatures distinct from humanity; in the Bible, they are the hybrid progeny of angels who mated with human women and so are tainted by sin. In medieval English literature, ancient ruins, such as Stonehenge, were attributed to giants who

were believed to have roamed the earth before humanity's rise to power. Linked to many European creation myths, giants are thus both humanity's progenitors and the enemy of all humanity. As villains, their enormous and grotesque bodies are complemented by exorbitant desires, appetites, and vices. They are also very strong and usually not very intelligent, as in Cyclops of Homer's *Odyssey* (c. 700 BCE), and like Cyclops they often devour humans. The voracious destruction wrought by giants is thus often caused by a giant mouth, and it is not uncommon for this mouth to be compared to a large and destructive vagina. Most mythological and medieval depictions of giants are masculine and not seen as sexual fantasies, although in their rampant destruction, these giants sometimes rape women.

While male giants have dominated cultural representations for most of history, giantesses have emerged as a particular sexual fetish (macrophilia) following the feminism of the twentieth century. Thus, many movies, comic books, films, and music videos feature large women who are often destructive of cities, cars, and sometimes smaller men. The 1958 movie *Attack of the 50-Foot Woman* is one of many examples of a large yet well-proportioned and scantily clad woman causing destruction and mayhem. An active online community exists for those who share this fantasy, and they use the abbreviation *GTS* (giantess) to label their web sites. In both pornography and fantasy enactment, giantesses are dominant and/or sadistic, trampling, sitting on, or crushing smaller people. Most theorists connect the trampling fantasy to foot fetishism, because these images focus on a giant foot crushing a little man. Some fantasies involve being eaten by the giantess, another fetish in which the small person is typically devoured whole. A variation on this is the insertion of the small person into the giantess's vagina. Rarely, these fantasies depict the giantess as a nurturing, motherly figure tending to her infant.

Macrophilia also includes the desire for male giants, and the 1957 movie *The Amazing Colossal Man* corresponds to the *50-Foot Woman*. Other male giants in cultural history include the title character in Jonathan Swift's 1726 satire *Gulliver's Travels*, in which Gulliver repeatedly exposes himself in order to defecate and urinate in public before the tiny population of Lilliput. Some macrophiles thus use the term Gulliver as a code name. Male giants are currently less popular in the sexual imagination perhaps because the extraordinary size of a giant or giantess renders that figure extremely powerful. Because women are generally less physically powerful than men, this fantasy reverses the norm of physical and cultural male superiority. The gay community also participates in macrophilia, although these depictions are less common.

Both macrophilia and microphilia typically involve a process of growing or shrinking, so that macrophilia may involve one person shrinking or the other growing. These actions may become fantasies in themselves related to the fetish of body transformation. Similar to seeing an entire body enlarge (or shrink) before one's eyes, it is also arousing to see various parts of the body expand, such as breasts, bellies, and buttocks (although not genitals).

DWARVES

In ancient Greek and Roman culture, dwarves and other abnormal individuals were especially valuable as slaves, entertainment, and charms against evil. In addition, they were granted special privileges in the wealthy or imperial households they often inhabited. Although Greek and Roman sculpture celebrated the ideal human form, other less prestigious arts such as vase painting and miniatures often depicted dwarves, hunchbacks, and other imperfect bodies as *grotesques*. Such depictions in both these arts and the literature of the Hellenic period (c. 500 BCE) depict dwarves as tiny satyrs, dancers celebrating the god Dionysus, and boxers. Most images of male dwarves feature extremely large penises, and Aristotle reported in *The History of Animals* (350 BCE) that this trait was a typical feature of dwarves.

The extra large penis is also found in many modern depictions of dwarves. In midget porn, a type of pornography that features midgets having sex with full-size people or other midgets, many of the male midgets are notable for having penises that appear disproportionately large in comparison with the rest of their bodies. Female midgets are often depicted having sex with full-size men, and one appeal is to see a large penis in a small vagina. The attraction to midgets seems to be largely voyeuristic; such pornographic material is appealing as a sexual oddity.

Those who desire to have sex with dwarves or midgets may feel like giants in comparison, or they may feel that they are part of a fairy tale, myth, or other fantasy. For women, fantasies about sex with male dwarves easily lets the woman feel like Snow White, a beautiful woman in the company of exotic, possibly dark-skinned, little men. Because of their diminutive stature, dwarves are also often imagined to be childlike creatures whose innocence is especially appealing. Within the genre of slash fiction, in which fictional characters are written into (often homoerotic) sexual encounters, many fans of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy by J. R. R. Tolkien (books published, 1954–1955; films released, 2001–2003) imagined such narratives for the midget-like male hobbits. Here, then, the appeal comes from both the perverse homosexual pairing of familiar fictional characters and the vision of these exotic figures of fantasy in sexual scenarios.

SEE ALSO *Cannibalism.*

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DYKE

The word *dyke* most often refers to a wall built to keep out the sea, a ditch, or a lesbian. Many people consider dyke a slang term or epithet when used as a synonym for lesbian. The origins of the word are unclear; the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines dyke as both a mannish woman, and a lesbian, as if these are equivalent terms. A related term *bull dyke* entered the language in Carl Van Vechten's 1926 Harlem Renaissance novel *Nigger Heaven* as *bulldiker.* Van Vechten borrowed the word from African-American slang, where it eventually was abbreviated to *BD* or *BD woman* as in blues singer Bessie Jackson's *B. D. Women's Blues* (1935). Poet Judy Grahn has suggested that the origins of bull dyke might lie in the similarly pronounced name of the ancient Celtic warrior queen Boadicea. Some sources note that the word French word *dike,* meaning men's clothing, was used to describe female cross-dressing pirates, such as Anne Bonny and Mary Read, as early as 1710. Claude McKay's novel *Home to Harlem* (1928) embellishes the references to lesbianism and homosexuality in blues great Bessie Smith's *Foolish Man Blues* (1927) with Harlem slang terms that include bull dyke. Smith had written "There's two things got me puzzled, there's two things I can't understand … That's a mannish actin' woman and a skippin', twistin', woman actin' man," while McKay's Jake declares "And there is two things in Harlem I don't understan'/It is a bulldyking woman and a faggoty man."

Dyke and related terms such as bull dyke, *bulldagger,* and *diesel dyke* are controversial, despite lesbian reclamation of the word in the 1980s and 1990s. These terms traditionally connote masculinity in women, and equate this masculinity with physical ugliness and overt hostility to men. Even in the early twenty-first century, the word dyke is sometimes considered a powerful insult to a woman's femininity. In the 1960s and 1970s, feminists were often called dykes as a way of discrediting their politics by equating feminism with lesbianism. It was

and still is, many feminists concede, one of the best ways to discredit women.

In addition to disapproval in the heterosexual community, some mid-twentieth-century feminists considered butch-femme gender style an embarrassment to the feminist and gay rights movements. Some activist groups, such as the Daughters of Bilitis, strongly discouraged lesbians from masculine behavior and dress in the interests of middle-class respectability. Some feminists saw the butch lifestyle as an attempt by lesbians to mimic men rather than as a uniquely lesbian sexual and gender style in its own right, and dykey women were often considered pathetic wannabes. Butch-femme was more acceptable among working-class women, whereas middle-class women often preferred more traditional feminine self-presentation.

In the 1980s, many lesbians began to refer to themselves as dykes. At the same time, society showed renewed interest in butch-femme gender styles and in performative gender more generally. Lesbian motorcycle contingents in gay pride parades labeled themselves Dykes on Bikes in the 1980s, and in the early 1990s lesbian marches on gay pride weekends called their parades Dyke Marches. American cartoonist Alison Bechdel's popular comic strip *Dykes to Watch Out For* helped give the term respectability in the 1990s, and a cable access show started in New York around the same time called itself Dyke TV. It is not unusual to come across the term *dyke movement* to refer to this moment of appropriation and activism.

The term has remained popular in queer communities because it more easily encompasses butch women and transgender female-to-male people than does the term lesbian, which suggests a degree of female identification some dykes are uncomfortable with. One measure of acceptability of the term among lesbians is the presence of legitimate internet lesbian dating sites often referred to as dyke links. No equivalent sites exist for gay men using the term *fag,* which is still considered derogatory by most people.

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview.*

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Jaime Hovey

E

EATING DISORDERS

Eating disorders, particularly anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa, are highly gendered phenomena: Approximately 90 percent of known cases occur among girls and young women. In addition, gendered conceptions of the body and personhood shape both people's experiences of these conditions and treatments for them. Research in the social sciences and humanities emphasizes the importance of gender in understanding these complex and perplexing problems.

The cultural and historical specificity of eating disorders underscores the need to analyze the relationship of social categories, including gender, race and ethnicity, and class, to these problems. Anorexia and bulimia appear far more frequently in industrialized societies (American Psychiatric Association 2000). Although some scholars have raised important questions about the assumption of cultural and/or historical particularity for anorexia (Bell 1985, Banks 1992, Lee et al. 2001), most agree that the meanings and manifestations of eating disorders since the 1970s in industrialized settings constitute a uniquely salient focus for attention and research. The role of race and class as well as gender in shaping these disorders is an ever-present and frequently debated concern.

CATEGORIES OF EATING DISORDERS

Anorexia is a form of self-starvation that often is coupled with rigorous exercise, especially since the rise of the fitness movement in the 1970s. It first was identified as a medical disorder in the late nineteenth century (Gull 1874, Lasègue 1873) but occurred extremely rarely until it more than doubled in incidence in the 1970s and 1980s. This increase in incidence represents an actual increase in the number of cases; it is not due simply to greater sensitivity or awareness in identifying the problem (Gordon 2000). Anorexia was recognized officially as a psychiatric disorder in 1980. The typical age of onset is middle to late adolescence. Anorexia is often chronic and lethal; it has the highest mortality rate of any psychiatric illness (approximately 10 percent), and most patients never recover fully.

Bulimia is a binge-purge disorder: Episodes of binge eating are followed by vomiting, the abuse of laxatives or diuretics, fasting, or excessive exercise. First identified in 1979 (Russell 1979), bulimia was recognized as a psychiatric disorder in 1980, and its incidence increased three-fold in the 1980s and 1990s. The typical age of onset is late adolescence or early adulthood. Compared with anorexia, little is known about the course or mortality rate of bulimia. Although bulimia can be chronic (most patients have it for at least several years) and also fatal, psychiatrists appear to be more hopeful about the prospects for long-term recovery from bulimia compared with anorexia. However, death caused by electrolyte imbalance from vomiting can occur suddenly among bulimic patients, who can seem healthy on the surface because they are typically within a normal weight range.

Binge eating disorder entails regular episodes of binge eating that ordinarily are not followed by purging or compensatory acts. This disorder was identified in 1994 but is not considered an official eating disorder category in its own right. Individuals with this problem receive a diagnosis of "Eating Disorder Not Otherwise

Specified" (American Psychiatric Association 2000). It usually appears in late adolescence or in a person's early twenties and is the most prevalent but least studied eating disorder. It occurs relatively frequently among males, but females are approximately one and one-half times more likely to experience it (American Psychiatric Association 2000).

Officially diagnosed eating disorders are relatively rare; among females, the prevalence of anorexia is about 0.5 percent and that of bulimia is approximately 1 to 3 percent (American Psychiatric Association 2000). However, estimates of significant eating disorder symptoms range from 5 to 10 percent of girls and young women and can run even higher on some college campuses (Boskind-White 2000). Obesity, although common, is not considered an eating disorder "because it has not been established that it is consistently associated with a psychological or behavioral syndrome" (American Psychiatric Association 2000, p. 583).

EATING DISORDERS AS CULTURAL PHENOMENA

Most researchers agree that eating disorders are culturally situated phenomena. It is difficult to explain their rise in incidence in the 1970s and 1980s in industrialized and industrializing social locations without referencing cultural changes during that period. Even so, most psychologists and psychiatrists downplay so-called sociocultural factors such as shifting social ideals of gender in the etiology and treatment of eating disorders. At the same time some proponents of a feminist cultural model "rely on a generic notion of cultural influence and simultaneously medicalize and pathologize all chronic dieting" (Gremillion 2003, p. 27). Simplified representations of nature and nurture are at work in this debate. This problem can be addressed by questioning the status of eating disorders as "pre-given medico-psychological" entities (Malson 1991, p. 31) and by locating eating problems at the intersection of multiple and often contradictory understandings of feminine identity and embodiment (Bordo 1993, Malson 1998). This approach differs from efforts, such as Joan Brumberg's (1989), to integrate biological, psychological, and cultural factors as they currently are understood.

The sociologist Bryan Turner (1984) and the philosopher Susan Bordo (1993) examine developments in Western social contexts that have led to understandings and experiences of the female body as a battleground of gendered conflicts that are specific to consumer culture. Efforts after World War II to promote consumption and the satisfaction of desires coexist with long-standing efforts to control and contain the female body. In this context anorexia is a triumph of control that is wedded to increasingly widespread ideals of slender femininity. Bulimia expresses more directly contradictory cultural imperatives

for women and girls in particular to both consume and control the effects of consumption (Bordo 1993).

Bordo's work suggests that a widespread insistence on distinguishing anorexia and bulimia as discrete psychiatric entities conceals the gendered politics of consumer culture that links the two and connects both with a continuum of phenomena that range from chronic dieting to obesity. Significantly, it is not uncommon for patients with anorexia to develop bulimia; also, the prevalence of binge eating disorder is as high as 50 percent (the mean is 30 percent) when samples are drawn from weight-control programs (the prevalence rate is 0.7 to 4 percent in community samples) (American Psychiatric Association 2000).

Mark Nichter and Mimi Nichter (1991) and Robert Crawford (1985) emphasize the importance of class relations in analyzing eating problems. Pressure to manage the contradictions of control and release as well as constraint and freedom at the level of the individual body may influence those who are upwardly mobile most acutely. In this light assessments of obese or seemingly unfit individuals as "lazy" valorize the cultural norms that are implicated in eating disorders. Similarly, representations of bulimia as a "bad" or failed other to anorexia (Burns 2004) arguably scapegoat individual sufferers for problems that are shaped socially and economically.

GENDER AND PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT

Although treatments for anorexia and bulimia have improved over time, mortality and relapse rates remain high. Difficulties in treatment often are attributed to patients' pathology and tenacity, but a growing number of scholars argue that therapies often unknowingly reproduce problematic sociocultural and gender norms that contribute to patients' struggles. Ideologies of individualism and self-control in the therapeutic management of eating can reinforce the hard-earned sense of self-reliance that is part and parcel of eating problems (Eckerman 1997, Gremillion 2003, MacSween 1993). These ideologies pose irreconcilable dilemmas for women and girls who are taught to sacrifice their own needs for those of others (Boskind-Lodhal 1976, Steiner-Adair 1986, Orbach 1986). In addition, many treatment programs unwittingly perpetuate beliefs about motherhood and feminine "nature" that imply the need for heroic measures to achieve health. A sense of defeat and relapse often follows (Gremillion 2003).

Therapies that do not acknowledge the fact that eating disorders are shaped culturally and historically are likely to perpetuate taken-for-granted understandings of gender that allow these disorders to flourish. The need for a contextual reading of illness and health applies not only to doctor-patient relationships but also to the formulation

Anorexic Female. *The effects of anorexia on a female human body.* BIOPHOTO ASSOCIATES/SCIENCE SOURCE. PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

of treatment protocols and the constitution of gendered relationships within professional treatment teams that often attempt to model health (Sesan 1994, Wooley and Wooley 1985). Formal studies of alternative treatments that acknowledge a politics of gender (White and Epston 1990, Steiner-Adair 1994) are lacking, but anecdotal evidence and pilot study results (Madigan and Goldner 1999) suggest a significant improvement in treatment outcomes.

THE POLITICS OF INCLUSION: GENDER, RACE, CLASS, AND SEXUALITY

Disordered eating affects males as well as females. The effects of consumer culture, particularly as they relate to concerns about body size, shape, and image, are increasingly present in the male body (Nemeroff and associates 1994). Significantly, eating disorders are most prevalent among men and boys who engage in activities that involve weight restrictions, such as bodybuilding, wrestling, dancing, gymnastics, and jockeying (Andersen and colleagues

1995). There is a broad consensus that eating problems are clinically similar between males and females.

However, no clinical or cultural analyst disputes the fact that eating disorders are much more widespread among females. Any attempt to represent eating problems as "equal opportunity" along the axis of gender fails to acknowledge significant gender inequalities that affect the politics of body size and self-control. However, males with eating disorders may be stigmatized as insufficiently "masculine" (Kearney-Cooke and Steichen-Asch 1990) and therefore may be less likely than women and girls to identify these problems openly. It is possible that eating disorders are more prevalent among males than is realized (Hepworth and Griffin 1995). Associations in the literature between eating disorders and homosexuality in males should be evaluated in light of stereotypical views about appropriate masculine behavior.

Scholars who critically analyze representations of eating disorders as white and middle-class phenomena have raised similar questions about whether these disorders are overlooked in particular groups. Eating disorder patient populations are likely to be socioeconomically privileged disproportionately in part because of preconceived ideas about typical patient profiles (Dolan 1991, Gard and Freeman 1996, Gremillion 2003, Thompson 1994a). Evidence is mounting that eating disorders cut across ethnic and class boundaries (Striegel-Moore and Smolak 2000). However, rather than simply attempting to identify eating disorders as they are known among various populations, it is important to ask how these disorders are defined in the first place because official definitions may preclude recognition of significant eating problems.

The sociologist Becky Thompson (1994b) shows that pressures for girls and women to be slim, which can lead to a range of eating problems, are associated with several narratives of privilege, such as whitening, moving up the social ladder, and becoming appropriately heterosexual. At the same time she argues that these powerful narratives do not capture all the meanings of eating difficulties in people's lives. For instance, "dissatisfaction with appearance often serves as a stand-in for topics that are still invisible" (Thompson 1994b, p. 11) such as racism, sexism, poverty, and sexual abuse. According to Thompson, "Doing justice to the social context in which difficulties with food arise requires an integrated analysis—one that accounts for the intersecting influence of gender, race, sexuality, nationality, and class" (Thompson 1994b, p. 360).

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Helen Gremillion

ECOFEMINISM

Ecofeminism is a cultural, political, and scholarly movement that synthesizes the principles of environmentalism and feminism. Although the term *ecofeminism* suggests an alliance with feminist scholarship, the relationship of ecofeminism with feminism is problematic and complex. Feminists often have been wary of associating women with nonhuman nature. That reluctance stems from a set of traditional, culturally constructed binary oppositions: culture/nature and male/female. In this pair of binaries, men generally are allied with culture and women usually are associated with nature. The connection between women and nature historically has been used as a justification for excluding women from the realms of reason and culture. Feminists have objected to these hierarchies and often critique the idea that women are inherently closer to nature than to culture. Feminists have disassociated women from nonhuman nature entirely in order to critique these hierarchies.

THE NATURE AND GOALS OF ECOFEMINISM

Ecofeminism, in contrast, focuses on the relationship between women and nature and integrates environmentalism and feminism. Although the views of ecofeminists vary, the central premise of ecofeminism is that the domination of women and that of nonhuman nature are inextricably linked. Ecofeminists argue that nonhuman nature frequently is coded as feminine (the term *Mother Earth* for example) and that the patriarchal culture that sanctions the subjection of women also supports the domination and destruction of the "feminine" natural world. Ecofeminists are united by similar environmental philosophies as well. Most are at least somewhat critical of anthropocentrism (the belief that humans are of central importance in the universe), and many emphasize the importance of biological and cultural diversity and favor symbiotic relationships over hierarchical ones.

The goals of ecofeminism inside and outside academia are influenced strongly by the desire for concrete change. Ecofeminists work toward a more balanced relationship between human and nonhuman nature, between male and female. Whether activists, scholars, or both, ecofeminists question and critique traditional hierarchies and propose new ways to envision the world without dependence on the domination of women or nonhuman nature. Some ecofeminists approach this task by investigating the historical and cultural roots of the association between women and nonhuman nature, and others explore the implications and potentialities of an intimate relationship between women and nonhuman nature. Still others dispute the alleged link between gender and nonhuman nature altogether. On a more practical level, ecofeminist activists attempt to influence environmental policies and laws nationally and locally.

Ecofeminism should not be thought of as a single, fully coherent movement. Rather, it is diverse and polyvalent. Carolyn Merchant (1990) provides a useful breakdown of three main branches of ecofeminism: liberal, radical, and socialist. Liberal ecofeminists work for change within existing systems of power. Radical ecofeminists believe that the connection between women and nature is empowering and that the existing system must be overturned for genuine change to occur. Socialist ecofeminists add a critique of the capitalist system to the critique of patriarchy (Merchant 1990). These categorizations are broad, but they provide a helpful tool for thinking about the variety of approaches within ecofeminism.

Ecofeminism began as and remains an interdisciplinary movement that is tied to radical or cultural feminism, earth-based religions, and the ecological movement known as deep ecology. Ecofeminism uses the insights of radical feminism to suggest ways in which gender hierarchies can be overthrown. The study of earth-based religion in turn provides inspiration for ecofeminists who want to explore the potentially empowering relationship between women and nonhuman nature. Much of the environmental philosophy of ecofeminists stems from the work of deep ecologists, particularly the critique of Western culture and anthropocentrism. The French writer Françoise d'Eaubonne first used the term *ecofeminisme* in 1974; in the same year the first academic conference that specifically addressed the topic of women and nonhuman nature was held at University of California–Berkeley. By the end of the twentieth century ecofeminism had entered mainstream academia and spread from women's studies and philosophy departments to disciplines such as literature, social sciences, geography, and biology. In the 1990s feminist and environmental journals such as *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, *Frontiers*, and *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* published special issues dedicated to the exploration of ecofeminism.

DISPUTES WITHIN AND CRITIQUES OF ECOFEMINISM

Disputes between ecofeminists arise from different interpretations of the central premise of ecofeminism that gender and the environment are related to each other. Some accept the idea that women have a "closer" relationship with nature than men do and try to valorize that connection. These ecofeminists assert that the alignment of women with nature enables women to respond to environmental crises more thoughtfully and productively than men who are invested in dominating nature. According to this group of ecofeminists, women provide a much-needed alternative vision of nonhuman nature

that moves away from environmental destruction. Furthermore, they claim that the connection between women and nature can be empowering because it aligns women with the primordial strength of "Mother Nature." Others reject that hypothesis and argue that ecofeminists should focus their attention on critiquing the idea that women are intimately connected to nonhuman nature. They argue that ecofeminists who accept and celebrate the relationship between women and nonhuman nature are inadvertently reinforcing the traditional gender hierarchies that ecofeminists should be dismantling. These ecofeminists point out that focusing only on the positive relationship between women and nonhuman nature does not consider the idea that women also can be involved in the destruction of the nonhuman natural world or take into account the significant differences between women and nonhuman nature.

Critics of ecofeminism often focus on ecofeminists of the first variety. As a result, ecofeminism has been dismissed as a philosophy of essentialism because it seems to propose that women are inherently and biologically more closely linked to nonhuman nature than are men. Furthermore, critics note that ecofeminists neglect the importance of race and class, favoring the perspectives of white middle-class women. Although these critiques are necessary for the growth and development of ecofeminism, they ignore the multiple perspectives within ecofeminism that address these concerns. The strength of ecofeminism derives from its diversity of origins, practitioners, and philosophical approaches. Ecofeminists come to the movement from various perspectives, but they are united by a dedication to the investigation of the interconnections between gender and the environment and a commitment to providing concrete, positive change.

SEE ALSO *Feminism: IV. Western.*

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Christine Wilson

ECONOMICS

For a long time, economists for the most part considered issues of sex and gender to be irrelevant to their discipline. Economics was considered to be centrally concerned with markets, a realm from which women had historically been largely excluded. Male activity was treated as universal human economic behavior, whereas women's activities in homes and families were considered "noneconomic." This division of realms, it was long assumed, was dictated by the nature of biological sex differences. Beginning in the 1970s, some economists began to question this assumption, looking at the roles played by gender beliefs—social beliefs *culturally constructed* on top of a perception of biological sex differences—in creating observed outcomes, particularly regarding the division of home and market labor. By the 1990s, a second layer of critique had evolved, focusing on how the definition, models, and methods of the discipline itself bear a strong imprint of masculinist gender bias. The field of studies of sex and gender in economics has continued to develop and diversify, although it remains marginalized within the academic mainstream.

ECONOMICS OF LABOR MARKETS

The role of sex and gender in economics must be considered in relation to the core models of the discipline, as traditionally envisioned. In the *neoclassical model* of economics that dominates Anglo-American teaching and research, an individual is assumed to make rational decisions about participating in markets. When considering participating in a labor market, an individual is assumed to determine the number of hours he (as the theory was formulated) wants to work by making trade-offs between hours of *labor* and *leisure*. Labor is assumed to yield income but no direct *utility* (satisfaction), whereas leisure yields utility but no income. The individual chooses what sort of occupation to enter based on his preferences, abilities, and the amount of investment in *human capital* (education and training) that an occupation requires. The wage received while working is assumed to be determined by market conditions of supply and demand and to reflect the amount that his last increment of work contributes to the value of production (*the marginal product of labor*).

Some of the earliest work on sex and gender in economics took this model and extended or modified it to encompass what were perceived as uniquely women's issues. In 1962 the economist Jacob Mincer proposed that married women face three, rather than two, options for the use of their time: labor, leisure, and work in the home. A substantial and highly statistically sophisticated literature subsequently developed on the topic of women's *labor force participation*. Mincer and Solomon

Polachek in 1974 proposed that women tended to be employed in different occupations than men because of choices made concerning investment in human capital. Assuming women would be out of the labor force for some periods because of child rearing, it made sense, they argued, that women would choose occupations that had lower education and training requirements. Men, meanwhile, would choose to make deeper investments in order to gain the benefits over a more protracted span of years.

By the early 1970s a number of studies of the gap between average male and average female wages had been accomplished. At that time, female, year-round, full-time workers in the United States earned approximately 60 percent of men's wages, on average, leaving a *raw wage gap* of approximately 40 percentage points or 40 cents on the dollar. Using survey data on large numbers of male and female workers, empirical studies sought to explain the source of wage gaps in the United States and other countries by breaking them down into components. Using statistical methods, portions of the gap were explained by differences in choice of occupation, and additional portions were attributed to differences in average levels of education, experience, unionization, or other observable worker characteristics that might lead to differences in productivity and earnings. Generally, about half of the gender wage gap remained unexplained by variations in these observable characteristics.

A number of the economists conjectured that this *unexplained gap* could be attributed to characteristics that affect productivity but are not observable in survey data. Women might have preferences, they suggested, that lead to lower levels of ambition, energy, or dedication to their jobs. The idea that there could be a significant problem of sex discrimination was generally dismissed because it goes against core assumptions of neoclassical theory, which posits that wages are based on marginal productivity, not on social factors such as gender. In addition, it was argued that in a competitive market economy, discriminators would not be able to stay in business. That is, a firm that failed to make its hiring decisions based on productivity factors alone would make lower-than-normal profits, and lose out to its competitors. This argument was, in turn, based on a theory of discrimination advanced by the economist Gary S. Becker during the 1960s that portrayed discrimination as simply an individual preference (a *taste for discrimination*).

In the 1970s and 1980s the feminist economists Barbara R. Bergmann, Marianne A. Ferber, Francine D. Blau, Heidi Hartmann, and others challenged the notions of sex and gender implicit in many mainstream economists' studies. While the economics literature assumed that women "naturally" preferred to stay at home or be maids, teachers, or nurses, social change was quickly calling this assumption into question. With the advent of the women's movement and antidiscrimination laws in a number of countries, many women were by that time "voting with their feet" and moving into the paid labor force in unprecedented numbers, as well as breaking into formerly male-dominated professions such as business and law. Feminist scholars challenged the orthodox view that labor market outcomes were a matter of biologically given sex differences in preferences and abilities. The term *occupational segregation* was introduced to refer to the socially constructed division between "men's jobs" and "women's jobs," and wage studies were reexamined.

Using corroborating evidence of discrimination from ethnographies, court cases, and studies of individual occupations or employers, feminist scholars argued that the unexplained gap largely reflected discrimination. The persistence of beliefs such as that "men need higher wages because they have families to support," or that women are less able, or should not be in positions to direct men, came through strongly in such alternative forms of data (Bergmann 1989). In addition, feminist scholars called into question the idea that women freely choose their occupations, educational levels and tracks, seniority, and union status in a world in which sex stereotyping and male-dominated power structures are endemic. Occupational segregation and discrimination by educational institutions, employers, and unions could cause women's observable characteristics to differ from men's, these scholars argued, even when women's innate abilities were the same. They thus called into question the view that discrimination is an individual preference, pointing instead to its existence as a deep and widespread social and institutional phenomenon. These scholars also initiated new studies, such as those by the economist Andrea H. Beller and the sociologist Paula England, both published in 1982, that showed that Mincer and Polachek's human capital theory could not explain women's distribution across occupations.

Economic research into gendered labor market outcomes continues, both along traditional and more feminist lines. Some economists have sought to assess the effectiveness of anti-discrimination law (particularly, in the United States, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964), affirmative action policies (put into law for U.S. federal contractors by Executive Order 11246 of 1965), and comparable worth policies (also called *pay equity*, mandating "equal pay for work of equal value," and enacted by some localities). Studies over time tend to show a narrowing of the wage gap in the United States from about 40 cents on the dollar in 1970 to about 28 cents by 1990, and about 25 cents in the early 2000s (Blau, Ferber, and Winkler 2006). International studies of wage gaps show the importance of a nation's overall wage structure in influencing the gender gap, with countries

with centralized wage bargaining and relatively low overall inequality generally having smaller gender wage gaps (Blau and Kahn 2003).

Many studies have looked at how marital status and the presence of children affect earnings, often finding that being married and having children increases, on average, the wages of men, holding factors such as education and experience on constant, while decreasing the earnings of women. Interpretations continue to vary as to how much such effects can be attributed to choice (i.e., to women having a biologically based preference for focusing on children at the expense of their paid work); how much is due to employer prejudices regarding the abilities, interests, and responsibilities of mothers versus fathers; and how much reflects a lack of attention by men and support from society at large for the work of child care (i.e., to power-based gender roles assigning the responsibility to individual women, regardless of their talents and interests).

The issue of gender within the labor market for economists has also been the subject of study. The Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession (CSWEP), formed within the American Economic Association in 1971, is charged with monitoring the advancement of women within the profession and acting to increase that advancement. CSWEP annual reports indicate that women comprised less than 5 percent of economics faculty in the United States in 1972, but by 2004 comprised 27 percent of assistant professors and 21 percent of associate professors. Less than 9 percent of full professors, however, were female in 2004. A 2004 study by the economists Donna K. Ginther and Shulamit Kahn found that women's lack of representation in the higher echelons of academic economics cannot be explained by *pipeline* issues (that is, by a lack of women in lower ranks ready to move up into higher ranks), and is more marked in economics than in a number of related disciplines. The progress of women economists has been studied in other countries as well (Jacobsen 2006).

ECONOMICS OF HOUSEHOLDS

In core neoclassical economic theory, households are treated as though they are individuals, who supply labor and buy products according to a *unitary* set of preferences. It was not until the 1970s that mainstream economists started to treat the internal workings of households as something of potential interest. The so-called new home economics pioneered by the economists Becker, Mincer, and Theodore W. Schultz brought standard theories of individual utility-maximization to bear on issues of marriage, divorce, and fertility. In Becker's theory of (heterosexual) marriage, for example, traditional gender roles are

explained as the outcome of mutually beneficial comparative advantage. Women, being relatively more efficient in home production, rationally specialize in nonmarket work, while men, according to this theory, rationally specialize in market work. The relative efficiencies were explained as being either due to biological sex differences or women having lower market earnings. Becker also advanced the theory that a household's unitary set of preferences could be taken to be that of the household *altruist*, the one individual in the household who cares about everyone's welfare (and—it was assumed but not made clear—also had control over the household income).

Critical economists, including Ferber, Jane Humphries, Alice H. Amsden, and others, soon raised objections to these theories that, by the nature of their assumptions, served to justify the status quo. They pointed out the circular reasoning in the argument that women specialize in home production because they make less on the market, and make less on the market because they specialize in home production. They noted that unitary and altruist models of households glossed over issues of divergent interests and power differentials within families, which could in turn be influenced by factors outside families such as cultural norms and public policy.

"Bargaining" models of household behavior, advanced by the economists Marilyn E. Manser, Murray Brown, and Marjorie McElroy in the early 1980s, improved on unitary models by positing households consisting of two people, each with their own preferences, who must divide the benefit from a marriage. Should they divorce, each of their utilities would be reduced to *threat point* levels. These models mathematically formalized the idea that the spouse with better opportunities outside of marriage (because of, for example, higher earnings or favorable divorce policies) may wield more power over intrahousehold decision-making. Some feminist economists, while accepting the value of looking at marriages as situations of *cooperative conflict* (as described by the economist Amartya Sen), found formal modeling to be too restrictive and urged a broader examination of the determinants of power and decision-making within families (Agarwal 1997). Bargaining models, for example, are limited to consideration of two parties, meaning that full consideration of the interests and influence of nonspousal parties (such as children or other household members) is precluded.

Empirical work on household spending behavior has overwhelmingly tended to disprove the unitary model. In the unitary model, it should make no difference who in the family has wealth or brings in income, because spending is always carried out according to "household" preferences. A now extensive literature on *intrahousehold allocation* in several countries has shown that, in general,

spending varies depending on the share of income or wealth contributed by the mother in a family with children, as compared to the father. A number of studies have found that expenditures on children's items, such as children's food and clothing, are higher when the mother controls a larger share of household spending.

Another debate in economics concerns whether housekeeping and child-care work in the home, traditionally done by women, is productive and a crucial part of the economy. Traditionally, the value of this work has been omitted in calculations of gross domestic product (GDP). In 1988 the economist Marilyn Waring pointed out how the omission of women's traditional work from the United Nations "system of national accounts" can bias policymaking. While still not officially part of accounts, beginning in the 1990s some countries started to develop *satellite accounts* that seek to measure the value of such work, based in part on data from national surveys of how people use their time. Other economists have looked at how measures of economic growth might be biased by the omission of household production, or how the treatment of unpaid labor as unproductive has affected tax policy.

A substantial literature on the economics of fertility has also developed. Some of this literature emphasizes that increasing women's education, earnings, and power within the household in poor countries has been found to bring down birthrates. The effects of coercive population policies on women's human rights may also be discussed. In other economics discussions of population issues, however, the fact that women are involved may be hardly mentioned.

FEMINIST CRITIQUES OF THE DISCIPLINE

In the early 1990s feminist economists began publishing more thoroughgoing critiques of the mainstream discipline, pointing out that the failures in labor market and household theories were not just isolated instances but rather signs of deep-seated masculinist bias in the discipline. Formal choice-theoretic modeling; a central image of rational, autonomous, and self-interested *economic man*; and a narrow focus on mathematical and econometric methods were (and still are) hallmarks of mainstream economics. Feminists argued that these are a Procrustean bed when it comes to analyzing phenomena fraught with issues of tradition, connection to others, and relations of power and domination. Feminists began to raise questions about the mainstream definition of economics, its central models, and the high regard given to a particular set of methodological tools.

Essays on this theme were brought together in a 1993 volume, *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*, edited by Ferber and Julie A. Nelson. In this volume it was suggested that economics be defined by a concern with the provisioning of life in all spheres in which this occurs, rather than only in markets. Investigations were made into how a particular set of professional values, emphasizing culturally masculine-associated factors such as autonomy, separation, and abstraction, had come to take precedence over culturally feminine-associated factors such as interdependence, connection, and concreteness. The contributors argued that rather than taking the former as a sign of "rigor" in the discipline, the truncation of methods created by masculinist bias has weakened the discipline's ability to explain real-world phenomena. Questions were raised about mainstream economics not because it is too objective, but because it is not objective enough.

While many feminist economists continue to make use of traditional mainstream tools, on the whole the field of feminist economics has come to be characterized by inclusion of a broader range of concepts and methods. These encompass theories of human behavior that include a balance between individuality and relationship, autonomy and dependence, and reason and emotion, and the use of additional methods including historical studies, case studies, interviews, and other qualitative data. Feminist economists tend to find that such serious efforts to create and promote more adequate forms of economic practice lead to new insights across the board, whether or not the topic being studied is explicitly gender-related.

With the publication of a number of books and articles, and gatherings at early conferences, feminist economics coalesced into an organized field in the early 1990s. The International Association for Feminist Economics was formed in 1992, and its journal, *Feminist Economics*, commenced publication a few years later. An encyclopedia of feminist economics, edited by Janice Peterson and Margaret Lewis, was published in 1999, and a review of developments during the first ten years of feminist economics was published in 2003 and edited by Ferber and Nelson.

ADDITIONAL AREAS OF RESEARCH

In addition to work on labor markets, households, and the philosophy and methodology of economics, economists have addressed issues of sex and gender in a number of other areas, from both traditional and feminist perspectives.

Work on public policy issues affecting women's economic status has been extensive, not only on matters of labor market discrimination but also on issues such as access to credit or pensions, welfare and poverty, childcare availability, family leaves, health care, and taxation. Beginning in the 1990s, a number of countries developed "gender budgets" that analyze government budgets for their gender impacts.

Scholars of the history of economic thought have researched the lives and writings of early women economists and examined how male economists treated issues of sex and gender in historical texts. In the process, they have brought renewed appreciation (at least among feminists) to the economic writings of Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935), Margaret G. Reid (1896–1991), and others. The historical writings of male economists on questions regarding women show, with only a few notable exceptions, a pronounced tendency to substitute cultural biases for analysis (Pujol 1992). Gendered analysis has been applied not only to the history of neoclassical economics but also to the history of Marxist, institutionalist, and other schools of economics.

While the economic history of various countries and regions traditionally focused on men's activities, feminist scholars have investigated the roles played by women. Women's historical roles as household workers, as agricultural or industrial workers, as colonists or subjects of colonization, and as activists in combating discrimination or changing public policies have been investigated.

The economic status of girls and women in the global South has increasingly become a topic of economic study. The economist (and Nobel laureate) Amartya Sen played a crucial role in increasing attention paid to this area with his 1990 report on the *missing women* of China, India, and other countries. In these parts of the world, the number of adult women is substantially below the number that would be expected from a normal ratio of births. Inferior access to food and health care (and, increasingly, the use of sex-selective abortion) has caused millions of women to go "missing." Feminist scholars such as Diane Elson (1995) and Lourdes Benería (2003) have also investigated the gender impact of international policies related to trade, investment, and credit, carried out by individual nations and multilateral organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Shifts in the trading patterns for goods produced by women versus by men, for example, or macroeconomic policies that lead to cuts in support to health, education, or child care, can differentially affect men and women.

In many fields in which empirical data can be disaggregated by sex, literatures have grown up examining sex differences in male and female economic behavior. These include studies, for example, of whether women or men are more cooperative in experimental game situations (laboratory studies in which economists study choice behavior), or whether sex makes a difference in the willingness to take risks in investment decisions. In some of these studies, attempts are made to adequately explain and explore any differences found, whereas in others the analysis remains at a superficial level.

The intersections of sex and gender with issues of race, class, caste, sexual preference and gender identity have also been researched. The economist M. V. Lee Badgett (2001) and others, for example, have studied labor market discrimination and household structures among gays and lesbians. The economist Deirdre McCloskey (1999) has written about her transsexual transition.

Sexuality has also entered economics discussions under the topics of commercial sex, rape, and sexual harassment. A few labor market studies have focused on the working conditions and pay of sex workers. Some economists, and many in the area of law and economics, have studied the use of rape and sexual harassment to intimidate women in the workforce. In 1992 Richard A. Posner, a neoclassical economist, libertarian, and leading figure in the law and economics movement, published a controversial book titled *Sex and Reason*, in which he addressed topics including prostitution, abortion, and rape. Critics claim that his arguments (such as his characterization of female infanticide as simply a rational method of family planning) tend to epitomize a blindly *economistic* view of the world.

Beginning in the 1990s, feminist economists including Nancy Folbre (1994) and Susan Himmelweit (1999) initiated research on the topic of *caring labor*. Work such as nursing or child care, which is done for pay, but also often out of a sense of concern for or emotional closeness with the person receiving the service, transgresses the usual boundaries between concepts of love and work. Empirical studies about the conditions of such work, as well as studies of the sorts of belief systems that often make such work ill-paid or disrespected, have taken place within economics as well as in related fields such as sociology and political theory. Communication among scholars on this issue often breaks down around the question of whether economies are inherently cold and impersonal, or whether this belief is itself a social construction (Nelson 2006).

THE STATE OF THE FIELD

Among economists who associate themselves most closely with the mainstream, sex and gender research remains mostly a matter of applying conventional, individualistic, and highly formalized forms of theoretical analysis to this subject matter, or simply disaggregating empirical research by sex categories. Whether such research sheds useful light on sex and gender issues in economic life, or instead says more about the biases of its creators, may be debated. Meanwhile, economists and other scholars who are less loyal to the methodological strictures of mainstream economics have sought to investigate more deeply how sex and gender shape, and are shaped by, the economic activities that provide for the sustaining and flourishing of life.

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Julie A. Nelson

EDUCATION

This entry contains the following:

I. GENDER IN AMERICA

By the mid-1660s education was compulsory for children in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and by the eighteenth century most towns in Massachusetts had public elementary schools, called common schools. Yet girls' formal schooling during these early years of the republic was largely nonexistent, as the prevailing view of girls and femininity dictated that little had to be done for girls to prepare them for adult life. Puritan belief in the subservience of girls and women to men determined girls' and women's limited literacy throughout the early colonial period. Even with the institution of the compulsory attendance act of 1852 enacted by the state of Massachusetts, girls' education was more often than not designed to prepare them for domesticity.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Girls' formal primary and secondary education in the United States dates back to the early eighteenth century when Moravian immigrants established boarding and day schools for girls in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. Unlike other immigrant populations on the North American continent in this period, these early Moravian settlers held the view that girls should be educated comparably with boys. This was a unique and unpopular view in early America, where girls' education was primarily informal, conducted in the home by mothers and other women relatives and designed to train girls in the feminine domestic arts in preparation for marriage. Thus, in the early republic girls' education across class was chiefly preparation for marriage and motherhood. A girl born in a family with economic means (landed gentry) would receive training in cooking, sewing, household management, reading, writing, and some arithmetic and French. Additionally, these girls were given training in music, drawing, needlework, and etiquette. Families of lesser means trained their daughters to carry on the skills of their labor—farming, mercantile activities, and so on. Slave girls were rarely educated in anything other than those skills necessary to serve plantation owners and were often severely punished for learning to read and write.

The growth of the common school in the mid-1800s gave white girls, more so those in the Northeast, added opportunities for formal schooling. Begun in Massachusetts in the 1830s by Horace Mann (1796–1859), Henry Barnard (1811–1900), and others, common schools gave rise to the structured and standardized public schooling that enabled girls to attend school with greater frequency. By the time of the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865), the education of white girls was buttressed by a national conviction that girls should be educated to be good mothers and wives of the sons and husbands of the growing republic. The aim of *republican motherhood* was the standard of femininity for white girls of the period attending these local schools. Thus, the public school curriculum for a nineteenth-century white girl did not differ all that greatly from her grandmother's or mother's, as she was to be educated in domestic and maternal obligations. Now couched in the gendered rationale of national and civic virtue, girls' schooling in this period provided the moral and literacy training necessary to prepare girls for womanhood dedicated to serving the nation through Christian motherhood and wifehood. Though prior to the Civil War formal schooling was offered to African girls brought to the United States as slaves, it was largely separate from whites and very regional. In the southern states, African slave girls who did learn to read and write were most often taught to read the Bible by their white owners or by missionaries, but most often these girls were not formally schooled.

The central theme in the early colonial education of girls, a theme that continued through the twentieth century in American education, is the gendered nature of education, that is, that education or schooling should have as its main purpose the proper feminization of girls. Girls' literacy reflected a standard of Christian femininity that insisted that girls and women strive for moral and bodily purity and submissiveness to husbands, fathers, and eventually sons, yet gave females authority in the domestic sphere. Schooling for American girls was historically cast as preparation for pious womanhood, an adulthood that conformed to the class, racial and ethnic, and religious standards deemed appropriate for women. Schooling has traditionally served to inculcate a gendered ideal or standards of femininity for girls that though varied by era, place, race, economic position, and religious attitude, maintained that girls' education should reflect what was believed to be the nature or essence of girls' being. Consequently, girls' education in the United States is a history of gender, a record of how social, political, and religious views determined girls' and women's innate cognitive aptitude and their roles in society.

The central tenet of the ideal of femininity found in primary and secondary education throughout seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century America, then, was one of domestic training. This principle was galvanized by the rise of industrialization and the market economy after the Civil War and into the early years of the twentieth century, so much so that an ideology of *separate spheres* for boys and girls, women and men, began to develop. Throughout the nineteenth century a range of sex-segregated education existed. In the northern states girls often attended school with boys but were taught in different classrooms or buildings, or actually attended class with boys. In southern states, where public education was rare and private education was the custom, girls and boys attended separate schools with unmistakably gendered curricula. Across economic strata and racial and ethnic groups, beliefs about sex segregation in education also differed. But by the end of the nineteenth century, especially in newly urban, industrialized areas, *coeducation*—the schooling of boys and girls together—became the norm in primary and secondary education. Despite this, the ideology of separate spheres stirred concern about the appropriateness of coeducation, posing a cultural problem. Concerns about coeducation were anchored to beliefs about innate sex differences between boys and girls but particularly between men and women. For girls the *problem* of coeducation had largely to do with concerns about girls' contact with boys being harmful to their natural growth, especially their sexual development.
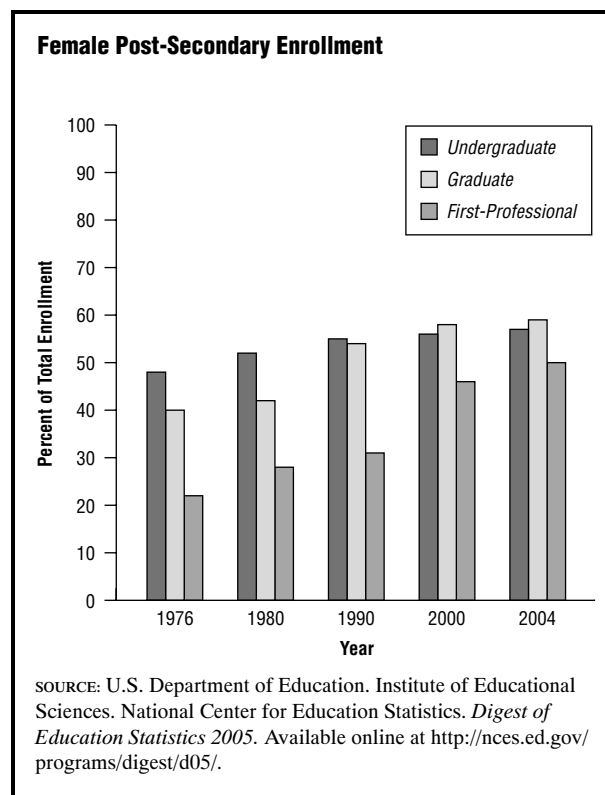
The ideology of sex separation intensified the domestic focus of girls' education and strengthened the foundation for girls' limited role in the public sphere. Girls were to be educated certainly for motherhood and wifehood, but public professions such as teaching and nursing—because of their *feminine* character and moral bearing—could be acceptable for young women. Girls usually left formal schooling around the age of fifteen (an age at which marriage was acceptable), but those who did not marry could extend their education to the newly formed female seminaries and normal schools where they could prepare to become teachers. Thus, a girl's domestic *sphere* was one characterized by Christian moral authority, reading and writing, arithmetic, and household management. Yet despite this, by the beginning of the twentieth century girls were graduating high school in higher rates than boys, a response in part to the growing need for teachers and the exodus of boys to the industrial, market economy.

Throughout the twentieth century girls continued to excel academically in primary and secondary schooling. Though primarily enrolled in coeducational schools, girls did not receive an education equal to that of boys. In 1918 the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education called for a new type of secondary school reflecting the growing vocational needs of the American working classes. Previously seen as schools that prepared students for college, high schools would now prepare students for work. But because work in the early and mid-twentieth century was extremely sex segregated, secondary school curricula necessarily tracked girls into

feminine subjects. Girls in the early and mid-twentieth century studied home economics and business courses, whereas boys studied the industrial trades. To prepare them for lives as domestic workers, African-American and other nonwhite girls also studied home economics. With the expansion of the curriculum from the 1940s through the 1960s, girls were directed away from subjects or extracurricular activities that were deemed more culturally suitable for boys. If girls took *masculine* subjects, such as a science course, they were likely courses on domestic science.

Through the late 1960s girls in the United States still experienced unequal, sex-specific education that carried a legacy of separate spheres despite advances in science and cultural change. School for girls in the 1960s was a place where they were likely to be told that they could not participate in certain activities (e.g., running for student body president, enrolling in physics courses, receiving certain awards), to be viewed as intellectually inferior to boys, and to be expected to prepare themselves for a few, very restricted, postgraduation opportunities, such as teacher, secretary, nurse, librarian, and soon thereafter, wife and mother. Though as in centuries before these curricular ideals and their goals differed across social and economic lines and across and within racial and immigrant communities, girls, regardless of class, race, or religion, were educated according to the sociocultural beliefs about sex as destiny. Despite advances by women in the 1940s and 1950s, American schooling was fundamentally a conduit for the transference and reinforcement of gender ideology that privileged boys and men and viewed girls and women as intellectually inferior and thus not wholly suitable for certain roles outside the home.

By the end of the 1960s, however, cultural shifts in the United States around civil rights energized educators to consider the state of girls' education. With the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, girls' educational equity came under greater and greater scrutiny. Under Title IX a school discriminating against girls in athletics, in career guidance, or in access to curricular offerings would lose federal subsidies. In 1974 Congress passed the Women's Educational Equity Act, which enabled the funding of projects aimed at identifying and eliminating sex bias in schooling. Yet, though legislated, educational equity for girls through the 1990s was rarely litigated, and no U.S. schools lost federal funds because of noncompliance. In the 1980s and early 1990s the rise of conservative politics, the feminist backlash, and the presidencies and educational policies of Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush diluted much of the work accomplished by gender equity programs and research. The publication of two landmark studies, *The AAUW Report: How Schools Shortchange Girls* (1992) and *Hostile Hallways: The AAUW Survey on Sexual Harassment*

Female Post-Secondary Enrollment

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education. Institute of Educational Sciences. National Center for Education Statistics. *Digest of Education Statistics 2005*. Available online at http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d05/.

Female Post-Secondary Enrollment 1976-2004. THOMSON GALE.

in America's Schools* (1993), reinvigorated the national and public concern about gender bias in schooling. Research on sexism in America's classrooms, not just in the curriculum and extracurricular programs, became the subject of investigation in the 1990s propelled by the publication of *Failing at Fairness: How America's Schools Cheat Girls* (1994). In *Failing at Fairness*, researchers Myra Sadker and David Sadker identify girls' inequality in schooling, specifically through sexist pedagogy and curricula, sexist assumptions of and expectation for girls, and in the performance lag at the completion of high school.

Much of the research on educational disparity between boys and girls has focused on achievement. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) and the National Educational Longitudinal Survey present data on sex differences. The NAEP, for example, reported that since 1971 girls have higher scores in reading and writing but that boys have made gains relative to girls since that time. The achievement gap between boys and girls has continued to be closely monitored and has been shrinking over time. The 2004 accounting of girls' and boys' educational performances

compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics, *Trends in Educational Equity of Girls and Women, 2004* (Freeman 2004), affirms that the significant academic achievement gaps that once existed between boys and girls have been reduced or eradicated. According to this report, in elementary and secondary schools girls perform as well or outperform boys on many of the achievement indicators. In indicators of mathematics performance, girls and boys perform similarly with the exception of third-grade assessment; and they perform similarly on the overall reading assessment. Assessing whether or not there is genuine gender equity in American schools is a difficult matter, but data on academic performance, persistence to high school graduation, and participation in extracurricular activities suggest that some level of equity had been reached by the early twenty-first century.

According to this same report girls are less likely than boys to drop out of school, a change from the trend of the 1970s when boys and girls dropped out at similar rates. Girls report fewer instances of bullying than do boys, and girls appear less likely to engage in drug use and violence. Girls, however, continue to outperform boys in reading and writing, the gap in their mathematics achievement has been small since the mid-1990s, and overall the gender gaps in mathematics and science are narrowing. In the twelfth-grade NAEP assessment of science and mathematics, there was no significant gender difference in scores. Nevertheless, girls report not liking math and science as much as boys do but overall take the same or more challenging coursework in these subjects as their male peers. Except for athletics, where only a third of senior girls report participation, girls are more likely than boys to participate in extracurricular activities. Girls tend to have higher educational aspirations than do boys and are more likely to enroll in college following high school graduation. Despite all their success girls' attitudes toward school have grown progressively more pessimistic since 1980. By the year 2001 only 29 percent of high school senior girls reported liking school compared with 50 percent in 1980 (Freeman 2004).

Whether or not true gender equity has been achieved in American education is difficult to determine. Though girls and women have by the early twenty-first century successfully challenged the earlier gender ideology of separate spheres and have proven the defectiveness of gender ideology premised on biological determinism, girls in America's schools still struggle with norms of femininity that restrict their growth and development.

HIGHER EDUCATION

To properly understand the role of sex and gender in higher education in the United States, it is important to note that women's participation in higher education was not commonplace until the mid-1900s. The first colleges for women, also known as women's seminaries, were founded in the 1830s and focused on preparing women for traditional roles as wives and mothers, albeit in a more learned manner. Harvard University, the first university established in the United States (in 1636), was founded originally for the education and ordination of young men into religious life and did not formally admit women as students until it merged with Radcliffe College in 1970.

American white women first participated in *higher* education in the early 1800s when Emma Willard founded the Troy Female Seminary in 1821. Seminaries such as Willard's, Catharine Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary (1823), and Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke Seminary (1837) were established as institutions to prepare young women for teaching. These early *colleges* for women, which granted no baccalaureate degrees, were designed to give young white women instruction in the domestic arts and sciences and other vocationally appropriate instruction. They were really preparatory schools for domesticity and did not advance women in the liberal education found in men's colleges of the era. In fact the larger cultural belief in the dangers of higher learning for women—that such intellectual training would be deleterious to their health in general and reproductive well-being in particular—limited the curricular expansion of women's seminaries.

It was not until the establishment of the seven women's colleges founded on the East Coast (the *Seven Sisters*) that the curricular emphasis in women's higher learning changed to follow the classical curriculum of men's colleges. The Seven Sisters—Barnard (1889), Bryn Mawr (1885), Mount Holyoke (1888), Radcliffe (1894), Smith (1875), Vassar (1865), and Wellesley (1875)—offered white women a traditional liberal education that included proficiency in Latin and Greek, history, mathematics, literature, the sciences, and Romance languages. Barnard and Radcliffe were each founded as *coordinate colleges*, institutions in articulation with their respective men's colleges, Columbia University and Harvard. African-American women entered higher education in 1873 when Bennett College was established in North Carolina as a coeducational institution for emancipated slaves. In 1881 the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary was founded to educate newly emancipated black women in much the same manner as earlier white women's seminaries educated white women in the domestic arts and sciences. It was not until 1901 that the seminary, by then renamed Spelman Seminary (and later Spelman College), began awarding college degrees to African-American women.

Throughout much of its history, then, higher education in the United States was single-sex education.

Coeducation as a general rule did not become part of women's higher educational experience until the close of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the public land-grant colleges and universities through the first Morrill Act of 1862. Though Oberlin College began formal coeducation as early as 1833 and the University of Iowa enrolled women at its founding in 1855, it was not until the post-Civil War period that formal coeducation truly developed. Fueled by the rapid expansion in public schooling and the need for teachers, the rise of feminist ideas and feminists' critique of the denigrated status of white women in light of abolitionist principles, and the institutional need for tuition dollars, coeducation in the public and white tertiary sectors took hold. For historically black colleges and universities, which were continuously challenged by a lack of funding, coeducation was the pragmatic norm. Catholic colleges and universities resisted coeducation throughout the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century. Despite such resistance, by the mid-twentieth century, coeducation was largely accepted in the United States, in part because of the increasing competition for students and their tuition dollars, the influence of feminist critiques of educational equity for girls and women, and the passage of Title IX (1972) and other legislation that prohibited sex discrimination.

The prevalence of women and men in higher education has shifted significantly since the 1970s because of the convergence of several factors, including increasingly effective legal advocacy for women's equity in education, such as through Title IX, shifts in social mores and norms regarding women's education, and increased opportunities for coeducation at formerly all-male institutions. Between 1970 and 2001 women became the majority of students enrolled in postsecondary education in the United States, increasing from 42 percent to 56 percent of all undergraduates. Graduate school enrollment for women also increased during this period. In 1970, 39 percent of all graduate students were female, but in 2004 women for the first time earned more doctorates in the professions than did men (the former comprising 55 percent of the total).

The National Center for Education Statistics provides data that suggests that overall, females are more likely than males to enroll in college immediately following graduation and to enroll in graduate school following college. Among white, black, and Hispanic men and women, participation in college education uniformly increased from 1970 to 2001, with the exception of Hispanic men, whose total participation declined. Among some racial groups data indicates that women surpass their male counterparts in both college enrollment and degree attainment: Black women earned two-thirds of both associate's degrees and bachelor's degrees awarded to all black students. Hispanic and American-Indian women were awarded 60 percent or more of associate's and bachelor's degrees conferred to undergraduates from these racial groups, whereas Asian women earned 57 percent of associate's degrees and 55 percent of bachelor's degrees awarded to all Asian students. Women graduate at slightly higher rates than men attending four-year institutions (56.8% compared with 51.3% in 2005).

Gender-role socialization has been a persistent factor in the fields open to individuals of different sexes. Traditionally, men have far outnumbered women in educational disciplines related to science, math, engineering, computer science, and business, whereas women have tended to more highly populate fields such as education, nursing and other health professions, and the social sciences. In 2003–2004 men continued to outpace women five to one in computer science and engineering, whereas women were three times as likely as men to study education and the health professions. In 2004, 64 percent of all earned doctorates in business were conferred to men, along with 82 percent of doctorates in engineering and three-quarters of Ph.D.s in the physical sciences. Women earned more doctorates than men in only one field of study: education.

Women have not been proportionally represented in college and university faculty roles, again largely because of gender-role socialization, which discourages women from seeking leadership roles in the college classroom, and cultural resistance to the idea that women are effective scholars and teachers. In the fall of 2003, 60 percent of the total faculty in the United States were male, but differences by rank elucidate this further. Men outnumbered women at the full professor rank 75 percent to 25 percent, at the associate professor rank 60 percent to 40 percent, and at the assistant professor rank 55 percent to 45 percent. Women are more likely than men to be part-time faculty, with lower rank and status as well as compensation (two-thirds of part-time faculty in 2003 were women, while one-third of full-time faculty were women). In terms of field of study, the traditional areas most open to males are also reflected in the composition of the faculty. Business, engineering, the natural sciences, and agriculture are fields in which male faculty outnumber women more than three to one; women approach parity with men as teachers of education and exceed men in faculty roles in only one baccalaureate-level health profession: nursing. Whereas data indicate that women continue to be underrepresented as faculty in American colleges and universities, they are making gradual gains in attainment of both part- and full-time faculty positions throughout all types of institutions (two-year, four-year, public, and private).

Whereas data point to encouraging trends in increased participation for women in colleges and universities, several

issues of concern have emerged since the 1980s linking women's differential achievements in higher education to systemic forms of bias and harassment. One such systemic obstacle is the *chilly classroom climate*, first identified in 1982 by the educational researchers Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler. Hall and Sandler studied classroom practices and pedagogical styles of faculty, along with perceptions of male and female students, and found faculty behaviors, including communication styles, classroom structure, and text selection, that subtly exclude women students and create an environment hostile to women's learning and achievement. While Hall's and Sandler's research has been highly influential in the creation of improved pedagogical methods and attention to classroom participation equity, some scholars have argued that the data are not sufficient to work toward widespread sexist practices in the college classroom (Constantinople, Cornelius, and Gray 1988).

An additional factor that has greatly influenced women's equal participation in postsecondary education has been the adoption and enforcement of Title IX. The main purpose of Title IX is to require schools receiving federal funding to abolish sexually discriminatory practices in education programs, such as sexual harassment and employment discrimination, and to provide individual students with legal protection to remedy violations of these practices. Implementation of Title IX is guaranteed by the federal government and applies to a wide array of institutional practices such as access and admission to higher education; vocational training and career development; gender equity in math, science, and technology education; prevention of and effective response to sexual harassment; and proportional opportunity to engage in intercollegiate athletics.

The advancement of women in higher education in the United States has raised subsequent questions about the position and prospects of men. A 2006 report issued by the Department of Education noted that traditional-aged male students are not only enrolled in lower numbers than women but that—across race and socioeconomic group—they are also less likely to earn a bachelor's degree, and they earn lower grades than women overall. Social scientists speculate that the dominance exhibited by boys in high school, where they continue to earn higher grades and SAT scores than do girls, fades as they enter college and lose focus and discipline, spending less time studying and more time socializing than girls do. Others contend that the *crisis for boys* is an exaggerated fear that reflects cultural anxiety about girls' achievement. An additional criticism of the movement for preserving boys' educational opportunity is that it is steeped in racial and class bias, because the male drop in engagement in

higher education was not a concern until it began to impact white, middle-class boys.

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II. GLBT ISSUES

Schools and colleges in the United States have become more inclusive and sensitive to the needs of individuals of differing identities in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, including those students who do not identify as heterosexual or as conforming to their biologically assigned genders, in other words, students who identify

as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender (GLBT). While interest in these students was virtually nonexistent before the 1980s, a rash of instances of bullying and severe harassment toward them—and toward students simply perceived to be GLBT—brought the issue to the policy forefront. In addition U.S. Supreme Court decisions began to interpret the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as requiring schools and colleges to provide due process and necessary protections for students being harassed due to real or perceived sexual orientation. A nationally conducted survey in 2005 indicated that 76 percent of students report hearing terms and phrases such as *faggot*, *dyke*, and *that's so gay* used pejoratively on a daily basis in their school environments (Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network [GLSEN] 2005). Additionally 37.8 percent of students in the survey reported experiencing physical harassment due to sexual orientation, and more than one-quarter experienced harassment due to gender expression. Grade point averages and college attainment expectations were significantly lower than average for GLBT students who experienced harassment in the context of their school, and they were much more likely to skip school due to harassment or fear of it. The Harvey Milk School in New York City, founded in 1985 and granted full accreditation in 2002, is the first charter high school created for the explicit protection and support of GLBT-identified high school students.

Peer harassment at school, fear of being discovered or outed as GLBT, and family/peer nonacceptance are factors that significantly increase the likelihood that GLBT youth will experience feelings of isolation, despondency, and hopelessness. Studies consistently indicate that students who identify as GLBT are two to four times more likely than their straight peers to attempt suicide, and are also more likely to suffer prolonged periods of depression and anxiety, and to resort to alcohol or other drug abuse (GLSEN study).

In terms of appropriate remedies, some grammar and high schools have developed creative and resourceful means for offering support to their GLBT students, and studies show that the existence of such support mechanisms does make a difference. The first school-based project to address the needs and concerns of GLBT teens was founded in Los Angeles County's Fairfax High School. The name of the group, Project 10, is an allusion to the commonly believed (though never actually measured) statistic that 10 percent of the population is gay or lesbian.

The first school-based groups to call themselves gay-straight alliances (GSAs) were formed in 1989 at two private schools in Massachusetts, the Phillips Academy in Andover and the Concord Academy in Concord.

These groups were founded to provide peer-based support and advocacy for GLBT students and to engage straight-identified students in the work of transforming the school climate regarding GLBT issues. By the year 2002, there were 1,200 GSAs across the country in public, private, and even some parochial schools. The GLSEN is a national organization formed in 1989 to coordinate the efforts of GSAs and to strengthen national-level research and advocacy for the safety of GLBT youth. As of 2006, only nine states have comprehensive laws that require school officials to respond to harassment based on sexual orientation, while most other states have blanket laws that do not specify sexual orientation as a protected category.

GLBT STUDENTS IN COLLEGE: THE ISSUES

College campuses have often been on the forefront of social change in U.S. culture, and the emergence of GLBT student identity and awareness of GLBT issues is no exception. Due to complexities in measurement and the fact that many GLBT students remain private about their sexual orientation, it is not possible to determine the size or prevalence of this student population on college campuses. However, for many GLBT youth, college is a time when students begin to explore issues of identity and belonging related to their sexual orientation and gender identity as a result of being away from home for the first time and in an environment that foments self-exploration and understanding.

With respect to sexual orientation, researchers have found that gay, lesbian and bisexual (GLB) youth experience relatively predictable stages of growth and identity formation as a result of *coming out* as such. Initially resistant to or in denial of their feelings and identity, GLB young adults gradually move toward acknowledgment and acceptance of these feelings as they begin experimenting with same-sex relationship building, eventually integrating their understanding of themselves as GLB in early adulthood. While these stage models do not completely explain the experience of all GLB youth, and do not often adequately account for the complex interplay of other identities (such as racial, ethnic, and class identities embedded in the experience of being GLB), they do provide a helpful roadmap for understanding the process of growth and development.

Transgender students, defined as those who do not conform to their assigned, biologically based gender identity, face an additional set of challenges in their college communities as they struggle to be recognized appropriately and to gain access to appropriate facilities such as residence hall room arrangements and bathrooms. The known trajectory of transgender college student identity

is proving to be more complex, since researchers have thus far failed to develop models of transgender identity development that are nonstigmatizing and that validate transgender identity as a normative, rather than deviant, identity.

The late twentieth century emergence of GLBT student organizations on most college campuses, along with the establishment of college-funded support services for GLBT students, indicates that the numbers of such students are growing. Interest in the specific concerns of GLBT students intensified after the murder of Matthew Shepard in 1998. Shepard, a University of Wyoming college student, was kidnapped, tortured, and killed by two local men because he was gay. Following Shepard's death, a national dialogue about tolerance and inclusion of GLBT students on college campuses ensued, leading to creation of new programs, services, and legislative efforts to stem anti-GLBT bias incidents on campus.

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III. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Gender issues in international education vary greatly by region and also vary within regions by level of schooling and, at the tertiary (higher education) level, subject of study. Some broad trends can be analyzed by examining data from the first decade of the twenty-first century. Those trends shed light on areas in which the experiences of boys and girls and men and women have remained dramatically different.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

To gauge the porousness of the academic pipeline through higher education, it is helpful to refer to both the Education for All initiative developed at the Jomtien World Conference on Education for All (UNESCO 1990) and the Millennium Development Goals estab-

lished in 2000 by the United Nations and their significance in promoting primary education. At Jomtien "delegates from 155 countries, as well as representatives from some 150 organizations agreed ... to universalize primary education and massively reduce illiteracy before the end of the decade" (UNESCO 1990). As something of a follow-up to Jomtien, the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG) emerged from a similar convening of UN member states and had as one of eight main goals the achievement of universal primary education by 2005. As illustrated by these two international initiatives, the urgency of access to primary education has been established firmly in the global education arena.

Globally, primary education has had the strongest gender parity and overall levels of student enrollment per age cohort of any sector of education. Between 1998 and 2004 most major regions of the world had male-female gross enrollment gender parity indices between 87 (Africa) and 99 (North America and Europe). The focused levels of international commitment apparent in Jomtien and the MDG appear to have achieved the goals of universal primary education. Unfortunately, this almost universal gender parity diminishes as students move to higher levels of education.

In secondary school enrollments, however, the gender parity indices of gross enrollment rates for lower secondary education show more dramatic variance among regions, ranging from 81 (Africa) to 102 (North America) and ranging in upper secondary education from 89 (Africa) to 107 (Europe). More notable, however, are the greater variations within regions: "Gender disparities against girls are highest in Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Guinea, Mali and Togo, with fewer than 60 girls per 100 boys entering secondary education" (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2005, p. 26).

Significant disparities are not limited to those involving girls: In countries where boys are disadvantaged it is mostly because the boys do not make the transition to the secondary level. "The greatest disadvantages for boys are reported in Bangladesh, Cape Verde, Mauritius, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Uruguay, with more than 110 girls entering lower secondary per 100 boys" (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2005, p. 27). In many countries in which boys do not progress to higher levels of education, expectations about supporting their families by working instead of pursuing further education are often the cultural norm.

TERTIARY EDUCATION

In higher (tertiary) education there are marked differences in the overall access of women and men in developed and developing countries. In Western Europe and North

Select Country Examples: Gross Enrollment Ratios—Tertiary Education (represented as %)

	1965		1995		2004	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Australia	22	10	70	74	65	80
Bangladesh	01	00	10	02	09	04
Chile	07	05	30	26	44	42
Czech Republic	n/a	n/a	23	21	36	38
Ethiopia	n/a	n/a	01	00	04	01
Finland	11	11	65	76	79	95
Guatemala	04	01	12	04	11	08
Iran	02	01	21	13	21	24
Korea, Rep. of	09	03	66	38	109	67
Morocco	n/a	n/a	13	09	11	10
Philippines	17	21	25	34	26	33
United States	49	31	71	92	69	96

SOURCE: Task Force, 2000; UIS, 2006.

Gross Enrollment Ratios—Tertiary Education. THOMSON GALE.

America women are not simply the majority of enrollees in higher education, they also are represented disproportionately at all levels of higher education from the most selective elite universities to noncompetitive, non-degree-granting programs. In many cases, such as the United States, the gross enrollment ratio of women (the ratio of women enrolled in tertiary education divided by the total number of women in the tertiary education age cohort, expressed as a percentage) has grown dramatically, reaching proportions that exceed overall enrollment growth. In 1965, only 31 percent of women in the tertiary education cohort were enrolled, whereas in 2004, 96 percent were enrolled. The male enrollment pattern, however, grew less dramatically, increasing from 49 percent in 1965 to 69 percent in 2004. The figure for 2004 actually represented something of a decline in male gross enrollments from a high of 71 percent in 1995 (World Bank 2002). Overall enrollments during that period increased from 40 percent to 82 percent.

In terms of subject of study, however, women have not made strides as dramatic as those they have made in overall enrollments. The enrollment progress of women has not been distributed equally among fields of study. In most countries female enrollments have been in increasingly "feminized" fields such as education and the social sciences, whereas much smaller increases in female enrollments have occurred in science and technology. Such "gender tracking" (Licuanan 2004) or "gender streaming" (World Bank 2002) contradicts the statistical illusion that women have been gaining broad access to the full marketplace of employment opportunities as they increase their enrollment numbers in higher education. Instead, women often are enrolled in programs that prepare their graduates for low-income professions, perpetuating access challenges out of the education arena and into the workforce. Specific examples of countries that have been bucking this trend include Bahrain (50 percent), Mongolia (51 percent), Honduras (48 percent), and Swaziland (43 percent), where women have near parity enrollment percentages in science and technology (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2006).

Two issues that are somewhat peripheral to specific educational attainment but are important in understanding access to higher education are access to lodging during education and access to technology before and throughout education. Lodging can be particularly difficult for women in countries with strong cultural norms that are opposed to single women living alone in unknown environments. As many countries' universities are situated in the largest urban environments, this often means that rural students (male and female) and all female students are denied access because of strong familial and/or cultural opposition (World Bank 2002).

THE DIGITAL GENDER GAP

With regard to technology, women are at a disadvantage in much of the world. For women to participate fully in the "knowledge societies" of the global economy of the twenty-first century, familiarity with and sophisticated skills in using technology are a requirement. According to a 2001 International Labor Organization report, there is a "digital gender gap" in much of the world, including many developed countries. Many of the countries listed in that report have relative parity among men and women regarding Internet usage, with China, Korea, and Taiwan all at over 40 percent, but many more have broad gaps. Regional ratios include the following: 38 percent of Internet users are women in Latin America, 28 percent in the European Union, and 4 percent in the Middle East (International Labor Organization 2001). As higher education increasingly relies on and in many respects is conducted through information and communications technology, this gap in female access to and use of information and communications technologies may reinforce or even regenerate existing barriers to access for women throughout the world.

Although large and undeniable strides have been made worldwide in improving access to all students—male and female—at all levels, equity of access and opportunity differs greatly by economic status, country of origin, and gender. As girls and women increasingly dominate the enrollment ratios at most levels of education, the focus must shift from numerical representation to proportionately distributed representation so that access to all areas of educational opportunities and the

socioeconomic status and benefits that often accompany such opportunities are distributed appropriately among males and females in the workplace and in all areas of society.

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EFFEMINACY

Effeminacy refers specifically to males who are not sufficiently *masculine* according to the expectations of their culture and/or context. These masculine traits generally involve strength, virility, emotional control, and lack of demonstrativeness. Men who fail to exhibit an appropriate degree of these qualities may be seen as more feminine than masculine—thus the term *effeminacy*. The term carries negative connotations, and as such reinforces normative patriarchy. To be closer to the feminine is an undesirable position for a male; conversely, for a female to be masculine (often called *butch*) is similarly negatively connoted. In this way, neither the female sex nor any feminine gender positions are valued as highly in most cultures as the masculine male position.

The difference (actual or perceived) between sex and gender in an individual becomes particularly important with the onset of puberty. Prior to this developmental stage, males are frequently associated with the feminine, partly because of the typical pattern in which children are raised, and thus most influenced, by women, and also because the prepubescent boy's lack of physical development is

somewhat in line with expectations of femininity. As puberty progresses, the male is expected to develop toward a more masculine position: The body enlarges and strengthens, body hair develops, and the voice deepens. Any failure to meet these expectations of masculinity renders the individual suspect. The fact that the process of puberty is beyond the control of the individual is usually irrelevant; the proper alignment of gender and sex is expected, regardless of the body's ability to meet this expectation. The way in which the male comports himself, his demeanor and attitude, are expected to develop in tandem. Masculine males are expected to be somewhat dominant, to use their strength and virility in sanctioned ways (bravery, sexual aggressiveness, and the like), to express themselves physically more than intellectually, and, most importantly, to be attracted to the opposite sex. Boys who do not manifest masculine traits as expected, or whose development is delayed, are often ridiculed and subjected to a variety of treatment whose purpose is to both reinstate the normative expectations as well as define the individual's distance from them. Name-calling is a common form of torment; effeminate young men are often mockingly referred to by their peers as *sissy*, *pussy*, *queer*, *faggot*, *pansy*, *pouf* (British), *nancy*, *poncey* (British), *cream puff*, *fairy*, *pantywaist*, or *mama's boy*.

CONNECTION WITH HOMOSEXUALITY

Effeminacy is suspicious because, as R. W. Connell (2005) states, "our culture believes [that] effeminacy [is produced by] homosexual relationships" (p. 32). The fear or suspicion of effeminacy, therefore, is actually a symptom of underlying homophobia. Because an individual's sexual practice can be difficult to ascertain, characteristics or traits of persons known to engage in specific sexual practices are read as signs of that practice. As with any stereotype, however, the fit is imperfect: Many effeminate men are not homosexuals, and many men who appear normatively (or even excessively) masculine are homosexuals. In the absence of definite knowledge of sexual practice, however, effeminacy has become a major marker that invites suspicion. This problem is discussed by Richard Dyer in *The Culture of Queers* (2002):

> Queer has something to do with not being properly masculine or feminine. That "properly" is grounded in heterosexuality, but is held together with the assumption that if a person does not have the sexual responses appropriate to his or her sex (to wit, heterosexual ones), then he or she will not have fully the other attributes of his or her sex. This is how signs of effeminacy and mannishness, that have nothing directly to do with sexual preference but with gender, nonetheless come to indicate homosexuality. Moreover,

they are a visible indicator of homosexuality, something which, short of showing acts, can't otherwise be seen.

<div align="right">(p. 97)</div>

Dyer makes clear that the connection between effeminacy and sexual practice or sexuality is not only artificial but oddly necessary. An individual's sexual practices cannot be concretely known (there is no "visible indicator") short of actual sexual contact with that person. Effeminacy, which is visible in nonsexual situations, becomes the sign of what cannot be known, regardless of its accuracy as an indicator. In modern Western culture, the connection between effeminacy and homosexuality became most solidified in the infamous trials of the Irish author and wit Oscar Wilde (1854–1900). Wilde had long been famed for his eccentricity of dress and mannerism; his effeminacy, or *foppishness*, was seen as a marker of class, education, and refinement rather than of sexuality, and was thus a source of envy rather than derision. His prosecution and conviction for obscenity, including sodomy, made public his sexual practice, and his effeminacy became quickly read as a sign of his homosexuality. While this connection had long existed, the Wilde trials to some degree made it more absolute in the public imagination.

Because effeminacy is linked in the popular imagination with homosexuality, it has often been taken advantage of as a kind of code. For instance, in mainstream films of the mid-twentieth century, when overtly depicting homosexuality was difficult, effeminate characters were sometimes used to create a kind of queerness. Often, though, these effeminate characters were married or in heterosexual relationships, which made their sexual location harder to read. By combining a character quality (effeminate) with a social position (heterosexual marriage), the queerness was simultaneously deflected and magnified. The characters clearly were *not* gay, because they were married. Yet their obvious gayness was made even stranger *because* they were married.

Some actors, such as Paul Lynde (1926–1982), made their entire careers out of this queer-yet-normative character position. His performances include films such as *Send Me No Flowers* (1964), in which he played a funeral plot salesman who claims to be married (his wife does not appear in the film), and who seems to be morbidly fascinated with burials as well as oddly attracted to Rock Hudson, who is one of Lynde's clients. Hudson's own macho queerness only magnifies the strange quality of their interaction. Lynde also played a husband and father of two children in the musical *Bye Bye Birdie* (1963), which found him infatuated with celebrity. He not only was thrilled at the prospect of appearing on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, but was also excessively interested in Conrad Birdie, the Elvis-like superstar who lives with

his family (and romances his daughter) as a publicity stunt. What might be understood as parental concern becomes translated into a kind of queer desire because of Lynde's effeminacy. His recurring role as Uncle Arthur on the television series *Bewitched* is also a famous example of mainstream queerness, again understood not through representation of actual homosexuality, but through an effeminate male character.

DAVID'S RELATIONSHIP WITH JONATHAN

Effeminacy has been valued differently across cultures, but is most often seen as nonnormative. One of the earliest descriptions and judgments of effeminacy is the story of David's relationship with Jonathan in the Old Testament of the Bible. 2 Samuel 1:26 states "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan: very pleasant hast thou been unto me: thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women." This verse seems to indicate a degree of nonspecific, yet intense affection between David and Jonathan, which is compared to that between men and women. According to 1 Samuel 20:30–31,

> Then Saul's anger was kindled against Jonathan, and he said unto him, Thou son of the perverse rebellious woman, do not I know that thou hast chosen the son of Jesse to thine own confusion, and unto the confusion of thy mother's nakedness? For as long as the son of Jesse liveth upon the ground, thou shalt not be established, nor thy kingdom.

Here, Jonathan's father curses him for his relationship with David, one that causes "confusion" and seems to prohibit either man from fathering subsequent generations. As with most readings of sexuality in the Bible, there is vast disagreement about the meaning underlying these verses, but the possibility of homosexuality seems to prevail because of David's effeminacy. In fact, David is famous almost *because* he is effeminate: In spite of his diminutive size and stature, he defeats the excessively masculine Goliath in battle. His relationship with Jonathan, however, is clearly not valued by Saul, and is a source of shame. The nature of the relationship is not specific, but has been claimed to be sexual by some scholars.

THE BERDACHE

Effeminacy has not always been negatively connoted, however. There are numerous stories of the *berdache*, a kind of middle gender position recognized among Amerindian cultures. This formulation stands in stark contrast to Western notions of transsexuality, which assume two normative gender and sex positions with limited mobility between them; the *berdache* embodied a difference between normative gender and sex without

attributing sexual desire or preference to this difference. Essentially, effeminacy (in males) and butchness (in females) could be incorporated into the gender spectrum without associating them with homosexuality in any way. It must be noted, however, that because knowledge of the *berdache* is mostly anecdotal and often conveyed in journals or writings of Western explorers rather than coming from the *berdache* themselves, there is a great deal of debate over the existence or status of such individuals.

In some pagan religions of the ancient Near East, there was also a tradition of male priests serving female deities. It was felt that the males needed to more fully embrace the feminine in order to serve their goddesses. To do so, a kind of gender transformation sometimes took place, including cross-dressing and even castration. Similar traditions of transgendering in order to spiritually bridge the masculine and feminine exist in Jewish Cabala. The Bible mentions pagan transgendered priests in 1 Kings; the word *kadeshim* has traditionally been translated as *sodomites*, thus contributing the notion that Jewish and Christian scripture prohibits homosexuality. The Latin translation of the Bible in 405 CE substituted the word *effeminati* for *kadeshim*, leading to a frequent English translation of the word as *effeminate*.

SEE ALSO *Wilde, Oscar.*

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Brian Holcomb

EGYPT, PHARAONIC

The Egyptian pharaonic or dynastic age stretched from the unification of the country in approximately 3100 BCE to the death of Cleopatra VII in 30 BCE. This lengthy period is conventionally broken down into times of strong rule (the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, the Late Period, and the Ptolemaic Period) interrupted by times of fragmented and foreign rule (the First, Second, and Third Intermediate Periods). These Kingdoms and Periods are further subdivided into dynasties of connected, but not necessarily blood-related, rulers. Pharaonic Egypt retained a remarkable cultural consistency with little expectation of social mobility. For more than three thousand years, Egyptian women were raised to follow in their mothers' footsteps while Egyptian men were trained to work alongside their fathers.

THE FAMILY

All Egyptians, even the deities, were expected to marry and produce children. Yet there are few textual references to weddings, and no evidence at all for a formal religious or civil ceremony. It seems that a marriage was effectively sealed when the couple, the bride probably thirteen or fourteen years old and the groom slightly older, started to live together. At this time the woman assumed the wife's title "Mistress of the House." Most couples married within their own social class, with cousin-cousin or uncle-niece marriages being common. Only Egypt's kings were polygynous, marrying one principal wife (the queen consort) plus many secondary wives who lived with their children in harem palaces away from the court. In ancient Egypt, all royal titles expressed a relationship to the semi-divine king. A princess was therefore a "King's Daughter" and a dowager queen a "King's Mother," while a queen was simply a "King's Wife"; a woman who was, or who had been, married to a king. The latter title encompassed the queen consort—the wife who played an important role in state ritual and whose son would succeed to the throne—plus all the secondary harem wives. As the pharaonic age progressed, in order to distinguish her from the growing number of lesser queens, the queen consort acquired an increasing number of titles and regalia.

Egypt's kings frequently made incestuous marriages, although these were not obligatory. Egyptologists no longer accept the "heiress theory" that Egyptian kingship was inherited through the female line. Many kings married their sisters or half-sisters, but only two kings (the long-lived New Kingdom monarchs Amenhotep III [r. c. 1391–1353 BCE] and Ramesses II [r. c. 1290–1224 BCE]) are known to have married their daughters.

Legally, women shared the same rights as men. They were allowed to own and inherit property and could bear witness in a court of law. They could live alone and, if widowed or divorced, could raise their children without the need for a male guardian. They could deputize for an absent husband in business matters, and many women ran their own small businesses, offering services and food surpluses to their neighbors. But within the marriage

there was always a traditional division of labor. The man was regarded as the head of the household, and he was expected to interface with the outside world by working outside the home. To symbolize this responsibility, men were traditionally depicted in art as red or brown skinned while women, who took responsibility for all internal, domestic matters, were shown with paler, untanned skins. Women could work outside the home, either in a paid or a voluntary capacity, but their domestic duties always took precedence. This concentration of the domestic sphere means that women are not particularly well represented in either the textual or the archaeological sources that tend to reflect the lives and official activities of elite and educated men.

CHILDBIRTH AND CHILDREN

Children of either sex were very much welcomed, although sons conveyed greater status. Not only would children care for their parents in old age, they would ensure that they received the correct funerary rituals and the offerings that would guarantee continued life beyond death. Childlessness was considered a tragedy, and the medical papyri included prescriptions intended to detect whether a woman was capable of bearing a child alongside advice on contraception and breastfeeding. Male infertility was an unknown concept. Those who could not have children of their own could consider adoption; some of Egypt's most successful kings, including the New Kingdom monarchs Tuthmosis I (r. c. 1504–1492 BCE) Horemheb (r. c. 1319–1307 BCE) and Ramesses I (r. c. 1307–1306 BCE) were adopted into the royal family.

There are few references to the private, female dominated rite of childbirth in the written and artistic records. Mothers prepared to give birth by removing their clothing and untying their hair, with loose hair symbolizing a loss of control. The few surviving childbirth scenes show mothers in specially constructed tents or birthing bowers. If all went well the mother squatted on a set of birthing
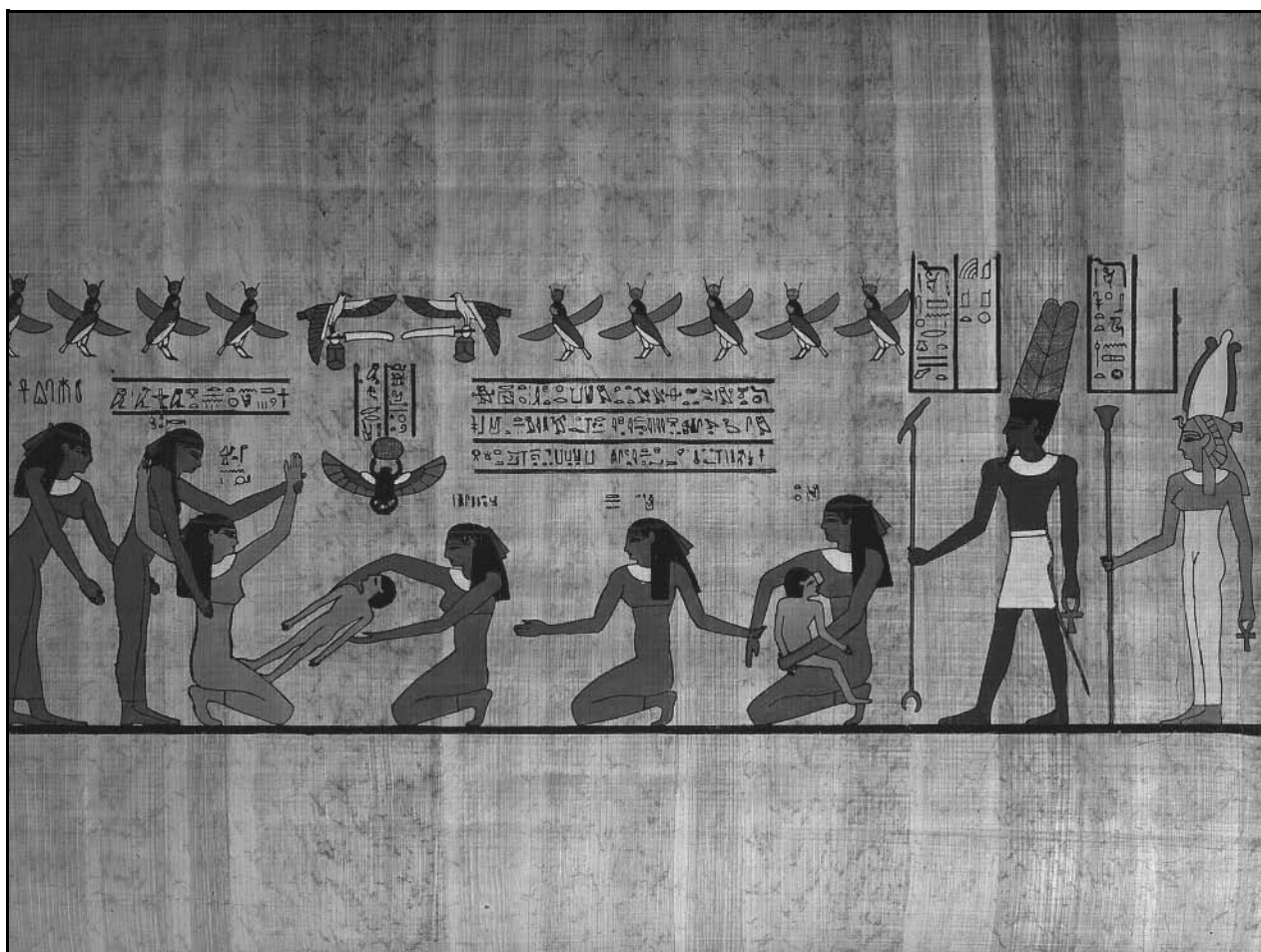
Childbirth in Egypt. *Egyptian illustration of a woman giving birth.* THE ART ARCHIVE/RAGAB PAPYRUS INSTITUTE CAIRO/DAGLI ORTI.

bricks (indeed, this was the hieroglyph for giving birth), and a healthy child was delivered into the arms of the local midwife who crouched before her and who cut the umbilical cord with a sharp obsidian knife. If things went badly, there was very little that the midwife could do to help, and several female mummies show evidence of death during childbirth. Spells, charms, and amulets of the pregnant hippopotamus goddess Taweret and the dwarf demi-god Bes might be used to protect both mother and unborn child. During the Middle Kingdom, midwives carried curved batons carved out of hippopotamus teeth. These have no obvious practical purpose, but Egyptologists have speculated that they may have been used to draw a magic circle around the vulnerable mother.

Most mothers breastfed for up to three years, but royal women used wet-nurses, employing high ranking wives for this most important of positions. The children of the royal wet-nurses were educated in the schools attached to the royal harem, and were considered to have a particularly close bond with the royal family. Less than ten percent of Egypt's population could read and write, almost all of them elite males. The vast majority of girls were educated at home where they learned domestic skills from their female relations. But the New Kingdom Theban workmen's village of Deir el-Medina has yielded an eclectic collection of informal written documents—personal scribbles, letters, and laundry lists—that suggest that some non-elite women could read basic signs.

DIVINITIES

Polytheistic Egypt respected many goddesses, with Hathor and Isis being the most prominent. Hathor, the cow-headed daughter of the sun god, was the patron of music, motherhood, and drunkenness, and was worshipped from prehistoric times until the end of the pharaonic age. But as the dynasties progressed the cult of the goddess Isis started to displace that of Hathor. Isis would outlive the last of the pharaohs to become a prominent deity in the Roman Empire. There were many myths associated with Isis, who was revered as a wise woman, healer, and magician. The story of Isis and her husband-brother Osiris allows modern readers an insight into contemporary Egyptian attitudes to women. It tells how, when Osiris had been murdered and dismembered by his brother Seth, Isis was able to use her magic to restore his body and bring him back to a semblance of life. Nine months later Isis gave birth to a son, Horus. As Osiris retreated to rule the land of the dead, Isis protected Horus until he was old enough to claim his birthright. Isis's actions show her to be an ideal wife. Not only is she capable of bearing a son,

she is able to use her wits to deputize for her husband and protect her child.

FEMALE KINGS

The ideal succession saw the Egyptian crown pass from father to a son born to the queen consort. If the queen consort had been unable to supply an heir, a successor was sought in the royal harem. Occasionally it was necessary for a queen to rule as temporary regent for a young son. By the Ptolemaic Period (304–30 BCE) ideas of kingship had undergone a subtle change, and several of the Ptolemaic queens, including Egypt's last queen, Cleopatra VII, experienced periods of independent rule.

On at least three occasions a woman took the throne as queen regnant. These women classified themselves as kings, underwent the full coronation ritual, and used the full king's titulary. Sobeknofru (r. c. 1767–1783 BCE) ruled Egypt briefly at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty at time when there was no eligible male successor. Tawosret (r. c. 1198–1196 BCE) enjoyed an undistinguished two-year reign at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Best known of all the female pharaohs is the Eighteenth Dynasty King Hatshepsut (r. c. 1473–1458 BCE). Her reign was a time of peace and prosperity, with significant international trade and a major building program that included work on the Karnak temple of Amen and Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahari mortuary temple. Hatshepsut's artists struggled with the artistic convention which decreed that kings should be depicted as young, strong men; after a brief period where she was depicted with a female body in men's clothing and regalia, Hatshepsut was officially depicted as a male king.

SEE ALSO *Cleopatra.*

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Joyce A. Tyldesley

EGYPTIAN FEMINIST UNION

A group of Egyptian feminist women who were pioneers in public intellectual pursuits and social service as well as activists in the nationalist movement formed the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU) (*al-Ittihad al-Nisa'i al-Misri* is the official name in Arabic, and *l'Union féministe égyptienne* is the official name in French) on March 16, 1923. That was the fourth anniversary of the first women's nationalist demonstration during the 1919 revolution.

The women, acting as nationalist feminists, created the EFU when they realized that male nationalists had relegated the liberation of women to second place after Egypt, with women's help, had won quasi-independence from British colonial rule in 1922. The Egyptian feminists insisted that the full liberation and rights of women and those of the nation were inextricably linked. The EFU-led movement was secular and feminist, indicating the collaboration of Muslims and Christians in a national or Egyptian feminist movement expressed in the intertwined discourse of secular nationalism, religious reform, and humanitarianism. The EFU created two official organs: *l'Egyptienne* in 1925 with Saiza Nabarawi as editor in chief and *al-Misriyya* in 1937 with Fatma Ni'mat Rashid and then Eva Habib al-Masri as editor in chief.

The EFU led a multigoal feminist movement that included demands for education for women at all levels, access to work and new professional opportunities, and basic health care for women and children; reform of the Personal Status Law regulating marriage, divorce, alimony, child custody, and so on; suffrage rights for women; and the ending of state-licensed prostitution. The EFU had the greatest success in the areas of education and work and in the ending of officially sanctioned prostitution. It experienced the biggest disappointments in the failure to control the practice of polygamy and unilateral male divorce through legal reform of the Muslim Personal Status Code.

In 1923 the EFU joined the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (which changed its name that year to the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship [IAW]), sending a delegation that included Huda Sha'rawi, Nabawiyya Musa, and Saiza Nabarawi to its congress in Rome. Huda Sha'rawi became a vice president of the IAW. Through this and other international associations and networks the EFU conducted its feminist work both at home and abroad, actively participating in the elaboration and implementation of a national and international feminism and thus demonstrating that feminism was not exclusively a Western movement.

The EFU was prominent in regional feminist organizing. In 1938 it hosted the Eastern Women's Conference for the Defense of Palestine in Cairo, arguing for the connection of the fate of the nation and that of women. Arab women from the Fertile Crescent countries reconvened in Cairo in 1944 for the first All Arab Feminist Conference, which endorsed a broad platform of nationalist feminist demands. They also agreed on the framework for the All Arab Feminist Union that was established the next year with headquarters in Cairo and presided over by Huda Sha'arawi and a board of vice presidents from each of the member Arab states.

Three decades after the EFU first demanded women's suffrage, EFU feminists and others at the forefront, including in the final round Duriyya Shafiq, the founder and president of *al-Ittihad Bint al-Nil* (The Daughter of the Nile Union), Egyptian women won political rights when the state granted women the right to vote in 1956. The state, as part of a shutdown of all independent organizations and voices, closed the EFU in that year. It was allowed to reopen as the Huda Sha'arawi Association, devoted solely to social work.

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Margot Badran

EIGHT-PAGERS

SEE *Comics/Comic Strips.*

EJACULATION

Ejaculation refers to the discharge of bodily fluids as the direct result of sexual stimulation. Males ejaculate semen. Females may ejaculate fluids produced by an area called the Skene's glands, located immediately above or in front of the vagina. Because male ejaculation is a more common and visible result of sexual stimulation, the term *ejaculation* almost always refers to the emission of semen

from the penis. There are a number of slang terms for male ejaculate, including *jism*, *cum*, *splooge*, and *love juice*. There is no slang term for female ejaculate, since culturally it is barely recognized that such a phenomenon occurs, and indeed many women do not ejaculate regularly if at all.

MALE EJACULATION

Male ejaculation is a process that occurs in several stages as a part of male sexual arousal and orgasm. In the first stage of male sexual arousal, the penis is stimulated and hardens. In the second stage, the male reaches a plateau during which the penis is completely hardened and the male fully aroused. Ejaculation occurs during the third phase in two stages. During the first stage, *emission*, sperm that has been stored in the epididymus is propelled through two ducts known as the vas deferens, by means of the ducts' contractions. The point where the sperm begin to collect in the vas deferens is known as the "point of no return." Once this process begins, it is difficult to stop male ejaculation.

As the sperm reach the ampullas at the top of the vas deferens, they enter into the ejaculatory ducts where they are mixed with several fluids contributed by the prostate, the seminal vesicles, and the bulbourethral (or Cowper's) glands. This mix of fluid and sperm constitutes semen. The fluid includes sperm ranging from 60 to 500 million depending on a man's age, the amount of ejaculate, and other factors, as well as a list of component substances ranging from urea, uric acid, and creatine, to calcium, zinc, aboutonia, cholesterol, citric acid, spermadine, spermine, and chlorine, and contains about twenty calories. A single ejaculation consists of approximately 3/4 teaspoon to a tablespoon of fluid, depending on how recently an individual previously ejaculated, how old he is, and how long he was sexually stimulated before ejaculation. The amount of ejaculate decreases if a man has recently ejaculated. Older men tend to have smaller quantities of ejaculate. The number of sperm in an ejaculation varies, depending on a number of factors, including age and the temperature of the testicles.

The second stage of ejaculation, *ejaculation*, is associated with orgasm and occurs at the height of sexual stimulation. A spinal reflex, which is part of the sympathetic nervous system, initiates a series of contractions of muscles in the urethra, the prostate, and the penis. These contractions force the mix of semen and fluids out through the urethra in a series of spurts, although the first contraction may contain no semen at all. These contractions begin at intervals of approximately 0.6 seconds, becoming slower as they continue. Emissions begin with a small amount of ejaculate, build toward larger amounts, then taper off. Contractions may last for an average of 17 seconds or ten to fifteen contractions. After ejaculation, males generally need to wait for a period of time before they can ejaculate again.

EJACULATORY ISSUES

Ejaculation is complex mechanism involving multiple systems of the body—the urethrogenital system, the sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous systems, as well as sexual stimuli and emotions. The sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous systems are both part of the autonomic nervous system, which is in charge of such involuntary processes as breathing, digestion, and heartbeat. The sympathetic nervous system prepares individuals to cope with stress or emergency. It controls orgasm and ejaculation. The parasympathetic nervous system prepares individuals to cope with rest and peace. It regulates sexual arousal.

Control of the mechanisms of ejaculation does not always come naturally, especially in younger males who tend to ejaculate more quickly. Many males ejaculate prematurely—that is, before either they or their partners are ready—resulting in ejaculation outside of the vagina before entry or immediately after entry. The inability to delay ejaculation until the moment when both partners are ready can result in anxiety, female dissatisfaction, and loss of fertility, and may produce longer-lasting anxieties about sex in general. Males can learn to control ejaculations through experience or by learning to identify the sensations that define each stage before orgasm. According to Virginia Masters and William Johnson, if a male understands and can identify the processes of ejaculation, he can often learn to stall or prolong preejaculatory stages by slowing down or relaxing. Masters and Johnson suggest becoming familiar with these stages, using masturbation as a means through which to learn to prolong and control the "point of no return."

Other methods for preventing premature ejaculation include the use of condoms, which can de-sensitize the penis; using de-sensitizing creams; deploying a position other than the missionary position that gives the partner more control; or squeezing the base of the penis to reduce the erection by blocking blood flow to the organ. Some males believe that masturbating immediately before sexual intercourse will increase their control of ejaculation by decreasing the immediacy of their desire, but that practice is less successful because the entire phenomenon of arousal and ejaculation is more complex than a matter of satiety.

Another ejaculatory issue is a failure to ejaculate during orgasm, called *anejaculation* or a "dry orgasm." Some males have problems with their prostate glands that prevent or delay ejaculation. Some males have a very low sperm count, called *oligospermia*, or have no sperm at all

(as, for example, after a vasectomy), called *azoospermia*. Males also often ejaculate involuntarily during their sleep, called a "nocturnal emission."

FEMALE EJACULATION

A far less recognized phenomenon than male ejaculation, female ejaculation is the expulsion of fluid from the urethra during sexual stimulation. Because its source and causes are less obvious than those accompanying male ejaculation, female ejaculation is seen as unusual. Many cultures have taboos surrounding women's body fluids. Women, unlike men, are not supposed to sweat copiously, be seen urinating, or have public evidence of menstrual periods. Because of these cultural attitudes towards female bodily fluids, female ejaculation is often construed as abnormal—as either an aberration or as a lack of bladder control. The occurrence of female ejaculation is not abnormal, but is instead a sign of sexual satisfaction and female orgasm. Not all females ejaculate, nor do women ejaculate during every sexual encounter. Female ejaculation, however, is a phenomenon that has been recognized since the ancient Greeks, though the nature of the ejaculate and its purpose have only recently been explored.

Skene's glands, an area of tissue located between the urethra and the vagina, produce the milky, liquid substance that is expelled from the female's urethra during periods of high sexual excitement. The glands are believed to have developed from the same embryonic tissue that develops into the prostate gland in males. The glands produce both small quantities of seratonin, which they release into the bloodstream, and prostate hormones. They are erectile in character, which means that when stimulated they enlarge, and when stimulated, they also produce fluids that empty into the urethra and are expelled during orgasm. The fluid that is ejaculated contains PSA (prostate-specific antigen), PAP (prostate-specific acid phosphatase), sugars, urea, creatinine, and water. It may vary in consistency and in concentrations of its elements, depending on the quantities expelled. It is not urine, nor does it represent a failure to control the bladder.

Because there seems to be little relation between female ejaculation and other reproductive functions (that we know of), very little research has been conducted on the phenomenon, the Skene's gland, and the relation between the gland, female ejaculation, female orgasm, and the Gräfenburg Spot or G-Spot, which is the place on the anterior vagina wall just behind the Skene's glands that, when stimulated, produces intense sexual pleasure. Ernst Gräfenberg himself suggested that the ejaculate, which he noted has no function in lubrication, was produced when the Skene's glands were stimulated through the G-Spot.

There is still much ignorance and confusion about the nature and purpose of female ejaculation. Often it is a source of embarrassment and even humiliation. Seeing elements of female sexual response as aberrant or even as diseases or problems is evidence of the lingering masculinist character of medicine and gynecology. Because female ejaculation seems to play no discernable role in reproduction nor in a concept of sexual intercourse as completely complementary in that female organs and responses mirror those of the male, female ejaculation appears to be in excess. When one thinks of intercourse as the joinder of opposites, the female is the repository for male ejaculation, not a partner who contributes her own ejaculate. Nonetheless, female ejaculation is a completely normal sexual response. Knowing about this response would make many women's sexual lives easier.

SEE ALSO *Orgasm.*

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Judith Roof

ELDERLY, SEX AMONG

As people age, a number of biological, psychological, and social changes occur, some of which may have an impact on sexuality and sexual expression. However, there is a paucity of information about sex among the elderly. Traditionally, sexuality has been considered the purview of the young and thought of as antithetical to aging persons. Research and textbooks on sexuality, marriage, and the family and even those on aging often do not devote much, if any, space to discussions of sex among the elderly.

The assumption has been that sexuality is something that occurs in youth and declines with age to the point where the elderly are seen as asexual beings for whom the expression of sexual interest is considered inappropriate or even deviant. Few research studies include elderly respondents, and those which do often use such small samples that it is difficult to generalize to the larger elderly population. As a result of the paucity of research

on this topic and the small samples used in the few available studies, it is important to be cautious in generalizing research findings in this area of study.

The landmark research of William Masters and Virginia Johnson (1966) represented a breakthrough in sexuality research, especially as in relation to sexual behavior and the life course (those authors studied subjects of varying ages, including older subjects). Their findings suggested that interest in sex and the practice of sexual behaviors are not limited to the young but are lifelong. However, even after their study was published, most sexuality research continued to concentrate on the young. With increases in life expectancy and the growing number of elderly persons there is a need for more research in this important area of study. The baby boom generation, which had a significant impact on American sexual attitudes and behaviors when its members were young, is expected to have a significant impact on societal views of sex among the elderly. It is anticipated that researchers will pay more attention to sex among the elderly in the future.

INFLUENCES ON SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE ELDERLY

Sexual interest and activities among the elderly tend to follow patterns set in middle age that are likely to continue into old age (Cox 2001). This suggests that a life course approach to sex among the elderly can be helpful in proving insights into cohort variability (Quadagno 2007). Sexual behavior patterns also are culturally influenced by ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, and religion (Kingsberg 2002).

Studies of sexual attitudes suggest that the importance the elderly attribute to sex in their lives tends to vary with their health and the availability of a partner (Gott and Hinchcliff 2003). Those in good health who have partners attribute some importance to sex in their lives, whereas those who experience barriers such as poor health and the lack of a partner appear to assign less importance to sex. Thus, it is not aging per se but age-associated changes in health or relationship status that appear to result in changing attitudes toward sex. Research suggests that for a variety of reasons women are more likely than men to experience those health and relationship barriers.

A number of biological changes occur in the reproductive systems of both men and women as part of the aging process. For women those changes include menopause: the cessation of menstruation and the traditional cessation of natural fertility. Some women experience hot flashes, night sweats, and other unpleasant symptoms during menopause, whereas others indicate that they experience hardly any noticeable effects. Research has

suggested that the previous use of hormonal replacement therapies to overcome some of those negative experiences may have some risky side effects; those therapies no longer are used as widely and are employed with more caution. However, there continues to be interest in the use of hormone replacement therapy as a way of coping with a limited number of age-related changes or pathological conditions associated with aging, such as osteoporosis (Lemme 1999).

Changes in the reproductive system of men include declines in the level of testosterone among most men; also, some men may experience erectile dysfunction as they age. Prescription medications for some of those biological changes have been effective for many men. However, a number of men who have health problems such as diabetes and hypertension continue to report problems in that area. Testosterone replacement therapy is not in widespread use, and its long-term efficacy and side effects require further study (Lemme 1999).

LATE-LIFE DATING AND REMARRIAGE

Late-life dating and mate selection have increased greatly. Widows, widowers, and elderly divorcees no longer are expected to avoid the dating scene and forgo opportunities for developing new intimate relationships or remarriage. The rise of online Internet dating has led to not only an explosion of adult dating sites in general but the development of a number of sites devoted specifically to middle-aged and older daters.

Research on remarriage suggests that elderly males remarry at higher rates than do elderly females, especially among the widowed (Cox 2001). Two factors usually are said to account for this differential, one demographic and one cultural (Davidson 2002). Demographically there are more elderly women than elderly men, and culturally there is the expectation that in dating and marriage relationships the male partner will be the older person, thus giving heterosexual women an even smaller pool of candidates from which to make a selection. Elderly lesbians do not face the shortage of same-age eligible partners that affects elderly heterosexual women (Crooks and Baur 1993).

Additional research suggests that another factor that may account for fewer women remarrying is the desire among a significant number of women not to place themselves in a caretaking role. Those women indicate that they would like the companionship aspect of dating but not the caretaking responsibilities associated with the role of a wife (Davidson 2002). Despite the heightened level of Internet dating and new relationship formation, aging often is accompanied by a decline in new relationship formation

among elderly men and especially among elderly heterosexual women (Davidson 2002).

The May–December relationship, in which the male partner is significantly older than the female partner, which always has been controversial but is a longtime staple of elderly male dating and sometimes marriage, has begun to occur among greater numbers of elderly women. Though it is more controversial than the male version, more elderly women have become receptive to dating younger partners, in some cases significantly younger. Though this pattern of older woman–younger man is increasing, it continues to be viewed more negatively socially than its counterpart, the older male–younger female relationship (Cox 2001).

Another area of controversy is late-life parenthood. Some men have fathered children well into their sixties, seventies, or even eighties. However, in those cases the woman usually is significantly younger, and it is she who is expected to raise the child. Thus, although concerns are expressed about whether late-life fatherhood may have a detrimental impact, such concerns usually are minimized. Increasingly, older, postmenopausal women (women in their fifties and even sixties) have chosen to become pregnant and achieve motherhood with the assistance of modern medicine. This practice, which has physical risks for both the mother and the baby, has been more controversial than late-life fatherhood, leading to more discussion of the issue of when is a person too old to become a parent.

PRIVACY ISSUES

Issues of privacy and sexual relationships among nursing home residents continue to be problematic. Research suggests that the rigid, Victorian negative attitudes of the nursing home staff and relatives toward intimate relationships among nursing home residents has moderated or disappeared. Some nursing homes have undergone significant changes in this area and reflect a more progressive view. However, there continues to be considerable variation from one nursing home to another. Even among nursing homes with a more progressive view, administrators face difficulties in deciding how to balance the desires of some residents for intimate relationships with issues of consent (especially as it may relate to cognitively impaired elderly residents), the sensitivities of family members about the sexual activities of their parents and/or grandparents, and, in the case of some religious institutions, religious precepts regarding the appropriateness of nonmarital or extramarital sexual relationships. In addition to all these issues, conjugal visits in nursing homes are even more difficult for homosexual couples than for their heterosexual counterparts.

Interest in sex and sexual expression continues throughout life for most people, yet age-related changes have a number of impacts on sexual behavior among the elderly. Further research is needed to provide insight into the biological, psychological, and social factors that have an impact on sex among the elderly.

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Susan Schuller Friedman

ELENO
1546–?

Elena de Céspedes was born female and *mulata* (mixed race) in Alhama de Granada, Spain. She inherited her slave status from her mother, who was captured into chattel slavery in sub-Saharan Africa and taken to Andalusia where she was in domestic bondage in the Medina-Céspedes household. Elena's father was a so-called Old Christian, a high-caste Spaniard with bloodlines untainted by Jewish or Muslim ancestry. Elena shared with her mother the life of a household slave until her early adolescent years, when the mistress of the house died and the child won manumission.

THE TRIAL

At age 16 Elena's body was transformed into that of a hermaphrodite, as she would declare more than 20 years later before the tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Toledo, where in July 1587 she faced several charges: impersonating a man, female sodomy, witchcraft, and, most serious, scorn for (*sentir mal*) the sacrament of marriage. An old acquaintance from the time of Elena's army service—when she was living as a man—denounced the *mulata* cross-dresser on learning of her recent marriage to another woman, María del Caño.

Two decades earlier she had married a man, a stone-mason from Jaén, with whom she lived for only three months, long enough to conceive a child. As she recounted in the hearing room of the Toledo Inquisition, it was during the birth of her son that she first exhibited male sexual characteristics. Her body was under so much strain that as she was pushing out her baby son, Christóval, a penis and testicles also emerged. The evidence of gender dissidence adduced by her accusers was, she argued, traceable to a perfectly natural genital mutation that female bodies were known to undergo.

It was only after the *birth* of her penis that she altered her dress and social persona and began to feel erotic desire for other women. She also rewrote her female name, discarding the feminine ending of *Elena* and replacing it with the final *o* of masculine nouns, thereby crafting *Eleno*, an unfamiliar name in Castilian but one appropriate to the persona of a hermaphrodite who privileged masculine styles.

Eleno's social position improved after that time. In her female life she had worked in lower positions associated with cloth and clothing manufacturing (hose maker, weaver). However, after the metamorphosis, Eleno rose to a series of male-identified professions: tailor, soldier, and eventually licensed surgeon.

The extensive dossier of Eleno's Inquisition case demonstrates his familiarity with the literature of sex change associated with Galenic medicine, the Plinian concept of races, and early modern physiology. Those discourses enabled an informed, if unpersuasive, defense in which a transgender body expressed not heretical beliefs or female political disorder but the wonders of *natura artifex*, the variety and playfulness of nature authorized by classical texts of natural history.

THE SENTENCE

After several tribunal-appointed physicians concluded that Eleno's body bore no physical evidence of hermaphroditism, Eleno was sentenced for bigamy and received the typical punishment accorded to male bigamists: two hundred lashes and 10 years of confinement. That sentence was to be carried out while Eleno was serving as a surgeon curing indigent sick and injured patients in a Toledo hospital.

The actual punishment went beyond the narrow ruling (Eleno gave a false oath in representing himself as an unmarried male) by referencing the crime of sodomy. Originally the charge was leveled against Eleno by the secular court in Castile, before the Inquisition's intervention in the prosecution. Although in Castile the Holy Office never acquired formal jurisdiction over sodomy offenses, Eleno's inquisitors pursued their investigations as if that were their *mulata* prisoner's principal offense. They interrogated Eleno's wife and a former

mistress about the specifics of their positions during sexual intercourse and the nature of Eleno's penis; they wanted to know whether Eleno had ever used *a stiff and smooth instrument* or other *machinations and inventions* that might have facilitated *penetration* and *pollution* as a man does with his penis.

At the end of the trial they concluded that "*como hombre ha tratado y comunicado carnalmente con muchas mugeres*" [as a man she sexually dealt with many women]. In other words Eleno was a female sodomite. The sentence, nevertheless, hewed closely to the inquisitors' legal competence in matters involving the marriage sacrament. Although sodomy cases were not for the Castile Inquisition to decide upon—only for tribunals in Aragon, Barcelona, and Valencia—inquisitorial interest in sodomy, usually in the context of racial or ethnic differences, spread through other tribunals. Thus, the Toledo inquisitors buttressed the case against Eleno by documenting again and again, in prurient detail, the techniques of seduction and penetration employed by the accused, who was deemed by the tribunal's medical experts to be unambiguously female in her sex and, despite her early manumission and subsequent medical training, little more than a slave.

The tribunal's investigations also revealed an underlying anxiety that erotic relations between women might have occurred openly in forms other than the parody of heterosexuality that furnished the legal definition of female sodomy endorsed by the Supreme Council of Inquisition (*la Suprema*). Eleno's lashing was accompanied by a public reading of a summary of the sentence (*pregón*). That text, which was prepared by the Inquisition to be recited along the streets of Toledo, included a stern warning to a specifically female audience: Women should guard against other *burladoras* (female tricksters) who might prey on them sexually and emotionally and even walk them down the aisle in same-sex marriage ceremonies.

SEE ALSO *Body, Theories of; Gender Identity; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender, Theories of; Hermaphrodites; Inquisition, Spanish.*

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Israel Burshatin

ELIZABETH I
1533–1603

Elizabeth I, who became queen of England in 1558 at the age of twenty-five, was the first English queen since the Norman Conquest who not only ruled but ruled alone, unmarried. Her older half-sister Mary was queen before her, but Mary married her cousin Philip II of Spain, and she faced great hostility to the foreign marriage and to her insistence on England becoming Catholic once again. Elizabeth's reign, while it had its problems, also was remarkable for its successes in establishing a religious settlement, in defeating the Spanish Armada, and in encouraging a cultural renaissance. Many of the English people adored their queen, but her unmarried state and her assertion of living her life as she wished, including flirtations and a refusal to deal with the succession, led to much cultural anxiety during her reign that expressed itself in gossip, rumors, and slander concerning her gender and sexuality.

From her very early childhood, Elizabeth had to learn to navigate the dangers of sexuality and power. She was not even three years old when her mother, Anne Boleyn, second wife of Henry VIII, was executed for adultery—on highly doubtful evidence—with five different men. Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, and less than two weeks later her father married Jane Seymour, who gave him the son, Edward, he so craved. Jane died soon after the birth. Henry divorced his next wife, Anne of Cleves, in part because he did not find her attractive. His fifth wife, Catherine Howard, was also executed for adultery when Elizabeth was eight. Perhaps it is little wonder that that year she said to Robert Dudley, her childhood friend who was to be her romantic favorite at court for much of her reign, "I will never marry."

Henry VIII died in 1547. Elizabeth was in danger in the reign of her younger brother Edward, particularly when she was accused of planning to marry Thomas Seymour, brother of Henry's third wife, Jane, and widower of Henry's sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr, without the Privy Council's consent. While Seymour was executed for other conspiracies, the fifteen-year-old Elizabeth protected herself and her servants. Told there were rumors she was pregnant by Seymour, instead of falling apart she insisted the council send out a proclamation that cleared her name.

But the rumors about Elizabeth's supposed pregnancies and lovers, which began circulating when she was in her early teens, continued to be discussed throughout the rest of her life, particularly once she became queen. Some English were arrested for publicly claiming Elizabeth had lovers and illegitimate children. The most frequently mentioned supposed lover was Dudley, whom she even-

Elizabeth I. *Elizabeth I became queen of England at the age of twenty-five.* **COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.**

tually created Earl of Leicester, but others included Sir Christopher Hatton and, toward the end of her life, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Especially the Queen's Catholic enemies on the Continent described Elizabeth as a "whore" because of her many lovers. At the same time other rumors circulated that "she was not like other women," that her monthly periods were not only irregular but came from a wound in the thigh, or that she was unable to actually have intercourse.

Some argued that Elizabeth did not listen to her male councilors as a woman ought to do, while others were concerned that the men at court who were thought to be her lovers, or a foreign husband should she marry, would overly dominate Elizabeth, even while many were begging Elizabeth to marry. But Elizabeth in the end made her own decisions. Elizabeth's refusal to marry, though she flirted with the idea for more than twenty years, and her equal refusal to name an heir, added to the cultural anxiety and to the rumors that spread. But Elizabeth was also a greatly loved monarch who kept England at peace for many years; her country was not torn apart by religious civil wars as happened to neighboring Scotland and France. At her death in 1603 there

was a smooth transition to her cousin James VI of Scotland and I of England, and many sighed with relief that England again had a king. Yet within a few years there was a great nostalgia for "Good Queen Bess," and such distress about the Stuart dynasty that by the mid-seventeenth century some wished wistfully that Elizabeth had had a child—legitimate or no, it did not matter.

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Royalty.*

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Carole Levin

ELLIS, HENRY HAVELOCK
1859–1939

Born on February 2, 1859, in the small town of Croydon, south of London, Henry Havelock Ellis was one of the most significant early sexologists. These medical doctors turned sexual scientists (others included Sigmund Freud [1856–1939], Albert Moll [1862–1939], Magnus Hirschfeld [1868–1935], and Iwan Bloch [1872–1922]) revised Victorian notions about sexuality and contributed to a new sexual modernism that viewed sex as a primary and legitimate human occupation. Even in this atmosphere, Ellis's outlook on sex was markedly optimistic, tolerant, and celebratory. In fact, scholars cite this enthusiasm and openness as among Ellis's greatest bequests to sexual science, as reflected, for instance, in the upbeat tolerance of later sex researcher Alfred C. Kinsey (1894–1956).

Ellis was educated in respectable boarding schools, but his schooldays were not without problems. He was a passive boy often bullied by older schoolmates. The descendant of generations of English seafarers, Ellis sailed around the world twice with his father. After graduating, Ellis took his father's ship to Australia, where he spent happy years from 1877 to 1879 working successfully as a tutor but ineffectively as a schoolmaster. Ellis's literary interests flourished in his solitude on the Australian range, and during this time he gained the confidence that would assist him in his demythologizing and destigmatizing of human sexuality and sexual practice.

As Ellis wrote in the general preface to the first volume of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897–1928), "I regard sex as the central problem of life" (Ellis 1900). In 1889 Ellis secured a licentiate in medicine, surgery, and midwifery from the Society of Apothecaries, which, to his embarrassment, was the highest degree he received. He never practiced clinical medicine. The bulk of material for his studies derived from case histories that his numerous correspondents provided. Famous among these was John Addington Symonds (1840–1893), a homosexual literary critic and writer who cowrote Ellis's book on male homosexuality.

Ellis's interest in the study of sex manifested early in his career, perhaps because of his complicated erotic life. Most of his relationships with women were friendly rather than romantic. He formed lifelong friendships with numerous intellectual women, including the American birth-control activist Margaret Sanger (1879–1966). Ellis remained a virgin until his marriage at thirty-two to Edith Lees, a writer and advocate for women's rights. Lees was openly lesbian, and their sexual relations came to an end within the first year of their marriage. The two maintained a compassionate "open marriage" that allowed both affairs with women. Ellis hesitantly admitted to a proclivity for urolagnia—sexual interest in urine and urination. Although Ellis does not foreground what he calls this "slight strain . . . of urolagnia" in his autobiography, *My Life* (1967 [1939], p. 67), this inclination represents one of many sexual taboos that Ellis normalized in his work by relating anomalous behavior to "ordinary" sexual practice.

Within his rubric of "erotic symbolism," Ellis identified sexual deviations and fetishes as mere variations on common heterosexual practice—a theory wherein which, for example, a same-sex partner symbolizes a member of the opposite sex, or an animal in bestiality symbolizes a human. In his 1906 work, *Erotic Symbolism*, Ellis praised the power and force of human imagination in sexual activity, writing that these erotic symbolisms "bring before us the individual man creating his own paradise. They constitute the supreme triumph of human idealism" (pp. 113–114).

Characterizing sex, in *The New Spirit* (1890), as "ever wonderful, ever lovely" (p. 129), Ellis approached sexuality from a romantic perspective even as his prolific and systematized work relied on empirical thought. In a similar friction, Ellis's personal and wide-ranging feminism was, like that of most male sexual modernists,
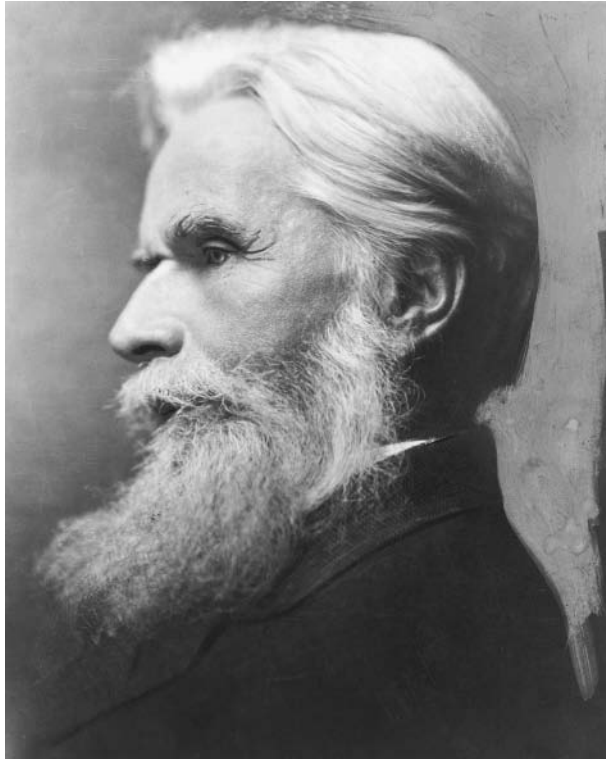
Henry Havelock Ellis. *Henry Havelock Ellis revised Victorian notions about sexuality.* EVENING STANDARD/GETTY IMAGES.

undercut by reactionary positions that on the whole upheld the status quo. He insisted on women's roles as nurturing mothers, regarded female sexuality as naturally passive, and was particularly critical of lesbians. In fact, whereas his work on male homosexuality detached effeminacy from male homosexuality, he defined lesbians in terms of a gendered mannishness. From a more feminist perspective, Ellis argued that masturbation was especially common in women and that women's sexual needs must be attended to by their male partners. Indeed, modern concepts of foreplay are attributed to Ellis's urging that men cater to the slower arousal of women with pre-intercourse stimulation. Despite his forthright recognition of female sexual desire and the legitimizing bent of his work, Ellis nonetheless advocated restraint, self-denial, and monogamy in sexual relations.

Ellis's magnum opus, the seven-volume *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* is a synthesis of case studies, sexual theories, and a comprehensive précis of early sexology. The most influential volume, *Sexual Inversion* (1897), was the first book in English that confronted the topic of homosexuality with tolerance and sympathy. Ellis rejected the term *homosexuality* as merely provisional and instead preferred to use the expression *sexual inversion* to categorize and explain same-sex relations. He

defined sexual inversion as a congenital condition that directed sexual instinct at persons of the same sex. Ellis argued that inversion could not be cured and analogized it to color hearing—thus radically rendering homosexuality an ability rather than a vice, crime, defect, or disease. He furthermore presented a list of cultured historical inverts (Sappho, Erasmus, Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo) to argue against inversion as degeneracy.

Incidentally, Ellis was the first to outline (in *Sexual Inversion*'s third edition) the homosexuality of the American poet Walt Whitman (1819–1892), and the book provided the theoretical crux for Radclyffe Hall's notorious novel about female inversion, *The Well of Loneliness* (1928). Hall's novel, which was tried and banned for obscenity in England, featured a short preface written by Ellis. *Sexual Inversion* had likewise incited conflict and suspicion in England. A progressive bookseller, George Bedborough, went to trial in 1898 for selling the book to an undercover detective. Ellis was never charged, but he and his wife were traumatized by the stress surrounding the case.

Ellis's straightforward theorizing facilitated a shift in public opinion surrounding sex and sexuality. His work incorporated the research of continental scholars, and thus exposed the theories of sexologists such as Freud and Hirschfeld to a wider audience, though one still composed of educated elites. His alliance with social reformers of his day, in addition to his own radical recommendations for public tolerance and understanding, make Ellis a central figure in dawn of sexual enlightenment in Europe and North America.

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Emma Crandall

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

At the beginning of the second wave of feminism in the 1960s many women saw their treatment in the workplace as upsetting, marked by prejudice, or morally wrong, but in most cases they viewed their situations as individual experiences. With the passage of federal civil rights laws in the 1960s and their enforcement in the 1970s women gave a name to that experience: discrimination. Employment discrimination and the accompanying judicial decisions have been an important arena in which to work out a national conception of women's equality.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the most important federal civil rights statute dealing with employment discrimination. The act prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, religion, and national origin in order to open access to public accommodations (hotels, restaurants, retail businesses), enforce voting rights, and desegregate public education. Only the employment provision (Title VII), however, also prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. An opponent of the Civil Rights Act offered the proposal to add sexual discrimination to Title VII; as a result many observers concluded that Congress was not serious about prohibiting sex discrimination in employment despite its many congressional supporters.

Originally Title VII applied only to private employers; educational institutions were exempt. An earlier statute, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, provided equal pay for equal work on the basis of sex, but that statute originally exempted professional, executive, and administrative positions. In 1972 Congress amended both statutes to eliminate those exemptions and strengthened their enforcement. In 1991 Congress again amended Title VII, adding the right to jury trials and providing for monetary awards for victims of intentional discrimination.

Title VII sets up a federal administrative agency, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). This agency, with five Commissioners appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, is charged with the development of equal employment opportunity policy. It also authorizes the general counsel of the EEOC to bring cases alleging discrimination against employers. The agency also provides a nonjudicial administrative process for individuals filing complaints. Many complaints are dismissed routinely, but the agency investigates some complaints, determines if there is reasonable cause to believe that the charge is true, and attempts to eliminate the unlawful employment practice through informal methods of conciliation. The federal civil rights statutes use the term *sex* in defining the basis on which discrimination is prohibited. Nonetheless, litigants, courts, and commentators often use the term *gender* interchangeably with *sex* or refer to Title VII as prohibiting discrimination on the basis of gender.

Categories of Sex Discrimination Sex or gender discrimination cases under Title VII fall into several categories. The most obvious cases are those in which an employer has a specific employment policy that makes an overt distinction or reference to gender: Women cannot be bartenders unless they own the bar, cannot work after midnight in certain jobs, or may not work in a job that might be hazardous to their reproductive capacity. Unequal or inferior treatment is implicit in these policies; discriminatory motivation seldom is disputed because the act of classifying implies the intention to discriminate. These employment policies are unlawful under Title VII unless they are justified by a defense provided for in the statute: the bona fide occupational qualification (bfoq) exception.

The bfoq exception provides that it is not unlawful under Title VII to hire and employ on the basis of sex in instances in which sex "is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise" (Civil Rights Act of 1964 sec. 2000e-2 (e)(1)). The issue here is how broadly or specifically to interpret that exception. Although the Supreme Court has given conflicting signals on the scope of the exception, in the early twenty-first century the courts were fairly uniform in regarding the exception narrowly and allowing the overt use of gender only in very limited situations, such as cases in which the biological differences between men and women or legitimate privacy concerns justify a specific gender employment policy.

Whether an overt gender classification signals inferior treatment and is motivated by unlawful discrimination often is contested. For example, retirement plans once routinely mandated that women and men make equal contributions but then gave women lower monthly benefits upon retirement. Employers justified this as

necessary to ensure "equal treatment" because women live longer than men and thus had to make the same amount of money last longer or accumulate more money to cover their longer life span. The Supreme Court rejected the use of sex as the sole or best determinant of longevity even though women do live longer than men.

Framework for Litigation Proving that an employer acted with a discriminatory motive can be difficult in cases in which the difference in treatment on the basis of sex is not obvious. The Supreme Court has established two analytical frameworks to deal with this issue. First, in claims of individual discrimination a harmed employee may be able to eliminate legitimate explanations for the challenged employment decision, for example, that she was not qualified for the job or that her termination resulted from a general "reduction-in-force." The employer then responds by stating the legitimate, nondiscriminatory reason for its action. The plaintiff must show that discrimination is the more likely explanation for what happened; typically she does this by asking the court to draw a series of inferences based on other evidence about the employer and additional facts established at trial.

The second analytical framework is based on statistical probability theory. In many cases the only proof is provided by the use of statistics to uncover covert discrimination by the employer. Harmed individuals rely on statistical evidence to infer a causal relationship between sex and the employment decision, that is, evidence that women are underrepresented in the employer's workforce in comparison to their availability.

There is also the question of whether acting on the basis of stereotypes counts as an unlawful discriminatory motive under Title VII. Employers cannot base employment decisions solely on assumptions about an individual that flow from a stereotype. This is the essence of formal equality: People should be treated as individuals, not as undifferentiated members of a group. However, an employer may want an individual to conform to certain stereotypes about women. Clearly, an employer cannot require a certain kind of behavior and then reject a woman because her compliance with that behavior is inconsistent with the employer's general notion of womanhood. Less certain is whether it counts as discrimination under Title VII to use gender expectations that are stereotypical or sex-specific, such as those involving behavior, demeanor, or appearance. For example, most federal courts have allowed the use of dress codes that include different standards for men and women.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

In 1986 the Supreme Court ruled that sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination under Title VII because it imposes different working conditions on women that are based on their gender. Because sexual harassment frequently occurs despite formal employer rules against such behavior, an important legal issue has been the limits of employer liability for harassment by supervisors and coworkers in violation of company policy.

Quid Pro Quo and Hostile Work Environment Under Title VII sexual harassment includes unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature. Courts have recognized two distinct forms of sexual harassment: *quid pro quo* and *hostile work environment*. With quid pro quo harassment a supervisor demands sexual favors in exchange for a job benefit or for withholding a job detriment. To prevail legally the employee does not have to suffer the threatened economic loss. These cases often turn on issues of credibility. More common are claims of a hostile work environment, which involves conduct that has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment. The main issue in these claims is the level of behavior; the sexually harassing conduct must be sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter conditions of work or create an abusive work environment. An action that is "merely offensive" is not sufficient, but Title VII does not require tangible psychological injury. Whether an environment is hostile or abusive is determined by looking at all the circumstances: the frequency of the conduct, its severity, whether it is physically threatening or humiliating, and whether it unreasonably interferes with an employee's work performance.

Employers are liable for the sexual harassment of their employees. If harassment by a supervisor resulted in the loss of a "tangible job benefit" (e.g., discharge or demotion), the employer is directly liable and has no defense. If the harassment does not result in such a loss, the employer avoids liability by proving that it exercised reasonable care to prevent and correct sexually harassing behavior and that the employee failed to take advantage of those preventive and corrective measures. Typically, the issue here is whether the employer had an effective sexual harassment policy, had a workable internal grievance procedure, and took corrective measures in the past. In the case of harassment by coworkers the employer is liable if it knew or should have known about the harassing conduct and did not take adequate corrective action.

Title VII also prohibits workplace harassment when the harasser and the harassed employee are of the same sex. To the extent that same-sex sexual harassment cases involve the same kinds of facts or behaviors that opposite-sex sexual harassment cases do, the issues are the same. However, to the extent that same-sex sexual harassment claims rest on the failure of the employee to con-

form to gender expectations, these cases involve the issue of whether it counts as discrimination for others to rely on gender expectations about behavior or demeanor. It is clear from these cases that sexual harassment does not need to be about sexual activity and is rarely about misplaced sexual desire.

Disparate Treatment and Disparate Impact These claims of intentional discrimination often are called *disparate treatment* cases. Discriminatory motive is crucial. In contrast, Title VII also allows claims of *disparate impact*. Those claims involve employment practices that are facially neutral in their treatment of men and women but in fact fall more harshly on one group than another and cannot be justified by business necessity. Proof of discriminatory motive is not required.

The key issues here are (1) identifying the employment practices that have an adverse effect on the basis of sex; (2) producing statistical evidence of the impact; (3) deciding the kinds of business justifications; and (4) determining the quality of evidence necessary to support the employer's justification. This analytical framework provides a way to test an employment practice that is based on stereotypes about women and therefore has an adverse effect. For example, an employer may require employees to be "strong," have the "appearance of strength," or be a "good institutional fit." The challenger can show that the requirement of strength will affect women adversely and argue that requirements for strength are not important to the employer; if strength is important, the employer can identify the strength-related tasks easily and then develop a specific test to measure individual performance. In contrast, the challenger may have difficulty showing that the application of a "good institutional fit" has an adverse effect on women. Even if she does, the employer probably will establish that selecting women who are good institutional fits is important and reasonable. Still, the challenger can argue that the employer's determinations about such fitness are based on stereotypes about women in general.

The Supreme Court decided a number of pregnancy discrimination cases in the 1970s and concluded that pregnancy discrimination is not "sex discrimination." Congress amended Title VII by enacting the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1977 to clarify that discrimination because of sex under Title VII includes discrimination because of pregnancy. That amendment also adopted an "equal treatment" or "analogy" approach to dealing with pregnancy in employment situations: Employers and courts should make employment decisions involving pregnancy in the same way that they deal with other temporary disabilities. For example, if an employer offers paid leave for most temporary disabilities, women are entitled to pay for leave related to pregnancy. Because pregnancy is, however, one of the "real differences"

between men and women, employment situations arise that do not have analogies or for which analogies are not helpful. So far the courts have been committed to an "equal treatment" model of discrimination, and so they rely on analogies even if they ignore the relevance of the "real differences" of pregnancy.

Courts have ruled that discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is outside the scope of Title VII. Title VII does not include sexual orientation as a prohibited basis of discrimination, and courts have been unwilling to conclude that discrimination on that basis is a form of sex or gender discrimination under the statute. There have been proposals to amend Title VII or pass a separate statute to prohibit this form of discrimination in employment, but none has received much support. In the one area where courts have considered same-sex discrimination, harassment by a homosexual usually guarantees a finding of liability whereas complaints by an employee that he was harassed because of his sexual orientation usually fail.

Several states have specific statutes that prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. State laws typically parallel the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 and rely on judicial and agency policy interpretations of Title VII. Some states have amended their antidiscrimination laws to include sexual orientation as a prohibited basis of discrimination. Others have prohibited sexual orientation discrimination by public employers only. Executive Order 13087 (1998) prohibits discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in employment by the federal government.

Definitions of Discrimination The overriding issue for sex discrimination in employment law is what counts as discrimination. Title VII adopts as its core understanding the principle of formal equality: Similarly situated individuals should receive equal treatment by employers, and for the most part men and women are "similarly situated." Thus, claims of discrimination that are based on the denial of equal treatment fit under current laws. Equally clearly, claims of sex discrimination can fit within the disparate impact analytical framework. Much of the litigation and discussion since the passage of Title VII has involved testing the limits of these definitions of equality and arguing for or against additional ones.

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ENLIGHTENMENT

The eighteenth-century philosophical movement known as the Enlightenment emphasized equality as an essential element of natural law. The rise of egalitarian democratic ideals associated with this philosophy did not, however, correspond to a call for improved rights for women. Under the complementary conception of relations between the sexes held by the majority of men and women in the eighteenth century, the feminine was associated with feeling or sentiment rather than with mind. Women were not believed to possess any significant reasoning ability, and the use of reason to overturn structures previously accepted on faith was at the heart of the Enlightenment project. Admittance into the exciting new Republic of Letters that was changing cultural attitudes was therefore denied to the vast majority of women on the basis of their sex, and when Enlightenment values began to effect change in political and social practice, women remained, for the most part, relegated to the domestic, private sphere.

The degree to which the Enlightenment was marked as male owes a great deal to the political situation in which its proponents developed their radical new philosophy. The decadent effeminacy associated with aristocratic rule was often blamed on women, who were viewed as having been accorded too much power under the old, aristocratic regime. It is true that some women enjoyed unusual freedom under this system of government, in which the division between nobles and non-nobles was a more fundamentally important societal distinction than that between men and women. Noble women could, to a great degree, ignore the restrictions placed on their sex and pursue such unusual interests as geometry and physics. Marquise Gabrielle-Emilie du Châtelet (1706–1749), Voltaire's companion and intellectual partner, is a particularly important example of this

Frances Burney. *Popular Enlightenment-period author Frances Burney.* RISCHGITZ/GETTY IMAGES.

phenomenon in France. Those few women who had received a superior education, again primarily nobles, might also become known by establishing a salon, in which the latest intellectual ideas were dissected by a carefully chosen circle of luminaries.

Such women were the exceptions, for even among noble women there was pressure to avoid appearing too intellectual, too "male." Literary pursuits offered an appealingly indirect manner in which to make a name for oneself, and many of the bestselling novelists of the day were women, including Françoise de Graffigny (1695–1758), Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni (1714–1792), Sophie von La Roche (1730–1807), Frances Burney (1752–1840), and the great Jane Austen (1775–1817). Other genres, such as poetry, were open to women as well; any work that could be attributed to a spontaneous outpouring of emotion, rather than to carefully reasoned cogitation, was more easily acceptable from the pen of a woman. As always, the exceptions are significant. Catherine Macaulay's eight-volume *History of England* (1763–1783) was a major contribution to the field, and Elizabeth Montagu (1720–1800) made the definitive critical argument for the enduring genius of William Shakespeare.

It was in attempting to participate openly in the political realm that women, predictably, faced the greatest

opposition during the eighteenth century. The arguments against allowing women a role in serious public debate included the physiological claim that because they possessed extremely delicate nerve fibers, women reacted with inappropriately heightened emotion to sensory and intellectual stimuli. Examples of the supposedly nefarious influence exercised by the mistresses of kings were often cited as well; Madame de Pompadour (1721–1764), official favorite of Louis XV of France, was cast as one of the worst eighteenth-century offenders, although she is now more often viewed as an important patron of the arts.

It was also in the political realm that some few individual women played the greatest role in challenging the preconceived notions of their day. Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796) of Russia was one of the most powerful rulers of the period. She was also a generous protector of such major Enlightenment figures as the French philosopher Denis Diderot (1713–1784), although she was far less benevolent toward her own subjects' efforts to challenge the status quo. The greatest champion of women's political rights during the Enlightenment was the British author Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), who took the side of change over conservatism when her countryman Edmund Burke (1729–1797) attacked the utopian ideals of the French Revolution (Shapiro 1992). Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Man* (1790) was followed by the influential *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), in which she argued that the impoverished education given to most girls made it difficult for them to grow into reasoning beings.

Burke's negative predictions concerning the French Revolution appeared to be borne out by the bloody period known as the Terror, during which men and women, nobles and non-nobles, were equally subject to execution. The Revolution was a particularly repressive moment in women's history. Leading revolutionaries, inspired by the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), worked to limit women to what was considered their natural function: producing new, preferably male citizens and caring for them during their infancy, after which the Republic would take over through the newly established school system. This view of woman's role in the new society was challenged by, among others, Olympe de Gouges (1748–1793). In her *Déclaration des droits de la femme* [Declaration of the rights of woman, 1791], Gouges points out that a woman is considered a creature of reason responsible for her actions when she is accused of a crime; if she has the right to mount the scaffold for execution, does she not also deserve the right to vote?

Any appraisal of gender politics during the Enlightenment must be placed in the context of the many negative reassessments of this movement's cultural and political legacy. The scientific classification of some human beings as inferior based on race and/or sex is now seen to have been as much a part of the period's agenda as was the promotion of "universal" human rights. But while the condition of women did not greatly improve over the course of the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment shift in the discourse of natural rights did in time lead to a radical feminism of equality that would fundamentally change the conception of woman's role in society.

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Mary McAlpin

ENTERTAINERS

SEE *Courtesans.*

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ACT

SEE *Employment Discrimination.*

ERECTILE DYSFUNCTION

SEE *Impotency.*

ERECTILE TISSUE

Erectile tissue is any tissue that is capable of stiffening or engorging with blood. During sexual arousal, sexual erectile tissue experiences increased blood flow and becomes engorged with blood, enlargening and/or stiffening.

Erectile tissue is found in the male penis, the female vagina and clitoris, and the nipples of both men and women.

The male penis is composed of three compartments: one along each side (the corpus cavernosum; plural, cavernosa) and the central compartment (the corpus spongiosum). The corpus spongiosum, which surrounds the urethra, does not experience significant engorgement. When sexual arousal occurs, a nerve reflex initiates increased blood flow to the corpora cavernosa, causing increased local blood flow. This process floods the cavernosa with blood, causing the penis to enlarge, stiffen, and become erect.

In women tissues in the vagina and clitoris contain corpora cavernosa that are responsive to nerve reflexes during sexual arousal. During such arousal, blood flow to the labia majora and labia minora is increased, the tissues become engorged with blood, and the labia flatten and open. The clitoris becomes enlarged and stiff in a manner identical to erection of the penis. The upper portion of the vagina expands and retracts the uterus and cervix, forming an enlarged space.

The nipples of both women and men are capable of erection. As muscles surrounding the nipple contract during sexual arousal, local blood vessels become engorged and the nipples become erect. Nipples also may become erect during breast-feeding, as a result of fear or excitement, or in response to cold temperatures.

SEE ALSO *Clitoris; Penis.*

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ERECTION

During erection, erectile tissue stiffens by engorging with blood. Although the term *erection* typically is used to describe sexual arousal of the penis, other tissues, such as the female vagina and clitoris and the nipples of both men and women, are capable of erection.

The male penis is composed of three compartments: one along each side (the corpus cavernosum; plural, cavernosa) and the central compartment (the corpus spongiosum). The corpus spongiosum, which surrounds the urethra, does not experience significant engorgement. The corpora cavernosa are surrounded by the tunica albuginea, a fibrous membrane that resists expansion, causing the penis to engorge and stiffen in as little as ten to fifteen seconds. The corpus spongiosum lacks the tunica and does not stiffen during arousal. The penile glans assumes a dark purplish hue as it becomes engorged but, like the corpus spongiosum, does not stiffen.

Although a range of stimuli may initiate arousal, a spinal reflex is the physical basis of erection. Response to direct tactile stimulation is mediated through the spinal column in the sacral region. Response to non-tactile stimulation (fantasy, memory, visual images, etc.) is triggered by a signal from the brain to a region higher in the spinal cord (the lumbar region), which then transmits impulses to the penis. When those nerve impulses are sent to the penis—regardless of the source of stimulation—arteries carrying blood to the corpora cavernosa dilate, and the penis then becomes erect. Erection normally is preceded by sexual desire, which is regulated partly by androgen-sensitive emotional factors. Although men with androgen deficiency experience fewer and/or less vigorous spontaneous erections, they can continue to have erections in response to erotic stimuli. It generally is recognized that androgen levels within normal limits are necessary for normal sexual desire but not for erection itself.
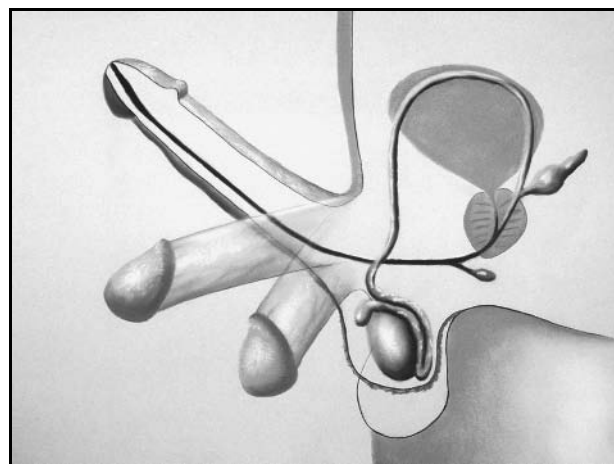
Erection. An illustration of a penis as it grows in size and stands out from the body in an erection. JOHN R. FOSTER/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

Erections do not occur solely during waking hours; they are common during rapid eye movement (REM) sleep cycles (typically every ninety minutes during sleep). These are known as nocturnal erections. Although the exact mechanism is unknown, it appears that nocturnal erections are physiologically based, assuming that the male is not experiencing erotic dreams during this regular cycle. Erections can occur in unconscious or comatose men, presumably by the same mechanism. In some males, notably adolescents, the erectile response is tripped readily; relatively benign stimuli such as accidental contact and brief visualization can trigger an erection.

Erection is reversed when the nerve impulses lessen or cease and more blood flows out of the corpora cavernosa than flows into it. Penile circulatory balance is restored, and the penis returns to its normal resting state. Higher brain functions and impulses can interfere and cause a loss of erection; examples include performance anxiety, fear, preoccupation, and lack of desire.

Spinal injuries to the higher lumbar region result in inability to achieve an erection in response to mental processes but do not impair erection from direct stimulation. Injuries in the sacral region often block all erectile responses.

Erectile dysfunction (ED) can be caused by physical or nonphysical (psychological) factors.

Nonphysical causes include psychological issues such as stress, anxiety depression, and fatigue. Negative feelings between partners, including fear, resentment, hostility, and lack of interest, can affect the ability to generate or maintain an erection.

A myriad of physical issues and disorders, such as hypertension, coronary artery disease and other vascular disorders, chronic disease of the lungs and liver, multiple sclerosis, chronic arthritis, diabetes, chronic renal impairment, chronic alcoholism, and drug abuse, can cause ED.

Many prescription and nonprescription medications, such as antidepressants, antihypertensives, antihistamines, tranquilizers, sleeping aids, and pain medications, can cause or contribute to ED. Chronic alcohol or marijuana use can cause both ED and a decrease in sexual drive; by shrinking the small blood vessels in all parts of the body, excessive tobacco smoking can cause decreased blood flow to the penis.

Prescription medications for the treatment of ED act primarily by relaxing the smooth muscles of the penis, allowing greater blood flow for erection. However, those medications cannot be used in combination with any form of nitrate, such as nitroglycerin or illegal nitrate "poppers"; the combination may be fatal.

In women tissues of the vagina and clitoris respond to nerve reflexes during sexual arousal. When a woman is aroused, blood flow to the labia majora and labia minora is increased, the tissues engorge with blood, and the labia flatten and spread open. The clitoris becomes enlarged and stiffens. The upper portion of the vagina expands and retracts the uterus and cervix, forming an enlarged space.

The nipples of both women and men are capable of erection. Muscles surrounding the nipple contract with sexual arousal, local blood vessels become engorged, and the nipples become erect. Nipples also may become erect during breast-feeding, as a result of fear or excitement, and in response to cold temperatures.

SEE ALSO *Erectile Tissue; Penis.*

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EROGENOUS ZONES

An erogenous zone is an area on the body that responds sexually to stimulation. Most erogenous zones consist of sensitive areas of skin or surfaces accessible from the outside, such as the inside of the mouth, vagina, and rectum. The stimulating quality of some erogenous zones, such as the inside of the ear, areas behind the knees and thighs, the wrists, the feet, the palms of the hands, and the neck, is more dependent on individual physiology, conditioning, and psychology than on a specialized physiological mechanism.

Erogenous zones vary slightly between males and females. Male erogenous zones include the penis glans and penis, scrotum, prostate, anus, and nipples in addition to the other possible zones listed above. Female erogenous zones include the vulva, labia, clitoris, vagina, G-spot inside the vagina, anus, and nipples in addition to the other zones. Although there are many possible erogenous zones, individuals may respond more readily to stimulation in some zones than in others.

Physiologically, there are two kinds of erogenous zones located in the skin. *Nonspecific* erogenous zones such as the neck, ears, thighs, palms, wrists, lower back, inside of the elbows, and feet have hairy skin as with most other skin on the body. There is no special concentration of nerve endings or structures in these regions, but the areas seem especially conducive to a tickle reflex. How these nonspecific erogenous areas respond to stimulation is often a matter of conditioning and the areas' association with pleasurable sensations.

Specific erogenous zones exist in areas of the body with mucocutaneous skin. This skin is a combination of hairless skin and mucous membrane that cover such regions as the penis glans and prepuce or foreskin, clitoris, vulva, perianal skin, and lips. Nipples are covered with hairless skin without mucous membrane. Mucocutaneous skin contains a dense population of nerve networks typical of most skin, nerve structures that are especially sensitive to pressure, and encapsulated nerve endings called *end organs*. In mucocutaneous skin nerve receptors exist closer to the surface than in haired skin and are often denser than in other haired skin. Mucocutaneous skin is also thinner. These areas are capable of intense sensation.

Both the clitoris and penis are populated by dense nerve supplies, the clitoris having "the most dense nerve supply of any region of the skin," according to the dermatologist R. K. Winkelmann (1959). Both the clitoris and the penis have Vater-Pacini corpuscles, nerve structures that sense deep pressure. Other areas such as the lips and anus also contain these structures as well as nerves that become particularly dense in the border regions where haired skin gives way to mucocutaneous skin. On the lips and anus, the area of densest nerves is near the site where the skin becomes deep red. Nerves become less dense both further inside and outside toward areas of hairy skin.

The aureoles and nipples of both males and females consist of special erogenous sensitivity as well, containing nerve structures that sense pressure, but they are less richly sensitive than other areas because gland and muscle structures compete for space with the nerves.

Individuals respond differently to the stimulation of these erogenous areas. Individual response depends on individual physiology but also on psychological and cultural factors. For some people intense stimulation of erogenous areas is painful, such as overly direct or rough pressure on the clitoris or penis glans. Some people resist pleasure in erogenous areas they perceive as forbidden or dirty, such as the anus or kissing with open mouths. Some cultures emphasize kissing, whereas in others kissing is less important than other kinds of stimulation. In the United States oral sex, or the stimulation of one erogenous zone by another, is still illegal in seventeen states and the District of Columbia.

The role of the erogenous zones is to prepare partners for sexual intercourse by exciting the genitals. In the male this means the erection of the penis. In the female it means the swelling of the vulva and the lubrication of the vagina. Stimulation of erogenous zones is also pleasurable in itself. Some individuals are capable of coming to orgasm merely through kissing or having nipples caressed.

There is much folklore about the ways and order in which erogenous zones should be approached. The time-honored *baseball* model suggests approaching erogenous zones from the top down, beginning with the mouth as *first base*, the breasts as *second base*, genital petting as *third base*, and sexual intercourse as a *home run*. Nonspecific erogenous zones such as the ears and neck constitute seduction zones that knowing or experienced partners might use to show special affection or as a means to acquire access to more specific erogenous areas. There is a long tradition of instruction manuals in how to approach erogenous zones—from the *Kama Sutra* to such contemporary tomes as John Gray's *Mars and Venus in the Bedroom: A Guide to Lasting Romance and Passion* (1995).

SEE ALSO *Arousal.*

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EROS, CUPID

Cupid, the Roman god of love (Amor), was said to be the child of Venus (Aphrodite) and Mars, but his paternity also was attributed to Jupiter, Mercury, and Vulcan. He usually was represented as a winged, dart-bearing chubby naked infant and frequently was represented in Renaissance art as a little angel (*putto*). From the name *Cupid* came the Latin words *cupere* (to desire) and *cupido* (lust, greedy desire), along with English words such as *cupidity* (excessive desire for wealth, avarice) and *concupiscence* (lust).

Cupid was the Latin name for the Greek Eros, who, according to another tradition, was born from Chaos and the Dark Night or the Luminous Day. From *Eros* came the terms *erotic*, *eroticism* (lustful desire), and *erotica* (non-scientific literature and art dealing with sex). Whereas Eros personifies lust, his brother Anteros is the god of unrequited love and the love between men and young men. All these forms express physical love or earthly desires and attachments, whereas altruistic Christian love is referred to as *agape* and tender love or tendency toward loving is called *philia* (De Rougemont 1983). Eros has been a major force in psychoanalysis, for example, in the work of Freud and in Jung's archetypes.

EROS IN GREEK AND ROMAN LITERATURE

Plato, who in the *Symposium* discussed the many meanings of love, affirmed that Love, a mighty god, is the oldest of the gods because he has no parents. Plato thus quotes Hesiod's *Theogony*: "First Chaos came and the broad bosomed Earth,/ The everlasting seat of all that is,/And Love." Plato also quotes Parmenides, who says that Generation: "First in the train of gods, fashioned Love" (Plato, *Symposium* 1996, pp. 19–20). Thus Plato acknowledges Eros not only as a procreative force but also as a psychological one (Grant 1995).

The Latin poet Ovid (43–17 BCE), who was best known for *Metamorphoses*, *The Art of Love* (*Ars Amatoria*), and the *Remedia amoris* (*The Cures of Love*), was a major contributor to the propagation of the myth of Cupid and erotic love and the personification of Cupid (Grant 1995). In the first few verses of the *Art of Love* (1993) Ovid states that Venus appointed him as a guide to "tender love" and describes Cupid as "a boy, tender his age and easily controlled … born of a goddess" (Ovid 1993, Book I, part 1, p. 13). In Book II Love is characterized as "fickle and he has two wings" (Ovid 1993, p. 67). Ovid wrote Elegy IX upon the death of the Latin poet Tibullus (c. 54–19 BCE), whose first muse was Delia, saying: "See how Venus' son goes with his quiver reversed, with broken bow" (Ovid 1993, p. 84). The Latin poet Catullus (c. 84–54 BCE) mentions the figure of Cupid in his love lyrics, labeling him "Holy," a "divine boy, who minglest joys of men with cares" (Cornish 1995, p.105). The powerful effect of love is shown in Virgil's *Aeneid* as Dido is wounded by Cupid and falls desperately in love with Aeneas, the son of Venus (Mandelbaum 1971). Virgil also speaks of Cupid in the *Eclogues*.

EROS IN APULEIUS

The power of Cupid appears frequently in the Latin tradition and in poets such as Lucretius, Propertius, and Horace, but it was Apuleius who had the greatest impact on the popularity of the myth of Cupid and Psyche in the *Golden Ass*, or *Metamorphoses* (1962). Apuleius, who was born in Algeria in the mid-120s CE, describes Cupid as a young man, no longer a child, unseen by humans and reputed to be a monster to whom Psyche is given up in sacrifice. Psyche has to endure long and harsh travails and the opposition of Venus to regain her lost love and find happiness; their offspring is Pleasure.

Allegorically, this is the story of the soul (*psyche* in Greek), which must endure enormous difficulties before finding love. The allegory is derived from Plato's conception of love in the *Symposium*. The tale of Cupid and Psyche is placed in the middle of the novel by Apuleius, and it represents the mythical transformation through trials and redemption of Lucius, the protagonist.

Apuleius was indebted to Plato; he translated Plato's *Phaedo* and wrote at least five philosophical treatises, one of them titled *De Platone et eius dogmate* [Of Plato and his dogma]. In discussing the nature of humans and of love, Plato evoked the myth of Zeus, who, because of the rebellion of humans who were created as round creatures with two faces on a single neck, four legs, and four arms, split them into two. As a result humans have the constant desire to reach perfection by being reunited with the other half: "Each of us when separated, having one side only, like a flat fish, is but the indenture of a man, and he is always looking for the other half" (Plato 1996, pp. 32–33). Love is therefore people's benefactor because he pushes them toward their original nature, toward happiness. The *Golden Ass* thus was not written solely for entertainment but is an allegory of the human condition of Eros, who wounds people by means of the arrows of love and passion, and Psyche (the soul) attempting to contend with their difficulties (Grant 1995).

EROS IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE

Plotinus (c. 205–269 CE) and the Neoplatonists stressed the allegorical notion of the soul's search for love and deeply influenced the Latin Middle Ages, humanism, and the Renaissance. This allegorical perspective was maintained by the earliest commentators and translators, from Fulgentius, to Boccaccio, to Beroaldus and W. Adlington (who translated Apuleius into English in 1566), and is still influential. From the tale of Cupid and Psyche derived a number of fairy tale versions of *Beauty and the Beast*. Marie Catherine D'Alunoy (c.1650–1705) wrote *The Green Serpent*, which became the basis for subsequent versions of *Beauty and the Beast*. According to Stith Thomson (1977), there are sixty-one Italian oral variants of this type, along with one in Missouri and one in Jamaica. There are three versions of the tale in Basile's *Pentameron*. Sir James Frazier (1854–1941) in *Psyche's Task* (1910) reinforced the importance of this myth in

primitive psychology, and the tale later became significant in artistic creativity in all genres, such as Jean Cocteau's (1889–1963) cinematic rendition.

The presence and myth of Cupid in poetry is a well-established tradition in the Middle Ages and especially in the Renaissance. Both Alain de Lille (1128?–1203) in *Liber de Planctu Naturae* and Bernard Silvestris (c. 1150) in *De Universitate Mundi* saw Eros as a mystery of procreation and a cosmological force. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (c. 1091–1153) spiritualized sensuous love in his allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs, which influenced Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), Mathilde of Magdeburg (c. 1207–1294), and other female mystics.

Medieval vernacular poets such as the troubadours, the Minnesingers with their Frau Minne, the authors of the *Roman de la Rose* (1250–1305) Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, the writers of medieval romances, and the various authors of the love story of Tristan and Iseult all reinforced the power of love and the cult of courtly love. The Italian *stilnovistic* poets (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), such as Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, Cino da Pistoia, and Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), transformed woman and love into a noble and spiritual symbol without ignoring its physical traits. Those poets empowered the image of love—as a woman or the loved one—in form, content, and style and influenced generations of poets in the Western world, whether Cupid was seen as human or divine.

The Italian poet Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) in *Canzoniere* blames Cupid's arrows for making him prey to love and laments the illusory nature of his earthly love for Laura; he celebrates the *trionfo dell'Amore* [the triumph of love] in his *Trionfi*. Troilus is stricken with Cupid's arrow in Geoffrey Chaucer's (1340–1400) *Troilus and Cressida*. Cupid-Love is the subject of John Gower in *Confessio amantis* (c. 1390) and a subject of interest for Christine de Pizan (1364–1431), John Lydgate (1370–1449), Clement Marot (1494–1556), and many other writers. William Shakespeare (1564–1616) made many references to love in his sonnets and plays, including *The Tempest, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Comedy of Errors*, and *Love's Labour Lost*. John Milton (1608–1674) wrote in *Comus* of "Celestial Cupid" and his dear Psyche. Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695) wrote the fable "Love and Folly." William Blake (1757–1827) wrote a poem titled "Why Was Cupid a Boy" and illustrated *Vala* with a crouching Cupid.

LATER REPRESENTATIONS OF EROS

Lyric poets and writers from ancient times to the present have dealt with Cupid, from the German and other European romantics to Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), Edgar Allan Poe in *Annabel Lee*, Antonio

Machado, Pablo Neruda, Cesare Pavese, and James Joyce. Often Cupid leads to desperation, self-destruction, and suicide. "Love, as always I want to cover you with flowers and insults," wrote Vincenzo Cardarelli. Gerard Manley Hopkins said, "Eros is a little more than a winged Masher, but Psyche is a success, a sweet little 'body,' rather than a 'soul.'" Later poets such as Edna St. Vincent Millay (1892–1950), Adrienne Rich, Sylvia Plath, and Muriel Rukeyser placed a greater emphasis on the image of changing woman and love.

EROS/CUPID IN ART

In art Eros commonly is portrayed as a mischievous child-god unconcerned with the effects his darts have on his targets. One of the oldest representations of Eros as a winged figure is on a bronze lamina from the seventh century BCE that was found near Siena, Italy. In the Acropolis in Athens there are ceramic fragments from the sixth century BCE that represent the winged god together with Aphrodite, Imenus, and Photos. The figure of Eros appears on sixth-century vases crafted by Midias. In the fourth century the god is depicted with bow and arrows on reliefs, mirrors, and incisions. Praxiteles and Lysippus represented Eros in statuettes. There are representations of Eros in Etruscan art

In Roman art Cupid becomes more human and sensuous (de Caro 1996, p. 327). Mural representations of *amorini* (infant Cupids) from Stabia and Pompeii indicate that those statuettes were sold to the public. In Pompeii there is an *Eros Being Punished* and an *Eros on a Crab*. Pompeii has many amatory inscriptions as well as representations of the trio Venus, Cupid, and Hermaphrodite. In art Cupid often is represented without wings, especially when he is embracing Psyche. There are also representations of Eros and the bee derived from the idyll once attributed to the Greek poet Theocritus (c. 270 BCE).

The representation of Love (Cupid) in the arts remained powerful and multifaceted over the centuries. Sandro Botticelli's *Primavera* (1482–1483) shows the transformation of Zephyrus's arrows and winds of passion into spiritual love. Michelangelo (1475–1564) sculptured a sleeping Cupid. Correggio's *The Education of Cupid* (c. 1525) features a winged Cupid being tutored by Venus. Caravaggio presented the image of an unremarkable chubby *Sleeping Cupid* (1608–1609) but also the symbolically rich *Cupid as Victorious Love* (1602–1603), in which Cupid seems to conquer earthly passions signified by musical instruments. That theme may be derived from a verse in Virgil's *Bucolics* stating that love conquers all.

Other interesting representations of love as earthly passion appear in Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Folly and*

Cupid. *The figure of Cupid is commonly represented as a naked, winged child carrying a bow and arrow.* RISCHGITX/GETTY IMAGES.

Time and Sebastiano Ricci's *The Punishment of Cupid* (1706–1707). Bartolommeo Manfredi's *The Chastisement of Love* (1605–1610) shows a blindfolded Cupid as a symbol of passionate love being punished by Mars for making him fall in love with Venus. The eighteenth-century Italian sculptor Antonio Canova (1757–1822) produced many sculptural renditions of Cupid and Psyche and interprets their story in *Eros and Psyche* as that of the soul enduring suffering before reaching love.

The story of Cupid and Psyche has caught the imagination of artists throughout the centuries, including Titian (1488–1576), Francesco Albani (1578–1660), Francis Wheatley, Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), Nicholas Poussin (1594–1665), Diego Velasquez (1599–1660), Francois Boucher (1703–1770), Bertel Thorwaldsen (1770–1849), Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807), Jean Louis David (1748–1825), Jean Leon Gerome (1824–1904), William Bouguerau (1825–1905), Edward Burne Jones (1833–1898), Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), Dante Gabriele Rossetti (1828–1882), Guillaume Segnac (1870–1924), Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), John William Watrehouse (1849–1917), Paul Cezanne (1839–1906), Oskar Kokoschka (1886–1980), Paul Klee (1879–1940), and Salvador Dali (1904–1989).

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

EROTIC/ADULT COMICS

The lifeline of erotic comic art has been long relative to its history; it has also been far-reaching. Risque cartoons appeared in men's magazines (*Esquire*, *Calgary Eye-Opener*, and so on) pre–World War II, and American

newspapers featured sexy, young women in the flapper comic strips of the 1920s and others a decade later, examples being *Terry and the Pirates* and *Li'l Abner*, the latter with a character none-too-subtly named Appasionata Climax. In England, the star of Norman Pett's (1891–1960) newspaper comic *Jane's Journal, the Diary of a Bright Young Thing* (1932) regularly shed her clothes, increasingly more often during World War II (1939–1945) when the strip was the favorite of soldiers. Almost from their beginnings in the early 1940s, American superheroine comic books portrayed namesake characters such as Wonder Woman and Sheena, Queen of the Jungle, in scanty apparel, often posed in bondage or with phallic-shaped objects.

Pornographic comic books, like stag films, circulated illegally in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s, providing inexpensive, titillating entertainment during the Depression (1929–1939). Called Tijuana bibles, they were eight pages, 4 by 6 inches, and showed either public figures or, more commonly, comic strip characters engaged in all manner of sexual activity. Clandestinely published and circulated comics appeared elsewhere as well; in Brazil, Carlos Zéfiro (1921–1992) secretly drew pornographic comics called *catecismos*, from 1950 until the 1990s. Others followed his example in Brazil. A touch of pornography was apparent in comic books sold in the open market in Mexico during the 1950s. Starting with Adolfo Mariño Ruíz's *Yolanda*, a number of comics featured bold women of sadomasochistic fame.

The 1960s ushered in a period of virtually unrestrained adult comics, attributable to the underground comix and the sexual revolution. In some newspaper strips, such as *Modesty Blaise* in England and *Brigette* in Australia, sex was strongly implied, but no more than that, because of their family audiences. At the same time, an unfiltered view of sex as fun began to be seen in the French strips *Barbarella* by Jean-Claude Forest (1930–1998), *Les Aventures de Jodelle* and *Pravda* by Guy Peellaert (b. 1934), and the American *The Adventures of Phoebe Zeit-Geist* by Michael O'Donoghue (1940–1994) and Frank Springer (b. 1929). The French strips were published in girlie magazines; Phoebe Zeit-Geist was published in *Evergreen Review*. As an indication of how sexual subject matter had expanded, the erotic dreams of Phoebe included rape, flagellation, fellatio, bestiality, and branding.

France contributed a number of sexy and sex-obsessed girl strips in the 1960s, including Pierre Dupuis's (1929–2004) *Jartyrella*, Daniel Henrotin's (b. 1943) *Aurelia*, and Georges Wolinski (b. 1934) and Georges Pichard's (1920–2003) *Paulette*, but the strip that made the biggest impact on European comics was *Valentina* by the Italian Guido Crepax (1933–2003),

called the poet of sex comics. *Valentina* was known for its stylized design with mood-setting panel shapes, its sometimes erudite subject matter (Valentina has sex fantasies with famous literary and film personages), and its always explicit portrayals of the featured character's very active and varied sex life.

After Crepax and *Valentina*, the floodgates were opened wide for eroticism in many genres and most parts of the world. In the 1960s and 1970s, Argentina had *Barbara*, Spain had *Vampirella*, and Italy had the master criminal *Diabolik* by sisters Angela (1922–1987) and Luciana Giussani (1928–2001). The sexually violent formula of *Diabolik* was quickly imitated by other Italian creators. Outlandish science fiction and fantasy incorporated strong sexual themes in France's *Major Fatal* by Jean Giraud (b. 1938) as well as in *The Horny Goof* and *Bloodstar* by Richard Corben (b. 1940), both published in the United States; heroic fantasy mixed with sex was prominent in Spanish works such as *Inanna* and *Dax el Guerrero* by Esteban Maroto (b. 1942), *Haxtur* by Victor de la Fuente (b. 1927), and Italy's *The Ape*, drawn by another master of erotic comics, Milo Manara (b. 1945). Sexual satire was prominent in the United States during this period, with Wally Wood's (1927–1981) *Sally Forth*, done for a servicemen's magazine; Harvey Kurtzman's (1924–1993) widely-known comic page parody *Little Annie Fanny* for *Playboy*; British artist Ron Embleton's (1930–1988) well-endowed blonde in *Oh, Wicked Wanda* for *Penthouse*; and a number of strips for underground periodicals.

The underground movement in the United States contributed its share to the development and acceptance of erotic comix through social spoofs by Gilbert Shelton (b. 1940), Richard Corben, Bill Griffith (b. 1944), Jay Lynch (b. 1945), Denis Kitchen (b. 1946), Jay Kinney (b. 1950), and others. The unintended leader of underground erotic comix was Robert Crumb (b. 1943), who had a host of sexually oriented characters, including Fritz the Cat, Angelfood McSpade, and Whiteman. With Crumb, everything ended up with sex. At various speeds, underground comics caught on elsewhere: 1968 and 1971 in the Netherlands, with *Real Free Press Illustratie* and *Tante Leny Presenteert*; between 1960 and 1990 in Mexico, evidenced in *sensacionales*, small one-episode stories that were openly masturbatory; beginning in the 1970s in Brazil, with *udigrudi*, one of the most successful being *Chiclete com Banana*, self-described as immoral and filthy; between the 1970s and 1980s in New Zealand with *Strips* and *Razor* magazines; and the 1990s onward in South Africa, most notably, *Bitterkomix* by Anton Kannemeyer (b. 1967) and Conrad Botes (b. 1969).

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, eroticism in comics had become almost commonplace. Europe was dotted with adult magazines serving erotic comics, a few

of which were *Pilote, Charlie Mensuel, À Suivre, Circus, Metál Hurlant, Fluide Glacial, Bédé Adult,* and *El Vigora*; Latin America was rich with creators such as Nicaragua's Róger Sánchez, who drew *Humor Erótico* in *Semana Cómica,* and Argentine writer Carlos Trillo (b. 1943), who often teamed with famous artists Alberto Brecchia (1919–1993) and Horacio Altuna (b. 1941); and Japan was ensconced in a lead position in the comics world. Eroticism has played a major role in Japanese manga; nearly all titles carry sex-oriented stories, and specific sex genres exist, such as *rori-kon* (little girls as sex partners) and *yaoi* (male gay comics). The popularity of manga has spread comics eroticism worldwide. In the United States, male gay comics started in the mid-1970s, with *Gay Heart Throbs,* followed shortly after by a series of lesbian books, first of which was Roberta Gregory's (b. 1953) *Dynamite Damsels.* Women had already begun to explore sexual themes in the 1972 comix *Tits and Clits* and *Wimmen's Comix.*

Eroticism has planted itself firmly in the global comics industry, and, as a significant part of the mammoth pornography business, has ensured itself a financially secure and legally protected position.

SEE ALSO *Comics Code; Comics/Comic Strips.*

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John A. Lent

EROTIC ART

Erotic art consists of any genre of art that renders or suggests sexual love or excites feelings of sexual pleasure and desire. Some works of art produce sexual feelings as an effect of their rendition of facial expressions, gestures, the color and relations of objects, or the arrangement of clothing, without necessarily depicting overtly sexual subject matter or nudity. In these works, erotic feelings may be produced as an effect of the aesthetic operations of the work itself. In this way paintings or sculptures of religious subjects (Michelangelo's *David* [1504], for example), still lifes, or landscapes may evoke erotic feelings in their viewers. Other works of art depict sexual activities or nudity directly, suggesting their intention to stimulate an erotic response, although not all nudity or depiction of sexual activity might actually provoke erotic feelings in viewers. Whether or not a work is erotic may depend as much on the context in which the work is perceived as on the subject matter or what the artist meant to say.

The term erotic derives from the name of the Greek god of love, Eros. Art refers to painting, drawing, sculpture, ceramics, glass, prints, etchings, or other forms of artistry whose construction, effect, and/or purpose are primarily aesthetic. Although the erotic, the obscene, and the pornographic may all portray sexual behaviors, and although all may be erotic in that they excite sexual feelings, the term erotic art refers generally to works that, when taken as a whole, constitute an aesthetic contribution to the tradition of fine art. Erotic art is considered a part of a culture's artistic tradition; both obscenity and pornography exist as either outlawed or merely tolerated manifestations of a lower form of culture. These categories are changeable: what might have been considered obscene or pornographic at one point in time or in one culture might at another point in history or in another culture be considered fine art.

Erotic art has been a part of human expression from the most ancient times. Art linked to fertility rites, such as statues of erect phalluses and fecund women and images of sexual activity, celebrated reproduction. Artifacts from very ancient cultures throughout the world are examples of the centrality of sexuality in primitive rites and cultures. Because these artifacts were a part of ritual they may not have been considered art in the modern sense of the word, nor would they seem erotic in so far as the term has come to represent pleasure as opposed to reproductive necessity. The discovery and collection of these artifacts by museums and collectors may, however, alter the way they are enjoyed.

EROTIC ART OF THE ANCIENTS

Pottery, sculpture, and paintings from such ancient cultures as Egypt, Greece, Rome, India, and the Far East feature images of copulation and nudity both in the lives of deities and the everyday practices of rulers and nobles or anyone deemed sufficiently important to portray. In Egypt papyrus scrolls and murals represented the sexual practices of various gods, including explicit renditions of genitalia, a variety of heterosexual sexual positions, fellatio, and cunnilingus. Greece took the erotic as an everyday activity, painting

Roman Erotic Mosiac. *Romans commonly painted erotic scenes on walls of their homes.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI.**

images of various forms of overtly heterosexual and homosexual behaviors on walls and pottery, including items used in the home on a daily basis such as terra cotta lamps, vases, bowls, and dishes used by children. Greek statues depicted male and female nudity; and statues bearing large erect phalluses were situated by the sides of roads and at intersections. Rome followed the erotic aesthetics of the Greeks, painting wall murals of a variety of modes of sexual activity. When the art of Pompeii was rediscovered in 1748, it was considered so obscene that it was sequestered in private museums, where much of it remains. Roman statues and everyday items featured nudity and oversized erections. Everyday items, including the seal used by Roman Emperor Claudius and his consort Messalina and early Christian crosses, depicted multiple phalluses arranged in designs. In India and the Far East, erotic art appeared in manuscripts as well as on temple walls, with versions of a similar range of the same overtly sexual practices and nudity seen in Europe.

Even through the Middle Ages, architecture featured apotropaic versions of genitalia in church and town architecture, situated to ward off evil. Medieval manuscripts, particularly those containing saint's lives,

depicted the gruesome sexual tribulations of St. Agatha, St. Anthony, and other saints whose sufferings included sadomasochistic behaviors or sexual sins. Manuscripts of bawdy secular literature such as the tales of Renard the Fox, the folk tale trickster, provided illustrations of sexual situations and acts. The idea of sexual behavior as a normal part of daily life, however, had disappeared as the ascetism and denial of Christianity took over in Europe. As fine art became increasingly devoted to religious subjects, its eroticism became more veiled.

EROTIC ART OF MODERN EUROPE

As skill and technique in painting improved during the Renaissance, greater attention to the rendition of the human figure permitted the expression of physical details and arrangements that might be considered overtly erotic—a seminude breast, for example, or a nearly nude soldier. Pagan subjects afforded the opportunity to depict more openly sexual scenes and renewed interest in the classics revivified the lives of Greek and Roman deities, whose sexual peccadilloes became legitimate subjects for erotic art. Rape, seduction, and nudity associated with pagan figures could be legitimate features of paintings produced mainly for the wealthy. Although overt nudity and images of sexual activity had typified the erotic productions of classical times, in the Renaissance the eroticism of painting became more subtle, more a matter of discerning desire in a smile, or a gap in clothing, or in the suggestion of a seduction to come.

The Enlightenment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shifted interest in erotic art from pleasure to a quest for information about sexual behaviors. Erotic subject matter in art after the Renaissance was divided into two large genres: fine art paintings produced for the wealthy and satirical prints and etchings designed for common folk. Private art, which primarily took the form of painting, often depicted images of the boudoir, presented as *keyhole* spyings on the unfettered activities of women—women cleaning themselves on a bidet, women half undressed, women displaying signs of recent sexual activity. French rococo painter François Boucher (1703—1770) executed erotic paintings for Louis XV, while his student, Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) fashioned voluptuous boudoir figure studies. French satirical etchings portrayed everything from sadomasochism to group sex, though there was very little rendition of homosexual subject matter and most of the cavorting figures were clothed. English artists Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) and William Hogarth (1697–1764) produced paintings and engravings depicting sexual activity, such as Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress* (1735). Flagellation also became a regular subject of English erotic drawings. Many of Rowlandson's drawings were made expressly for

royalty, while Hogarth's more didactic works enjoyed widespread distribution.

In the nineteenth century, a rising middle-class market for paintings encouraged artists, who, often as a part of forward-looking or avant-garde thinking, gradually shifted the depiction of eroticism from the actions of pagan gods to more natural and realistic portrayals of sex among modern people. Gradually abandoning the symbolic depictions of sexuality codified symbolically in everything from the state of flowers to the disposition of clothing, the significance of postures, and the ways gestures might indicate sexual gratification, artists moved towards a greater realism. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, figures in paintings (except pagan gods) were still mostly clothed, but by mid century more of the body was revealed. Some French artists such as the neo-classical Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867), in his painting *Le Bain Turc* (1862), and Achille Devérias (1805–1857), deployed the notion of the harem as a pretext for images of naked women engaged in sexual activity among themselves. The introduction of the can-can, a dance in which high kicking legs revealed the dancer's underwear, helped initiate the gradual denuding of the female figure. Caricaturist Honoré Daumier (1808–1879) used renditions of overt sexual behavior as a mode of satirical social protest. Édouard Manet (1832–1883), in his famous *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863), depicted a luncheon in a park with one completely naked woman sitting with two fully clothed men while another woman bathes in an adjoining stream.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, painters also began focusing on prostitutes and entertainers as serious subjects of their art. Gustave Courbert's (1819–1877) naturalistic renderings of female genitalia and lesbian sex (as for example in *The Sleepers* [1866]), Edgar Degas' (1834–1917) frank paintings and drawings of bordellos and the activities of their inhabitants, and Henri Toulouse-Lautrec's (1864–1901) often satirical renditions of prostitutes and their clients made overt sexuality a far more common subject for artistic rendition, though many of their drawings did not circulate widely. Clothed figures gave way to increasingly naked figures, particularly the prostitutes who were the subject of the painters' sympathetic portrayals.

With the end of the nineteenth century, the impressionism of Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919) introduced a different kind of eroticism in paintings—that of a visual joy of women's flesh. Renoir's work contrasted with the hedonistic and decorative pen and ink drawings produced by Englishman Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898) and German Michael von Zichy (1827–1885). As scholars in the late nineteenth century became interested in sexuality as an object of academic study, social mores around sexuality began to relax, slowly at first. Artists began to understand artistic production as more than decorative, seeing it, as the surrealists did, as more an expression of unconscious thoughts and desires. Precensorship, the practice that permitted agents of the government to remove an art work from public display, also began to disappear. Notions of painting began to escape the conventional forms of portraiture, historical scene, landscape, and still life to explore impressions of light (impressionism), impressions of space (cubism), impressions of color and shape (abstract art), and to expand the subject of art to the entire field of the visible. Avant-garde movements such as Dada, surrealism, and expressionism moved art from the representational into more abstract forms that, despite the absence of discernable or realistically rendered figures, could still evoke erotic feeling.

Work like that of Renoir led the way to Pablo Picasso's (1881–1973) erotic drawings of female nudes. Picasso executed erotic drawings throughout his career, but he produced his most overtly erotic series of drawings during the last five years of his life. The French avant-gardist Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968) produced several famous erotic paintings, including the cubist *Nude Descending a Staircase, #2* (1912) and the multimedia work *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even* (1915–1923). Surrealism, which exploited automatic or unconscious thoughts of the artist, introduced a style of hyperrealistic, fantasy painting that combined disjointed or disconnected objects from many different contexts, often merging them in unlikely forms. Body parts, fantastical beings, and everyday objects expressed the unconscious erotics of many painters, including the French painter André Masson (1896–1987); the Spanish painters Salvador Dalí (1904–1989), Juan Gris (1887–1927), and Joan Miró (1893–1983); the Belgian René Magritte (1898–1967), whose painting *Le Viol* (1934) superimposed the features of a nude female torso on a blank face; the Swiss painter Paul Klee (1879–1940); the Russian-born French painter Marc Chagall (1887–1985); and the German Hans Bellmer (1902–1975).

Surrealist style and philosophy, with its emphasis on the unconscious, led to the development of styles of fantasy painting. Still hyperrealistic in their rendition of bodies and objects, artists such as the Belgian Paul Delvaux (1897–1994), the German artist Ernst Fuchs (1940–), and American Paul Wunderlich (1927–) produced paintings of fantastic or imaginary scenes that included highly developed, dream-like images of nude women and overt sexual activity.

By the mid twentieth century, early century avant-gardism had culminated in the Pop art of Andy Warhol (1928–1987), whose silk screen images of cultural icons and whose films often featured overt eroticism. The

hyperrealism of the surrealists developed into a new realism in painting in which sexual activities were rendered in stark, clean detail by such sculptors as American John De Andrea (1941–), famous for making life-size plastic nude statues embellished with real human hair; the French painter Jean-Marie Poumeyrol (1946–); British painters Sir Stanley Spencer (1891–1959) and Graham Ovenden (1943–), famous for his paintings of Lolita-like nymphettes; and Americans Dan Douke (1943–), Tom Wesselmann (1931–2004), with his series of paintings *Great American Nude*, and Larry Rivers (1923–2002). Realism merged easily into styles that looked more like commercial art, and painters began to take on the glossy style of advertising images as a way of satirizing the commercialization of sex and beauty, while at the same time producing commercially viable art. The British artist Allen Jones (1937–) produced images of women in lingerie, garter belts, and other sexualized undergarments as a way of satirizing the fetishizing of women. American Mel Ramos (1935–) used the conventions of commercial calendar art in his realistic paintings of nudes. Tom of Finland, the pseudonym of Finnish artist Touko Laaksonen (1920–1991), is famous for his drawings of gay male life, which combined elements of realism and fantasy.

While realism became one mode of erotic art, decorative art in the style of Austrian Gustav Klimt (1862–1918) became another, often less overtly sexual but sinuous and suggestively erotic art. Klimt, Englishman Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898), and French artist Didier Moreau (1934–) used line and decoration to convey attitude and desire. Klimt's friend Egon Schiele (1890–1918) painted angular nudes.

Few female artists have produced erotic art in the tradition of male erotica. Americans Sherana Harriette Frances (dates unknown) and Clara Tice (1888–1973) created overtly erotic imagery. Several lesbian artists, including Tee A. Corinne (1943–2006), are noted for erotic depictions of women.

EROTIC ART IN THE EAST

Asian cultures have produced erotic art throughout history. India has a long tradition of a serious study of sex, stemming from the Kama sutra as well as tantric sex practices, depicted in conventionalized drawings and paintings of stoic copulating couples. China and Japan each have a history of erotic art, like India, going back to ancient times. In the eighteenth century, while European artists began to depict erotic behavior among everyday people, artists in China instead treated erotic subjects in a formal manner. In large portraits of multiple daily activities, copulating couples were often imaged off to the side, a minor part of the whole picture. At the same time, Japan had continued to develop a robust set of formats for erotic expression. *Shunga*, paintings styled upon springtime fertility rituals, often featured the enlarged genitals of both males and females. *Ukiyo-e* was a more decorative and less visually dynamic erotic art aimed at common people. *Netsuke* were miniature carvings of sexual scenes.

In the nineteenth century, an emphasis on the value of the group and the discouragement of individual expression in China cultivated mainly the repetition of previous erotic conventions in art, in which sexual activities were marginalized and participants were rarely unclothed, although there were some nude paintings involving group sex and voyeurism. The same artistic stagnation also occurred in nineteenth century India. Japan, however, had begun exploring the larger world and had nurtured such erotic masters as the *shunga* painter Kitagawa Utamaro (1753–1806) and *ukiyo-e* painter Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849). Japanese erotic art was dynamic, open, and naked, featuring hyperbolically-sized genitalia and figures that exceeded the frames of the paintings, which depicted everything from heterosexual coitus to women using dildos.

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EROTIC PHOTOGRAPHY

Erotic photography consists of images produced with a photographic camera that inspire sexual feelings. The subjects of erotic photography include females, males, children, and groups of people. These subjects are often nude or seminude and they appeal both to heterosexuals (at first primarily men) and homosexuals. The history of erotic photography parallels the history of photography itself. Erotic photography has been a thriving industry, a target for censorship, the basis for advertising practices, and the foundation for the contemporary porn industry.

Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre's (1789–1851) 1839 invention of the daguerreotype, a photographic process that used metal plates, enabled the practice of photographing nude models painters used as the basis for paintings. Daguerreotypes were much sharper, more detailed, and more permanent than any previous photographic process. Nude models were photographed in the multitude of conventional poses that constituted the vocabulary of the classical painting that still dominated artistic production of the time. Such academic posing was artificial and formal, offering gestures that often represented allegory and tropes from classical mythology. This nude photography, which was mainly practiced in Paris, was also used for anatomical studies, so that models' poses were also arranged to demonstrate particular portions of anatomies.

From the beginning these nude photographs were also purchased by wealthy collectors who were not practicing artists but who, instead, desired the photographs as erotic objects. Photographers who participated in nude photography were willing to participate in this lucrative sideline. Daguerreotypes were not, however, an ideal technology for the business of producing photographs for sale because they could only be reproduced by being rephotographed. British inventor William Fox Talbot (1800–1877) improved the possibility of mass reproduction by inventing the calotype process, which used negative images as the basis for the production of multiple copies. Parisian photographers of academic nudes quickly adopted this process and began the more full-fledged business of producing nude photographs, still ostensibly for artistic use but growing rapidly as a business in illicit erotica. The number of photographic studios increased from about thirteen to more than four hundred in Paris between the years 1841 and 1860. In 1853, the *Société Photographique*, for example, opened a studio that photographed, printed, and distributed nude photographs on a large scale, providing the model for pornographic photography that still exists in the early twenty-first century.

From 1840 until 1860 nude photographs circulated in Paris without much interference from the government. The alibi of artist's aide had been joined by several other ostensible purposes for nude photographs, such as ethnographic studies, which included photographs of nude natives of French colonies taken in context, or in lingerie advertisements. In ethnographic studies, nudity and display, which were often shy, were seen as qualities typical of less advanced cultures, and the pictures were sold as a kind of social study. Photographs of nude models posing for artists or modeling underwear were sold in what were essentially pornography stores linked to the producing studios, bookstores, and were exported to Britain and the United States in sets.

Many of the photographers who produced nude photographs circulated them under the name of the studios where they worked, though some photographers were renowned. Auguste Belloc (1800–1867), Bruno Braquehais (1823–1875), Felix Moulin (1802–1875), and the anonymous Monsieur X took pictures in Paris, whereas the German photographers Wilhelm von Gloeden (1856–1931) and his nephew Wilhelm von Plüschow (1852–1930) and the Italian Gaudenzio Marconi (1841–1885) specialized in homoerotic photography in Italy. Most photographs from 1841 until 1860 that still exist come from the preserved collections of connoisseurs of eroticism who collected photographs and postcards in the thousands.

The models who posed for the academic nude portraits were often professional artists' models and prostitutes. Those who posed for ethnographic portraits often were not generally thought of as respectable women. Males who posed for the more pictorial studies often made in Italy were also often young acquaintances of the photographers. By the end of the 1850s, nude photography began to break away from the academic model generally to become more openly erotic. Academic poses began to disappear in favor of more realistic, natural, and openly erotic poses. The bare background and pedestal of the academic studio shots was replaced by furniture, draperies, sculpture, and strategic draping, as well as with fetishistic articles of clothing such as shoes, stockings, and lingerie. Interest in male nudes had developed as a market in homoerotica with its own set of photographers.

At the same time governments began to prosecute the producers of pornography, driving the business underground. France instituted laws prohibiting the sale of nude photographs in 1850 and promulgated laws preventing their circulation in the mail during 1862. In 1874 England, where erotic photographs had been prominently displayed in shop windows, the infamous Henry Hayler was prosecuted after 130,248 erotic photos were found on his premises. In the United States Anthony Comstock (1844–1915) zealously cleansed any pocket of obscene material that he could show had gone through the mail. More severe censorship continued until the First World War (1914–1918), when standards were relaxed and nude postcards reappeared more publicly.

Continued innovation in photographic technology made it increasingly easier to duplicate copies of photographs, which had become more consciously artistic like paintings themselves instead of merely being background figure studies. Printed on paper cards, these photographs were circulated as postcards and calling cards. In these images both male and female models used overtly erotic codes of gesture, including slightly opened thighs, coy looks directly at the camera, the arranged veiling and

revelation of body parts, and poses more calculated to stimulate various narratives or melodramas. Images of male or female youths together, for example, would catalyze a narrative of friendship and innocent sexual exploration. Images of women together suggested lesbian attachments. Models posed as pietas would evoke suffering. Sleeping models would permit a nonconspiratorial voyeurism, whereas models who viewed themselves in mirrors asked to be admired.

In some images models looked directly at the camera, presenting themselves and addressing the viewer. Images of nude groups, often arranged so as to repeat particular poses or gestures, conveyed a carefree erotic society. Single models imitated the poses of the sculpture with which they were photographed. Settings ranged from interiors to Arcadia. Contrasts in texture and context produced erotic stimulation as women were arranged in leather chairs or across automobile fenders. Male and female models, for example, were imaged next to animals or animal skins, a nude holding a kitten in a strategic spot producing erotic humor, and leopard skins evoking the exotic.

Erotic photographs also mixed races and ages, though nude photography tended to remain more single-sexed than mixed. Images of females might include both black and white females, females located in exotic contexts, or women dressed and made to look as if they were Middle Eastern. If males were included in pictures of nude females, they tended either to be clothed or function as support for various acrobatic dalliances. Males were imaged singly in presentation mode—displaying naked genitals or muscles—or in groups pursuing athletic activities. These images of nude males often reflected the beginning interest in physical culture, another rationale for nude photography that pretended superficially not to be erotic. Images of muscled men, of boys and men together in natural settings, and of men in various combat poses provided the first examples of beefcake.

Immediately before World War I, mores in Paris loosened enough that performers began to appear partially nude in Parisian nightclubs. Erotic photographers took advantage of the freer exhibits of performers such as Josephine Baker (1906–1975) and the increased freedom enjoyed by women after the war. Lingerie advertisements from Yva Richard (a married couple of photographers who also ran the lingerie company) depended on the suggestive nudity of their poses, whereas photographers such as the French photographer Germaine Krull (1897–1985) and the English Albert Wyndham (lifespan unknown) produced erotic photographs of women arrayed with such fetish objects as stockings, shoes, animals, and cars flagellating one another or in scenarios suggesting domination. Bookshop photographic publishers survived earlier censorship and competed with one another in Paris, multiplying

the artistic journals, ethnographic magazines, and other means of publishing collections of nude photographs.

Improvements in camera technology, such as the invention of more portable equipment with more flexible formats, enabled the production of erotic photographs in urban contexts. Hungarian art photographer Brassaï, originally known as Gyula Halasz (1899–1984), produced photographs of prostitutes and nightclub performers, turning the pleasures of illicit photography into the subject matter for photography practiced as a more painterly art. Another Hungarian, André Kertész (1894–1985) turned candid photographs of Parisian street life into photojournalism. In the United States photographer E. J. Bellocq (1873–1949) used the newer portable cameras in New Orleans around 1912, taking candid photos of prostitutes on the street in Storyville. The German Julian Mandel (lifespan unknown) produced numerous photos of nude women in natural settings.

By the 1930s the cinema had begun to display the spectacle of stage nudity, but it generated another, more culturally accepted, site for erotic photography in the glamour and fashion magazines of Paris, London, and New York. Whereas Francois Bertin (lifespan unknown), Biederer (neither his first name nor his lifespan are known), Mr. Grundworth (identity unknown), and Yva Richard continued to produce magazines full of nude photographs, mainstream fashion magazines, such as *Vogue*, began to adopt some of the erotic tropes developed through nearly a century of nude photography, such as the coy look at the camera, the arrangement of models with fetish objects such as automobiles and animals, and the continued trope of mirror reflections. Many photographers made their reputations as portraitists by working for glamour magazines, including the British Cecil Beaton (1904–1980) and George Platt Lynes (1907–1955) who worked for British *Vogue*, the German Horst P. Horst (1906–1999), and the Russian George Hoyningen-Huene (1900–1968) who shot for Paris *Vogue*.

Glamour photography focused on the seductions of beautiful unapproachable figures. Although nude photographic models were often posed looking directly into the camera, glamour models looked dreamily at a faraway point. Often framed more closely than was the practice in conventional nude photography (which featured the full body), glamour photography mastered portraits of the head and shoulders. Fashion photography continued to image the whole body in order to sell clothes. The two modes joined in the *pin-up* picture, usually a full bodied, seductively posed, scantily clad glamour girl such as Betty Grable (1916–1973) or Marilyn Monroe (1926–1962) whose pictures were pinned up by soldiers in barracks.

World War II (1939–1945) shut down most of the photography bookstores in Paris, but new centers of

erotica opened after the war. The pin-up pictures of the war transformed into the centerfolds of a new genre of men's magazine. In the United States Hugh Hefner (b. 1926) began *Playboy* in 1953 with Marilyn Monroe as the centerfold. *Playboy* followed photographic magazines aimed at gay male consumers, such as *Physique Pictorial*, which began in 1951 as a way to market male models. The men's magazine, whether gay or straight, still followed the conventions of nude photography deployed since its beginnings in the 1840s, although the nudes in men's magazines were actually not as graphically portrayed as the nineteenth-century female nudes in France, because both genitals and pubic hair, which had featured prominently in the earlier pictures, did not appear in men's magazines until the 1965 publication of *Penthouse*. In Europe Scandinavian photographers recommended the erotic photography business in the late 1960s, although the line between erotic photography and art photography became even more indistinct as attitudes about nudity and obscenity became more open.

More contemporary erotic photography is divided between the erotic photography of men's (and a few women's) magazines and the practice of portrait photography by American art photographers such as Robert Mapplethorpe (1946–1989), Annie Leibovitz (b. 1949), Joel-Peter Witkin (b. 1939), and Herb Ritts (1952–2002), and the French Gilles Berquet (b. 1956) and Czechoslovakian Jan Saudek (b. 1935). Mapplethorpe, who came into the public eye primarily because of the furor produced by conservatives who objected to his explicitly gay work being funded by the National Endowment for the Arts, specialized in portrait photography that was erotically suggestive. His photographs of nude African and African-American men were studies in light, texture, and contrast in addition to the homoerotic presentation of their subjects.

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EROTIC TRANSFERENCE

The term *transference* was first used by psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and his mentor Josef Breuer (1842–1925) in 1895 to describe a shift of feelings,

desires, and modes of relating that were experienced in important past relationships, typically with one's mother and father, to another person. In psychoanalysis, the other person would be the psychoanalyst; in everyday life the shift could be to anyone with whom the subject has a significant relationship, including a colleague, supervisor, or spouse. *Erotic transference* is a shift to another person of erotic feelings, desires, and modes of relating, heterosexual or homosexual, that have some connection to past erotic attachments. In psychoanalysis, an erotic attachment occurs when, for example, a male patient wants to be loved by his female analyst and these feelings extend to a desire for a sexual relationship with the analyst. Or a male patient may want to be loved by his male analyst and by extension develop a desire for a sexual relationship with the analyst. If the feelings are prominent and sustained, they may constitute an obstacle to treatment. In everyday life erotic transference occurs when, for example, an employee, rather than simply having feelings of respect for a superior, falls in love with the superior and believes that a sexual relationship is the only possible mode of relating to that person.

Countertransference, a concept first described by Freud in 1915 as highly explosive forces, occurs when an analyst's feelings, desires, and modes of relating to a patient are derived from earlier experiences in the analyst's life and are transferred to the patient. The term countertransference arose in the context of misbehavior by early analysts that others in the profession thought should be controlled and suppressed. Rather than feeling temporary identification and empathy with the patient, the analyst identifies too strongly and loses neutrality and objectivity. In *erotic countertransference*, the analyst believes that some form of sexualized relationship, ranging from touching to sexual intercourse, is what the patient needs to be helped or cured. For example, a patient may arouse feelings in the analyst reflecting unresolved emotions over a previous love relationship, possibly with the analyst's mother, or some other significant love relationship. If these feelings are not understood through self-analysis and supervision, effective treatment is seriously jeopardized.

Erotic transference does not affect men and women in treatment in the same proportions. Women in treatment with men analysts exhibit the condition more often than men in treatment with women (Lester 1982). In the latter situation, patients often direct erotic feelings outside the treatment, because males are less likely to admit their erotic feelings to a female analyst.

In the early twenty-first century, much research focuses on erotic transference and erotic countertransference, but there remains considerable resistance to frank discussion of these topics. For example, there are few papers on homosexual erotic transference and fewer on

homosexual erotic transference. Psychoanalysts Phylis Tyson and Helene Russ observed that female analysts may be so psychologically and culturally inhibited that they do not experience the full development of erotic transference with their male patients. Psychoanalyst Jodie Messler Davies suggests that European and North American child-rearing practices do not provide early interpersonal experiences in which sensual erotic contact is contained and given meaning. The result is that such encounters are dissociated and unformulated, and easily disowned as an adult.

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EROTICISM, URETHRAL

The term *urethral eroticism* refers to sexual pleasure taken in the act of urination or from the insertion of a foreign object into the urethra. The urethra is a duct through which urine passes out of the body from the bladder. In males it is also the conduit through which semen is ejaculated. In the female body the urethra runs roughly parallel to the vagina, separated from it by a wall of muscular tissue. The upper portions of the vagina have comparatively few nerve endings; thus, the urethra is in a region of moderate insensitivity. The urethral opening, however, is situated in the sensitive region between the vaginal opening and the clitoris. In the male body the urethra travels through the prostate gland and throughout the length of the penile shaft, making it particularly sensitive for its entire length.

During a state of penile erection, the male urethra lengthens along with the shaft and significantly increases in diameter. The urethral opening at the penile tip becomes particularly enlarged. The female urethra does not change in length during sexual arousal but may increase in diameter. The German gynecologist Ernst Gräfenberg discovered that the swollen female urethra can press against tissue behind the anterior wall of the vagina, creating a sensitive area that later came to be called the G-spot. Enlargement of this area may cause an urge to urinate during or immediately after orgasm in females. The urethra functions in male ejaculation by contracting rhythmically, forcing semen along the length of the penis to the urethral opening. The feeling of semen traveling through the urethra usually is cited as one of the more pleasurable parts of the sexual act, making the urethra part of the sensation of an orgasm.

In psychoanalysis the urethra plays an important role in the differentiation between male and female sexual models. The urinary, ejaculatory, and orgasmic functions are linked in the male urethra, whereas in females the urinary and orgasmic functions are divided between the urethra and the clitoris. This has led to many models that imagine the clitoris as a female penis, allowing phallocentric models of sexuality and desire to be grafted onto females. Sigmund Freud did that in *The Interpretation of Dreams* and *Fragments of an Account of a Case of Hysteria*. Melanie Klein later developed a model of female sexuality and desire distinct from that used for males. Both phallocentric and gynocentric models emphasize the importance of urination as an erotic act.

Urethral sadism occurs when pleasure is taken in the pain and discomfort of another person as that person is urinated on or when damage is done to that person's urethra (almost always in males). The act of being urinated on is a somewhat common source of sexual gratification, but it becomes an act of urethral sadism when the receptive partner does not take pleasure in the experience. The desire to damage the urethra (or, by extension, the penis) is part of Klein's model of infantile sexuality, in which children wish to bite the lactating breast of the mother or the penis of the father.

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ESPIONAGE

Gender and sex play a very large role in fantasies about espionage, but the reality is not quite so turgid. Open-source intelligence about spies indicates that most espionage is done primarily by heterosexual men for money. There is evidence that this is the result of discrimination against women. When permitted to take on such duties, most women have performed with distinction. In addition, there is some evidence that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and possibly MI6, have homophobic attitudes, though that history awaits writing.

A spy is a person who gathers information on his or her own country and gives it to a case officer who is from another country. Espionage does not usually include covert operations; it is mainly the gathering of information. In time of war, however, the two may be difficult to distinguish. The information gathered may be intelligence gathered from humans (HUMINT), from images such as cameras (IMINT), or from radio or other signals (SIGINT). A mole is a person within the intelligence services who performs espionage for the enemy. Open source intelligence is any information that can be gathered through reading, nonclandestine observation, or open conversation. The impressions of the public, newspaper editorials, news reports, and conversations overheard in restaurants and cafés all fall into this category. The vast majority of intelligence is open source and so involves no espionage.

FANTASY VERSUS REALITY

Although most espionage is not necessarily clandestine, the clandestine aspect of espionage—the secret meetings, special tradecraft knowledge, copying of sensitive documents, altered identities, living in romantic or dangerous places—is fertile ground for human fantasies. The depiction of female spies in Western fiction has undergone dramatic change from their introduction in the late nineteenth century through two world wars. At first there were not very many female spies in fiction because spying was not regarded as a feminine activity. Thus while early fictional descriptions made women spies seductive, it also portrayed them as ruthless. Literature has influenced the depiction of actualities. The real examples of women spying in World War I demonstrate that a woman could be patriotic and feminine, if not independent and sexual. Female spies from other countries, however, were depicted as despicable and sexually corrupt. After the Spanish civil war (1936–1939), even with the move in literature generally to realism, female spies became a venue for fantasies of bravura and seductiveness.

The press reflects these fictional depictions of female spies in depictions of women spies who were caught. The women fall into a few stereotypical categories: the overbearing communist woman, the evil German traitor, or the femme fatale. Indeed, the press compares real women spies with the stereotype, as they did with Elizabeth Bender, the case officer running American citizens as spies for the Soviet Union, and with Ethel Rosenberg (1916–1953). Bender, portrayed as the "spy queen" in the press, was simply not sexy enough for either the press or the American public. Rosenberg was caught in the press's conflicting stereotypes of fiction's seductive female spy and U.S. anticommunist propaganda that depicted the communist wife as overbearing.

Kim Philby (1912–1988), the noted British mole, was also homosexual, as were the four other moles from his Cambridge University graduating class. It is unclear whether the homosexuality of all five was the result of a college rite of passage, youthful sexual experimentation, or a sexual preference, but much has been made of that preference as a sign of the sexual debauchery involved in espionage. Again, however, illusion and reality conflict because more than 95 percent of spies who have been caught in the United States are actually heterosexual.

WOMEN IN ESPIONAGE

Mata Hari (1876–1917), the Dutch music hall dancer, may be the most famous female spy, but she is far from the most typical either in reality or fantasy. The women chosen to serve in intelligence agencies by the U.S. and British governments are usually highly educated with a talent for languages. Most of these women serve in important back office roles, as file clerks, code breakers, and even wardrobe mistresses for covert operations and surveillance. The role of file clerk may seem unimportant, but an intelligence service's ability to recall information using the tiniest detail, such as a large black mole on the right cheek versus a large hairy brown mole on the right cheek, can be the key to completing a particular mission.

Women fulfilled these roles more often than they fulfilled others. Julia McWilliams, better known now as Julia Child (1912–2004), the "French Chef," was posted first to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and later to China where her sole job was to keep track of the massive amounts of information flowing through those arenas, primarily using three-by-five-inch index cards. The first American code breaker assigned to the Soviet Union's "Venona" code was a woman with very high math aptitude. Venona was the code used by Soviet spies in the United States to pass messages to Moscow. The code used "one-time" pads where the code is known only to the sender and receiver and is never repeated. This female code breaker was put in a room with tens of thousands of coded messages and told to break the code by finding patterns. Later she became part of a team that eventually began to

Mata Hari. *The famous female spy Mata Hari.* **AP IMAGES.**

break the codes because the Soviets used the one-time pads more than once in order to economize.

Particularly during World War II, women were assigned to gather appropriate clothing and to train covert agents to behave like the characters they were playing. The care for detail with which this was undertaken is remarkable. The wardrobe mistresses, such as Evangeline Bell and Marjorie Levenson, worked very hard to ensure buttons were sewn on, cigarettes were smoked, and ID cards stamped in a way that would permit the agent to fit smoothly into the society in which spying was being performed.

Women involved in espionage have also worked as translators and refugee interviewers, but only rarely have they been given work rising to their levels of competence. Women during World War II were not assigned the task of decision-making or running a station. In the early twenty-first century, women rise to become station or even region chief, but the upper levels of intelligence agencies are still primarily male. The exception was Stella Rimington (b. 1935), a single mother who worked her way up to the top of the British intelligence service, MI5, serving as director from 1992 to 1996.

Sex plays diverse roles within espionage. The "swallows" were Soviet women who were instructed to create romantic and sexual relations with male foreign nationals for the purposes of blackmail. Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, has used "swallows" to gather information on neighboring Arab states, most notably just prior to the 1967 war. Sexual liaisons have also been used as a ruse by partners in espionage as an excuse for being locked behind embassy doors in order to hide yet more illicit behavior such as safecracking. The British and U.S. intelligence services appear to have shrunk from the use of sex and of blackmail generally. Sex and gender play large roles within espionage, but primarily through discrimination, fantasy, and homophobia.

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ESQUIRE

Esquire is a men's magazine founded in 1933 by David Smart and William Weintraub in an effort to create a profitable vehicle for advertising men's fashion. *Esquire* was originally known for combining vulgar and sexually-suggestive cartoons and paintings of semi-nude pin-up girls with high-quality literature, cutting-edge journalism, and advice on how to attain urban sophistication. The production of *Esquire* was a conscious effort on the parts of its publishers and editor to recreate the middle-class urban male as a consumer in need of fashion advice. Even in the midst of the Depression and with a rather high cover price, *Esquire* was immediately successful—both in the cultivation of its readership and in its ability to attract advertisers. The *Esquire* formula—with its combination of sophistication and raciness—is the progenitor of Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* magazine, which is known for its literature and reporting as well as for its nude photographs.

Esquire's first editor, Arnold Gingrich, was primarily responsible for the magazine's original, profitable formula. In the affluence and commercialism of the 1920s, men were considered to be producers, while both consumption and fashion were the province of women. Gingrich's task at the new magazine, then, was to recast consumerism (as well as fashion-consciousness) as an appropriately masculine role. His method of doing so was to equate urban sophistication with success: *Esquire* provided a wealth of information about the "correct" behavior and tastes of a gentleman. These tastes—which included knowledge and appreciation of wine, liquor, fashionable dress, and fine dining—were legitimated as appropriately masculine by the rest of the magazine's content, which provided a survey of other interests appropriate to the gentleman—in particular bawdy jokes, the famous pin-ups of the Petty and Varga girls (painted by George Petty and Alberto Vargas), and writing by established authors, including Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald, who placed in *Esquire* work that other magazines deemed too risqué to publish.

After World War II, *Esquire* suffered a downturn in advertising revenue. The magazine had lost its gloss of sophistication, and its subscribers were older war veterans who remembered *Esquire* with nostalgia as the girlie magazine that had accompanied them to war rather than as a guide to urban success. In the mid-fifties, in an effort to reinvigorate the magazine and distinguish it from its nearest competitor, *Playboy*, Gingrich hired Harold Hayes to succeed him as editor. Under Hayes, *Esquire* helped popularize Tom Wolfe's New Journalism—factual stories constructed and told novelistically—and ushered in new era of reportage. Writers such as Norman Mailer, Jean Genet, and John Sack covered some of the major events of the 1960s for the magazine, and *Esquire* additionally boasted contributors like James Baldwin, Saul Bellow, and Gore Vidal.

Esquire's historical reputation as a cutting-edge periodical rests largely on these two periods—the 1930s–1940s and the 1960s—in which it routinely published smart, innovative writing and regularly printed pieces by some of the biggest names in American literature. In the late 1970s, after the retirement and death of Gingrich and the departure of Hayes, *Esquire* lost its way. The magazine changed owners a number of times and successive editors revamped its format. In 1986, *Esquire* was acquired by the Hearst Corporation, which began including heavy coverage of young celebrities, fashion, and fiction, but faced stiff competition from similarly-themed magazines *GQ* and *Details*. Since David Granger became editor-in-chief in 1997, *Esquire* has reasserted itself as a profitable, high-quality magazine and has won numerous awards for its features, fiction, and profiles.

SEE ALSO *Playboy; Vargas, Alberto.*

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Maureen Lauder

ESSENTIALISM

Essentialism is a concept that suggests that a thing or a class of people has an inherent quality that comes from nature rather than from culture or history. Essentialism is studied and debated often in philosophy and also plays an important role in studies of race, gender, and sexuality. In philosophy the notion of essence can be found in Platonic idealism, in which all forms in their ideal state have eternal and unchanging characteristics. Essence is related to being and concerns the special nature of a thing that makes it different from everything else.

NATURE AND DIFFERENCE: RATIONALES FOR RACISM AND SLAVERY

Essence thus is concerned especially with both nature and difference. Humanists are said to be essentialists insofar as they see something basic in human nature that remains stable over time and is not affected by culture or geographic location. Human nature is natural in that it is inherent in all human beings as a quality of the species. Essentialism also is concerned with difference in that it separates humans from all other creatures in the natural world.

Essentialism has functioned for centuries to promote and enforce racism and human slavery. In the past it was convenient to believe that human beings differ from each other in quality and humanness because that belief justified treating others inhumanely. From the eighteenth century onward European and North American culture developed a strain of scientific racism that insisted that some races are inherently inferior to others. That form of essentialism justified genocide in the Americas, the British conquest of India, the European colonization of Africa, and slavery in the American South. Scientific racism was used in the twentieth century to oppress African Americans under Jim Crow and to murder 6

million Jews and others during World War II. It still is used by white supremacists and by regimes around the world to promote what is termed *ethnic cleansing*.

GENDER ESSENTIALISM

One of the oldest, strongest, and most pervasive forms of essentialism relates to gender. It is found the world over encoded in religious texts and customs, social and gender roles, art, literature, and science. Gender essentialism holds that men and women have distinctly different natures, or essences, that are particular to them. Women are thought to be closer to nature because they are considered to have more difficulty transcending their bodies, whereas men are seen as more easily able to distance themselves from embodiment so that they can engage in abstract thought, political and social activity, and other pursuits not linked to reproduction. This difficulty of transcendence among women is viewed in many societies as natural rather than cultural, though it is imposed on women culturally to ensure that someone will raise the next generation.

Sexually active men bear no physical burden and little social burden that tie them to reproduction; after ejaculation a man can walk away from the woman he has copulated with and resume his life. Without some form of birth control, however, a sexually active woman may become pregnant and physically tied to the fetus growing inside her body for nine months. The burden of the body grows heavier for her as she becomes larger and more uncomfortable, though women throughout history have continued to work, hunt, farm, and fight until they give birth to their children. After giving birth to the baby, a woman may wish to be free to abandon the child and resume a pursuit or adventure, but custom, culture, and law bind her to care for her children until they can sustain themselves, something that takes years.

Essentialism naturalizes gender inequality by maintaining that it is women's special nature to care for children and men's special nature to create culture and commerce. Woman's nature is held to be more passive, nurturing, peaceful, domestic, emotional, and content; men's nature is seen as more aggressive, intellectual, competitive, worldly, remote, and restless. Such views naturalize both sexual difference and a social structure in which women stay home and men run the world.

Essentialism was the first gender prejudice to be challenged by the successive waves of feminism. However, some feminists have embraced essentialism because it grants special strengths and powers to women on the basis of sexual difference. American cultural feminism in the 1960s and 1970s attributed the presence of large numbers of women in antiwar activism to the natural expression of their peaceful and motherly natures. That form of essentialist thinking was adopted by antinuclear feminist activists around the world in the 1970s and 1980s in defense of the natural world and the environment against nuclear testing and nuclear power.

In dealing with the traditional devaluation of women in culture and history, French feminism in that era viewed the essentialisms linked to women's bodies as sources of separatist resistance to patriarchal culture and its phallocentric, logocentric chauvinism, embracing essentialism and physical difference as a basis for women's empowerment. Thus, the two lips of a woman's genitalia might offer multiple possibilities for meaning in stark contrast to the unyielding singularity of the extruded male phallus, and the soft mellifluous sounds of the body and the womb of the mother offer another linguistic alternative to the violence of patriarchal language and its focus on castration and enforced gender normativity.

Strategic essentialists attempt to retain a critique of the social construction of gender roles while hanging on to the specificity of female experience in a gendered body. They argue that women deserve the same economic and political advantages that men have but that they are not the same as men and their difference from men should be respected. This type of essentialism often has racial and cultural undertones; many women of color argue that although they should have access to the same advantages as white men and women, they do not want their differences to be devalued and erased. Strategic essentialism maintains that the embodied experience of gendered beings of color should be seen as specific and important and can be employed by women of color as a locus of identity, political organizing, and social and economic empowerment.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

Social constructivism is the opposite of essentialism, holding that all the qualities of a person are socially constructed and are made to seem *natural* only to establish an ideological advantage for one group over another. If men and women believe that women are essentially equal to men but have been coerced into assuming dependent and subservient roles by cultural institutions controlled by men, they probably will view a woman's lot as unjust and work for social change. However, if everyone believes that female inferiority is natural, men and women will be more likely to accept the status quo, in which men dominate the cultural, political, religious, and economic institutions of their society.

Marxism was one of the earliest theories of social constructivism, followed by psychoanalysis, feminism, deconstruction, postcolonial theory, Foucaultian historical

analysis, and queer theory that employs elements of all of those systems. Nineteenth-century Marxism argued that people's material relationship to the means of production entirely shaped their lives, whereas twentieth-century Marxist considered ideology crucial as well. Freudian psychoanalysis uncoupled the libido from essential gender, arguing for the innate bisexuality of all infants and outlining the cultural processes of sex and gender differentiation. Feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir (1993) described the cultural construction of woman as other to man and traced the advantages men gained from an investment in this myth. Deconstruction argued that binary opposition is a self-serving cultural construct that often is used to justify the oppression of one group by another. Foucaultian analysis showed the body and sexuality to be historical constructs that changed over time, taking their shape from operations of power and resistance. Queer theory uncoupled sexuality from gender, using all those theories to celebrate queer identities and queer cultural forms as parodic and transformative social projects.

More recently, transgender theorists and activists have taken the essentialist–social constructivist binary a step further, coupling and uncoupling gender behavior, bodily sex, and sexuality by insisting that gender can be experienced as an essence but that one's essence does not have to match one's physical body and that one's sexual expression can be heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual, regardless of one's physical sex or felt gender essence. Sex researcher John Money (Colopinto 2000) held that gender and sexuality are constructed by society, and he performed an experiment on a set of identical male twins in which a boy who accidentally had been castrated during a circumcision was raised as a girl. Money insisted that the experiment was a success, but the boy's subsequent depression, reversion to a male identity, and suicide helped expose the violent repression of gender variant and intersex bodies by the medical profession and helped spark new interest in hormones as agents of biological determinism.

Some scientists and activists continue to seek a biological component to gender and sexual behavior, and this is highly controversial. Many queer activists believe that if a physical component to homosexuality, such as brain type or genetic markers, can be identified, it will be less defensible to persecute gay men and lesbians as social deviants. Others believe that this type of science resembles the disturbing historical essentialism of scientific racism and misogyny, in which physical differences were used to justify social inequality, oppression, and extermination. Opponents of essentialist science fear that homosexual genetic markers will be used to screen out and abort fetuses that might become lesbians, gay men, or transgender people. Despite this possibility there is strong support for the role of biology as a determinant factor in gender and sexual behavior. Thus, society can be said to be experiencing a new era of essentialist thought that no doubt will spur more scientific study of the degree to which biology essentially determines the eventual gender and sexuality of children.

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Jaime Hovey

ESTHER

Queen Esther, also called Hadassah, the heroine of the biblical Book of Esther, is considered one of the pivotal females in scripture because, according to Jewish tradition, she was divinely ordained to save her people from genocide. Physical beauty and great courage were combined in her to such a degree that she merited having her name immortalized by becoming part of the Hebrew biblical canon. The narrative of this post-exilic book also provides the etiology of Purim, the carnival-like holiday that Jews celebrate every spring with much merriment even in the early-twenty-first century.

STORY OF ESTHER AND SIGNIFICANCE AS A HEROINE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Contemporary scholars prefer to read the Book of Esther as a comedy, romance, even a fairy tale, downplaying any verisimilitude to ancient (Achaemenid Empire) or medieval Persian (Islamic/*oriental*) court life and deeming the story's plot to be "structured on improbabilities, exaggerations, misunderstandings, and reversals." Even if "the setting of the Persian court is authentic ... the events are fictional" as no corroborating sources of the events has ever surfaced (Berlin and Brettler 2004, pp. 1623–1624).

In brief the plot of the Book of Esther centers on Esther's fairy-tale-like good fortune, a destiny that transcends mere personal dimensions through the divine plan

Esther. *By fifteenth-century artist Andrea del Castagno.* © SUMMERFIELD PRESS/CORBIS.

(although God is not mentioned in the Book of Esther) that turns her into a savior of her people. An orphan, Esther was raised by her cousin Mordekai. When King Ahasuerus repudiated Vashti, his first wife, because she had disobeyed him, Esther was among the virgins brought to the court and Ahasuerus chose her as his next queen. On the advice of Mordekai, Esther kept her Jewish identity hidden. When Haman, Ahasuerus' prime minister, convinced the king to issue an edict condemning the Jews to extermination, Esther presented herself before the king unbidden (an act punishable by death) and invited him and Haman to two banquets. Haman, thinking himself in the queen's good graces, was totally unprepared for her powerful intercession at the second banquet on behalf of her people. Revealing her origins Queen Esther begged for and was granted the lifting of the edict as well as revenge against Haman. The reversal that ensued, that is, the saving of the Jews and the elevation of Mordekai, and the fall and death of Haman, his family,

and many of his party who persecuted the Jews, forms the dramatic linchpin of the narrative.

Numerous details enhance the biblical account, which highlight Ahasuerus' credulity, Haman's arrogance, Mordekai's cleverness, and Esther's beauty and loyalty to her faith. More embellishments appear in the Septuagint (LXX) version of the Book of Esther and many more in Jewish rabbinic and legendary (*midrashic*) sources. The Septuagint version is a much longer version of the narrative and contains six large additions as well as a number of details not found in the Masoretic text. It deemphasizes the comic and stresses the melodramatic elements and it is considerably more concerned with issues of Jewish ritual. Jerome (d. 420) added the larger segments at the end of his translation of the book. In the Jewish rabbinic and legendary (*midrashic*) texts, which range from the second to the fourteenth centuries, Esther's character, both physical and psychological, is richly enhanced. Thus Esther herself is of royal blood, a descendant of King

Saul, worthy of royal marriage. She is one of the four most beautiful women in the world (the other three, also in the Bible, being Sarah, Rahab, and Abigail), and her beauty flourished unabated throughout her life. However Esther's spiritual characteristics surpass her physical ones, the latter being mere reflections of the former. "Esther put on royal apparel" (Esth. 5:1) is traditionally interpreted as referring to her being wrapped in the Holy Spirit. Troubled by the marriage of such a paragon to a gentile monarch, even in the cause of saving her people, rabbinical texts try to explain away the marriage as a formality without substance, outright rape, or, in an extreme instance, by claiming that Ahasuerus made love only to "to a female spirit in the guise of Esther" (Ginzberg, 4:387; 6:640n. 79; 4:387–388; 6:460n. 80).

ESTHER AS A FIGURE IN LITERATURE AND ART AND CONTEMPORARY LEGACY

Since Esther is an Iranian heroine, it is not surprising that Iranian Jews have preserved her memory with great devotion. A shrine in Hamadan, Iran, grew up around a tomb purported to contain the cenotaphs of Esther and Mordekai, which dates no earlier than the thirteenth century. It became a frequent pilgrimage destination for Iranian Jews. Esther's memory is also preserved in two fourteenth-century Judeo-Persian (Farsī in Hebrew letters) epics, *Ardashīr-nāma* (The book of Ardashīr [Ahasuerus]), and *Ezra-nāma* (The book of Ezra) by the Iranian Jewish poet Mowlānā Shāhīn. Familiar with both the biblical and rabbinic narratives, Shāhīn composed his own version of the Books of Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah by creating an audacious link between Esther's marriage and the fate of the Jewish people. According to Shāhīn, the purpose of Esther's happy marriage to Ahasuerus (preceded by an elaborate courtship and properly sanctified in a Zoroastrian wedding ceremony) was to give birth to Cyrus the Great (559–530 BCE), the king who issued the famous edict (539 BCE) granting permission to many minorities, including the Jews of Babylonia (western Iran), to return to their homeland and rebuild their Temple. Thus in Shāhīn's account, Esther's role as savior is much broader and fully justifies her marriage to a gentile monarch.

Shāhīn's epic is only one of the numerous works of art inspired by the Book of Esther in general and Esther in particular. Her beauty, courage, and self-sacrifice are celebrated in numerous paintings, beginning with those in the third-century Dura-Europos synagogue and culminating with representations by famous Renaissance painters, such as Sandro Botticelli (c. 1445–1510), Filipino Lippi (c.1458–1504), Jacopo Tintoretto (c. 1518–1594), and Paolo Veronese (ca.1528–1588), who all tended to associate her with the cult of the Virgin Mary. Musicians such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–1594) and George Frederick Handel (1685–1759) wrote motets and oratorios inspired by the tale, and playwrights as famous as Jean Racine (1639–1699) recast the narrative in dramatic form. In Jewish tradition Purim plays flourished from the early Middle Ages onwards setting the narrative into dramatic and musical forms, some of which have survived in Hebrew and Yiddish. The contemporary tendency of feminist biblical scholarship to view Esther in a more nuanced light has further enhanced her stature. A trickster's manipulative conduct, coupled with seductive beauty, are viewed to have been part of Esther's only available means to carry out her unselfish purpose through powerful but vulnerable men. To her enduring credit, she employed these means in the service of divine aims.

SEE ALSO *Judaism.*

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Vera B. Moreen

ESTROGEN

SEE *Hormones: I. Overview.*

EUNUCHS

The topic of eunuchs—deliberately castrated human males—is one that has received increasing attention in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In large part this is because of the growth of gender studies. The distinctive physical nature of eunuchs has begged questions about their gender identity throughout history, and they present a rich field for study.

The origins of eunuchs are unknown. Perhaps it developed from the use of castration as a form of punishment, or was a deliberate transfer of practice from the

field of animal husbandry. The phenomenon is especially associated with Asia. Assyria and China are the earliest known civilizations to feature eunuchs, using them from the second millennium BCE.

It is primarily in the setting of royal and imperial courts that eunuchs have been found in history. In addition to the Assyrian and Chinese courts, eunuchs famously distinguish those of the Persian, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires, though others used them too (such as Ptolemaic Egypt and the Arab Caliphates).

ROLES THROUGHOUT HISTORY

In the popular imagination, eunuchs are most associated with the role of guarding royal and imperial women; visions of harems come easily to mind. Indeed one etymology of the Greek word *eunuch* is "guardian of the bed." Greeks and Romans even thought it was a royal woman who was responsible for the invention of eunuchs. It is true that this was one role that eunuchs had at courts (and in elite households too), but this was not their only function. Eunuchs were just as likely, if not more so, to be in the company of men. Also, they were not just attendants, but could hold significant office and wield political influence. In the later Roman Empire the office of grand chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*) brought great social status and could bring great power, because of the proximity to the emperor that the post entailed. The chief white and black eunuchs of the Ottoman sultan could also be forces to be reckoned with. Eunuchs of royal and imperial women could be powerful too, with examples including Staurakios and Aetios, who featured in the government of the Byzantine empress Eirene (r. 797–802), and Li Lianying, hairdresser to the Chinese empress dowager Cixi (1861–1908). The duties of eunuchs in the service of courts could extend to major roles not related to personal attendance, even military commands. The eunuch Narses was the hero of the reconquest of Italy under the Roman emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565). And in China, the eunuch Zheng He was the admiral of several expeditions in the fifteenth century.

Of course, eunuchs do not just feature in history as the personnel of courts and elite households. They became especially conspicuous in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe as singers. Although the unique musical quality of the eunuch voice was not unknown before this time (indeed there were eunuchs in the papal choir by the beginning of the seventeenth century), the birth of opera led to the particular prominence of the castrati. The day of the castrati, however, was in decline by the end of the eighteenth century, with a change in musical tastes and increasing opposition to castration. In 1902 Pope Leo XIII banned any new eunuchs from joining the papal choir, and in 1922 Alessandro Moreschi (known as the Angel of Rome), the last castrato to have served in the choir, died.

Eunuchs have had a more pronounced place in religious history beyond their role as church singers. They have been figures in a number of religions, usually in the guise of self-castrates, that is, those who willingly castrated themselves. This marks them out from other eunuchs, because the latter tended to be castrated against their will and when they had not yet reached puberty; self-castration in a religious context tends to be undertaken by mature individuals. With regard to religion in Greco-Roman antiquity, eunuchs are met in association with mother goddesses. The most famous instance is that of Cybele (or the Magna Mater [Great Mother]), whose cult was centered in Asia Minor at Pessinus in Phrygia, but who was particularly popular among the Romans, her cult image having been transferred to Rome in 204 BCE. Associated with the goddess was the figure of Attis, her human consort. In one version of the myth the goddess drove her lover to castrate himself because he had been unfaithful to her. It is possible that the example of Attis accounts for the place of self-castration in the cult of Cybele, though other theories exist. The eunuch priests of the goddess were known as *galli*, and adopted distinct behavior. They would dress as women, wear makeup and jewelry, and grow their hair long.

Such behavior provides a startling parallel with the modern-day case of the *hijras* of India. The *hijras* are castrated voluntarily, and this practice forms part of their dedication to the Hindu goddess Bahuchara Mata, though there are also Christian and Muslim members of their communities. The *hijras* dress and act like women, taking female names and using female kinship terms to describe the relationships between them.

Self-castration has also existed in a Christian context. In the Gospel according to Matthew (19:12), Jesus identified three types of eunuchs: those who are born eunuchs, those who are made eunuchs, and those who make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven. Some early Christians understood the last category literally rather than metaphorically, and welcomed castration, the most famous (reputed) example being the theologian Origen. The Council of Nicaea in 325 banned self-castrates from serving as clergy, but it is clear the practice was not so easily halted.

Indeed Christian eunuchs dramatically resurfaced in modern Russia in the shape of the Skoptsy (meaning literally "self-castrators"), who embraced castration to secure purity and salvation. Male Skoptsy could undergo the removal of just the testicles ("minor seal") or of the penis also ("major seal"). Unusually, female members could also experience genital mutilation, encompassing the removal of nipples, breasts, and external parts of the vagina. The Skoptsy came to light in the 1770s, and were persecuted for most of their existence. The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought initial respite, but ultimately witnessed their demise.

Indian Eunuch Applying Make-up. © KARAN KAPOOR/CORBIS.

OPINIONS ABOUT THEIR NATURE AND CHARACTER

Throughout history eunuchs have elicited strong and divergent opinions about their nature and character. Given the altered physical state of those castrated prior to puberty, the question of their sex and gender identity has been a key issue. For Aristotle eunuchs were feminized beings, grouped with women and children rather than men. In the Greco-Roman world, the perceived feminized condition of eunuchs led to them being attributed with feminine behavioral traits. Another view of eunuchs was that they were neither man nor woman, but a third sex, or even lacking any distinct identity.

In terms of sexual behavior eunuchs have been associated with homosexuality. Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) is alleged to have had a eunuch lover, Bagoas (the title character of Mary Renault's 1972 novel, *The Persian Boy*), while the Roman emperor Nero (r. 54–68 CE) is said to have had his lover Sporus castrated and to have gone through a wedding ceremony with him, the eunuch taking the role of the bride. But eunuchs also appear as the sexual partners of women, and in Greco-

Roman and Arabic thought one encounters the view that eunuchs were women with men and men with women. Whether eunuchs could marry occupied Christian thought. The Byzantine emperor Leo VI (r. 886–912) rejected this on the grounds that the purpose of marriage was procreation. The instance of castrati marrying women (a famous case is that of Tenducci in 1766) provoked Charles Ancillon's *Traité des eunuques* (1707; Treatise on eunuchs), which was designed to establish why eunuchs should not be allowed to get married. In China, however, eunuchs were permitted to marry. It is clear that the value of eunuchs as guardians of women was not so much that sexual relations would not occur, but that pregnancy would be avoided.

The role of eunuchs in politics was also cause for comment. This could be extremely negative, such as with the cases of the later Roman and Chinese empires. Some Roman literature of the fourth century CE (such as the history of Ammianus Marcellinus and the invectives of Claudian against the grand chamberlain Eutropius) is notably hostile to the involvement in government of court eunuchs, who are depicted as corrupt and greedy

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(views that have a wide currency, originating in part from Orientalism but also from ideas about the character of eunuchs). It seems that such antipathy was a reaction of the traditional elite to the new political significance of court eunuchs, most of whom would also have been of slave origin. In China there is a comparable reaction by the Confucian elite. Nevertheless, positive views of eunuchs existed as well. They could be considered loyal agents, and entrusted with special tasks. In the field of religion a similar dichotomy can be found. Eunuchs can be viewed as depraved sensual beings, but also as pure and chaste. In a Christian context this led to an association of eunuchs with angels, which underscored the notion that they had a distinct identity.

SEE ALSO *Castrati; Hijrās; Ladyboys (Kathoeys); Transsexual F to M; Transsexual M to F.*

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Shaun Tougher

EVE

SEE *Adam and Eve.*

EXHIBITIONISM

Exhibitionism occurs when a person displays his or her naked body or genitals in order to achieve sexual gratification and assert sexual power. It can be defined as both deviant and socially acceptable, based on the motivation for displaying oneself and the intended audience. As a deviant act, exhibitionism is the act of publicly exposing one's genitals to an unwilling audience for the purposes of sexual gratification. Exhibitionism is considered a perversion because it is typically an end in itself and not linked to subsequent sexual activity.

Almost all legally prosecuted and psychoanalytically treated exhibitionists are men, although female exhibitionists also exist. General explanations for male exhibitionists note that these men display themselves for hostile and aggressive reasons, subjecting unwilling viewers, who are often women or children, to a shocking sight that asserts the man's feeling of power. Little information is available about the behavior and motivations of female exhibitionists, because legal and psychological studies overwhelmingly focus on men. Female exhibitionists may also have aggressive motivations, but their most common motivations are to boost their self-esteem and assert control over the viewing of their bodies.

Typical behaviors of all exhibitionists include: public masturbation; dressing or undressing in front of a window; flashing, or briefly removing clothing such as an overcoat to afford a brief glimpse of the genitals; and calling attention to one's exposed genitals from a semi-private place such as a car or doorway. More socially acceptable forms of exhibitionism include stripping, posing for explicit photos or films, and posting images of oneself on the Internet.

MOTIVATIONS FOR EXHIBITIONISM

All exhibitionism is motivated by the cultural power inherent in the act of looking and the cultural taboos placed on nudity that make showing oneself in public a transgressive act. For those acts of exhibitionism treated as a perversion or crime, a dominant motivation is a need to assert one's power over others. Generally, such exhibitionists are insecure and socially inept, receiving little validation in their daily lives. They reverse this dynamic when they display their genitals. They often choose to show themselves to women or children who seem weak and easily frightened or repulsed by the sight of the exhibitionist's body. The strong reaction thus provoked validates the exhibitionist's sense of authority and dominance. For men, this reaction is particularly appealing because it also helps confirm their masculinity as a strength, in line with stereotypical definitions and representations of the ideal man. It may also compensate for a psychological fear of castration or impotence.

Other motivations for exhibiting that are more socially acceptable also hinge on power dynamics. Strippers, porn stars, and some sex industry workers claim that they enjoy taking the initiative to offer their bodies to a willing audience, feeling a sense of empowerment. Because many of these exhibitionists are women,

this act constitutes a reversal of typical power dynamics that render women passive objects of desire and men as active and dominating viewers. When a woman controls the way in which her body is viewed, she shares in some of the pleasure of viewership and often returns the gaze of the watching spectator. While the woman may be asserting her sexual power, it is rare that she intends to make herself a threatening display; instead, these women intend to give the viewer pleasure.

Feminist theorists and others have argued about whether exhibitionistic acts, such as stripping, are truly empowering for women. Some argue that women who exhibit their bodies in ways as subtle as wearing tight-fitting clothes or performing private striptease scenarios for their sexual partners are embracing their natural sexual power in a positive way. However, others note that many of these women unknowingly mimic cultural or patriarchal norms of feminine beauty and that many strippers perform out of economic necessity instead of self-directed pleasure. In these latter cases, the male gaze is still objectifying the woman.

VOYEURISM AND EXHIBITIONISM

Exhibitionists receive part of their pleasure from a displaced voyeuristic pleasure; they identify with the viewers and imagine how their genitals appear to them. The pleasure comes from the recognition of power that exhibitionists imagine to take place and from an intrinsic interest in both their own genitalia and that of others. In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) argues that exhibitionists and voyeurs have overlapping motivations, so exhibitionists display their genitals in the hopes of getting a reciprocal viewing of the other person's genitals. The desire to see results in the act of showing, or exhibitionism. Likewise, the desire to be seen results in active looking, or voyeurism. However, exhibitionists and voyeurs can differ, as the latter typically derive sexual pleasure from observing sexual acts or organs whereas they remain unseen, possibly due to a sense of shame or disgust that they attach to these sights. Exhibitionists clearly know they are being watched and take a certain pride in their genital display.

Psychological connections between exhibitionism and voyeurism may develop in childhood, when exhibitionist tendencies result from a period of active voyeurism linked both to the genitals in general and to the mother's body. Children's discovery of and natural curiosity about their own genitals produces a desire both to show themselves and to see the genitals of others, often other children. In the mother–child interaction, the young boy enjoys watching the mother's body, particularly the breast from which he likely fed as an infant.

When he reaches an age at which family nudity is no longer deemed proper, he is suddenly denied access to this scene, and his voyeuristic impulse is directed internally as a desire to act the part of the mother and display the breast (penis). The pleasure initially associated with viewing the mother's body becomes connected with the act of showing what he wants to see.

LEGAL TREATMENT OF EXHIBITIONISM

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, exhibitionism has constituted one-third of all sex offenses reported in the United States, England, Wales, and Canada. It is much less prevalent in Africa and Asia. Exhibitionists can be prosecuted for indecent exposure, an act of lewdness defined by exposing one's genitals in a public place and intentionally aimed at getting an unwilling audience who is likely to be affronted by the act. Indecent exposure also includes other acts, such as public urination. Women's breasts are generally not included in this definition, as they are not considered genitals, and their display seems less offensive.

Other laws to which exhibitionists may be subject include those prohibiting lewd or indecent conduct and, occasionally, sexual psychopath laws that punish mentally disordered individuals who pose a danger to the community. Although exhibitionists have a high recidivism rate, it is rare for them to commit more severe crimes, such as violent acts. Because indecent exposure can be understood so broadly, there are some limitations on the enforcement of these laws. For example, the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution has been used to protect freedom of expression that may include displays of nudity.

Legal prosecution of indecent exposure did not occur until the nineteenth century, when new legal and psychoanalytical practices identified certain sexual acts as normal and others as perverse. This shift both allowed for increased analysis and documentation of the wide range of sexual activities and responded to a perceived threat to patriarchal authority. A new cultural need to define masculinity as a stable and dominant identity category arose for many reasons. Women posed a threat with their increasing demand for social and political equality. White male authority was also challenged by the demise of the strictly tiered class system, brought about by industrial revolutions, a gradually increasing middle class, and a general distribution of property and wealth. At the same time in Western Europe and the United States, various social patterns converged: Sexual practices were newly defined by the limiting terms of heterosexuality, homosexuality, and bisexuality; clothing for men became more modest, no longer accenting the crotch with tight-fitting pants; sexual activity and displays

of nudity were relegated to the private arena of the household; and acts of sexual or bodily deviance were considered no longer immoral (affronts to God) but indecent (affronts to society).

As a result, the always-present activity of publicly exposing oneself to others became a crime and a psychological perversion distinct from the restrictive norms established by social regulations. Ironically, it also became a way to show conformance with stereotypical gender norms of a naturally powerful masculinity. From this period until the late-twentieth century, exhibitionism was defined almost exclusively as a perversion limited to male practitioners.

EXHIBITIONISM AND PORNOGRAPHY

Pornography provides an opportunity for exhibitionists to display themselves in a forum that is gratifying and relatively socially acceptable. Whereas the deviant exhibitionist subjects an unwilling audience to his or her genitals to humiliate or demand recognition of sexual potency, strippers and porn stars receive that recognition from an audience who has sought out this display. In this scenario, it is possible for an exhibitionist to find a willing voyeur so that both receive sexual satisfaction. Some theorists have argued that because this reciprocity is possible, neither variety of sexual preference is harmful or perverse on its own. It becomes problematic only when such reciprocity is missing and an unwilling person becomes a victim to a sexual act he or she does not enjoy or desire.

Certain peep shows feature booths that separate performers from viewers with transparent glass or plastic, so that both parties can see each other. This layout satisfies the doubled voyeuristic and exhibitionist desires of both performers and viewers. Viewers often masturbate or reveal their genitals under the watchful eye of the performers, who take pleasure in this display of sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Voyeurism.*

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Michelle Veenstra

EXTRA MARITAL SEXUAL RELATIONS

SEE *Adultery.*

F

FABLIAUX

The corpus of the Old French *fabliaux*, a genre that flourished in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, consists of some 160 short comic tales in verse, produced with almost no exceptions in Northern and Central France. Not all critics agree on which texts should be included in the fabliau canon, an uncertainty that derives in part from the rather loose use of terms such as *fabliau, lai, conte, dit*, among others, in mediaeval texts. The majority of these texts is anonymous or, with a few exceptions, attributed to authors about which little more than their name is known. Further, the wide variety of themes found in the genre also adds to the difficulty of defining it satisfactorily.

Nonetheless, a high proportion of fabliaux deal with gender relations and sex. The storylines may be grouped into three broad categories: those that treat an adulterous relationship; those that focus on marital difficulties other than adultery; and those involving a variety of—often unexpected—sexual situations. Although these categories frequently overlap, these major themes help highlight the core of the text. Whereas many fabliaux can be read as espousing an openly misogynist view, commenting negatively on women's penchant for deception and their sexual desires, they do not always overtly condemn the successful deceiver nor do they explicitly rebuke women for their sexual appetites. However, since neither of those traits is particularly praiseworthy, it is difficult to view the fabliaux as not reflecting an inherently misogynistic view of women. Although the characters that populate these texts are most often members of the bourgeoisie, the clergy, or peasants, members of the nobility make occasional appearances.

As examples of bawdy humor, the *esprit gaulois*, the storylines regularly reenact the courtly erotic triangle. Yet, as in "La Bourgeoise d'Orléans," called "a courtly adventure" by its author, the successful resolution often leads to possibilities of continued infidelity as the wife outmaneuvers her jealous husband. The tale is typical of a theme that runs through the genre, "le mari cocu, battu, et content" (the husband who's cuckolded, beaten, and happy). The husband who facilitates his own cuckoldry, as in other examples situated in courtly settings such as "Le chevalier qui recovra l'amor de sa dame" (The knight who recovered his lady's love), or "Guillaume au faucon" (Guillaume with the falcon), the latter based on a pun—the word *faucon* (falcon) creates a homophone of *faux con* (false cunt), points to the ambiguity of the attitude toward the adulterers who succeed, thus echoing to a certain extent the same ambiguity found in the courtly literature they parody.

Jean Bodel (1165–1210), one of the earliest authors of fabliaux, establishes the lubricity of the clergy in his "Gombert et les deux clercs" (Gombert and the two clercs, c. 1190), in which one young cleric sleeps with their host's wife, while the other does the same with the daughter. Satire of the clergy's sexual mores developed into a staple of the genre, with clerical participation in adulterous relations the norm. In tales where the adulterers are discovered, punishment tends to be exacted on the clergyman, rather than the wife, perhaps reinforcing the view that while one should expect no less from women, the clergy are held up to more strict scrutiny. One of the most notable examples in this vein is "Du Prestre crucifié" (The crucified priest), in which the naked priest, caught unexpectedly when the crucifix-maker husband

comes home, hides out in the latter's workshop. The husband, noting that one of his Christ-figures displays unsightly genitalia, takes out his tools to remedy the situation. Not all clergymen suffer such extreme punishment, but few of them escape totally unscathed.

Language also furnishes a theme for sexual comedy in the fabliaux. Sometimes the tales are elaborated around a sexual metaphor, based on the renaming of sexual organs. A young man attempting to trick an uninitiated girl into a sexual relationship relies on a metaphor of an animal and food, as in "L'Esuiruel (The squirrel) or "La Dame qui abevra le polain" (The lady who watered the horse). Similar sexual metaphors figure in fabliaux such as "Porcelet" (Piglet) or "La Dame qui aveine demandoit pour Morel" (The lady who asked for oats for morel), but here they function as linguistic games to initiate sex in a married couple as well as to demonstrate that women's sexual appetite can be insatiable.

Other tales, too, offer variants of women's sexual appetites, both in and after marriage. "Le Souhait des vez" (Wishing for pricks), also by Jean Bodel, presents a husband who falls asleep without having sexually satisfied his wife. She refrains from waking him (as it would not be fitting). She in turn falls asleep and has an erotic dream: a fantasy of a village market in which all the stands sell penises of every size and description imaginable. As a woman cannot be satisfied by just one penis, she requires more. In "Celle qui se fist foutre sur la fosse de son mari" (The lady who got screwed on her husband's grave), a widow mourning the loss of her husband allows herself to be seduced by a squire who claims he killed his wife presumably through exhausting her in sexual intercourse. The widow asks to be killed in the same way (ostensibly to free her from her grief). She does not die. The equivocal ending, in which the widow has had some pleasure but the squire did not live up to his claims, reinforces the stereotype of the sexually voracious female.

Heterosexual relationships dominate the erotic preoccupations of the fabliaux, although few of the situations presented would fall into the realm of those activities blessed by the Catholic Church. Practices that would fall into the category of *contra naturam* or sodomy, although not a major theme of the genre, are hinted at and occasionally described. References to fellatio or cunnilingus, couched in metaphoric terms, appear in a number of fabliaux, as do couples whose sexual activities vary from the missionary position prescribed for procreative sex. Anal intercourse appears more than once, for example, in "Gombert et les deux clercs" and "Richeut." While heterosexual variant behaviors do occur, same-sex relations are nearly absent. Aside from veiled allusions, only "Le Prestre et le Chevalier" (The priest and the knight) offers an episode in which the humor derives from an encounter between a priest and a knight, the former being hinted at as a sodomite. No actual same-sex act occurs in the text. The "Trois dames qui troverent un vit" (The three ladies who found a prick) hints at possible same-sex relations in a convent and the use of a dildo, either in a couple or alone.

Other forms of gender transgression also appear relatively rarely. Nonetheless, one fabliau, "Berenger au lonc cul" (Long-assed Berenger) offers a complex set of transgressive activities, while at the same time commenting on class by means of gender. The wife who suspects her husband, a bourgeois who has married "up," of shamming his knightly, dresses as a knight herself and confronts him. The cowardly husband, rather than fight, willingly kisses the knight's ass. Passing as a man, the wife effeminizes her husband. In contrast, "La dame escoillée" (The castrated woman) presents an extreme instance of the misogynistic vein of the fabliaux, filtered through gender transgression and violence. A contradictory wife is upbraided by her noble son-in-law (who has already nearly beaten his wife to death for refusing to obey him) for her pride. He attributes her inappropriate behavior to her having testicles. A make-shift operation is performed by his servants who, after cutting into her thighs, pull out bloody bull's testicles that he had brought. The emasculated wife vows obedience, as does the terrified daughter. An insubordinate female is rendered subservient through a bodily transformation. Both fabliaux fit into what can be seen as an overarching conservative tendency of the sex genre in terms of gender relations.

Akin to the fabliau is the German *Schwänke*. Early *Schwänke* were in verse, but by the sixteenth century the genre was in prose. While they bear some thematic relationship to the French fabliaux and share some common stories (for example, the tale of Phyllis and Aristotle, a cautionary example concerning the power of women when men give in to desire), the genre has a wider range of themes. Nonetheless, one can identify a specific type for the wife in the Schwänke: she is typically portrayed as a shrew who angers easily and contributes to her husband's overall unhappiness. Although not common in English literature, there are also a few English fabliaux, the most famous of which are part of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Some, such as "The Reeve's Tale," have close parallels to French sources; others, for example "The Miller's Tale," have distant analogues in the French tradition. By the mid-fourteenth century, the genre had run its course in French literature. To a large extent, the prose *nouvelle* (short story) and the farce, two genres that grew in popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, carried on the sexual themes of the fabliaux. The sexual misadventures of the clergy remained as a major theme in the Renaissance *nouvelle*.

SEE ALSO *Folklore; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender Stereotype; Literature: I. Overview; Obscene; Pornography.*

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FAIRY TALES

Fairy tales, strictly speaking, were a vast corpus of literary texts published in Western Europe at the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, distinguished by the presence of fairies good and bad, sorcerers, magic objects and operations. Tales of fairies and the supernatural may go back as far as classical antiquity, but are no doubt medieval (such as the "matter of Brittany"), filled with magic, shape-shifting, impossible boons and prohibitions (Harf-Lancner 1984). Medieval analogues or origins have been identified for at least twenty-four tale types (Berlioz, Brémond, and Velay-Vallantin 1989). Antti Aarne catalogued these types in his early-twentieth-century international *Types of the Folk Tale*, which became the yardstick for classifying folk and fairy tale. An early version of "Little Red Riding Hood" dates back to the eleventh century, by Egbert of Liege (Berlioz 1994). The first version of "Sleeping Beauty" has been traced back to a medieval romance, *Perceforest* (Zago 1979). "Donkey Skin" was already well known in the sixteenth century in a now lost form, and has antecedents in the many medieval romances of daughters fleeing incestuous fathers. The model for the eighteenth-century "Beauty and the Beast" is the tale of Cupid and Psyche, contained in Apuleius' *Golden Ass* (c. 150 CE), which spread worldwide and spawned countless versions and variants (Hearne 1989)—in France, for instance, with a rich gendered subtext (Sautman 1989). An extensive literary form was written by Madame Leprince de Beaumont and published in 1756 in her *Magasin des enfants*, but another version, "L'Oiseau Bleu," closer to the folk versions, was authored before her by Madame d'Aulnoy.

Readers in the United States tend to associate fairy tales with the German collections of Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, published between 1810 and 1852. However, an already considerable international corpus of literary fairy tales had been produced by that time by their illustrious predecessor Charles Perrault (1628–1703), but also by many women, including German women. Benedikte Naubert's magic and fairy tales, written from 1789 to 1810, influenced Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), Achim von Arnim (1781–1831), and Clemens Brentano (1778–1842) (Blackwell 1997). Further, modern scholarship has deflated the Grimm national myth and shown that their so-called folk tales culled from the German oral tradition were a fraud. They were not garnered from peasants and simple people at all but from a few literate women in their entourage, one (at least) who was actually French (Ellis 1983). The Grimms systematically altered the content and tone of tales, giving them a masculinist twist when they might have presented more flexible views of sex and gender (Bottigheimer 1987).

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed nationalist and male-centered recuperations of folk and fairy tales in Europe, molded into a sexually expurgated, gender-conservative, ideologically sound corpus. For instance, in the corpus of the Russian Aleksandr Afanasiev, passed off for decades as "folklore," tales remained tame and conventional. Yet Afanasiev also published a hoard of obscene and erotic tales through a French undercover publication, the erudite *Kryptadia* (1883–1911), which, like its Viennese equivalent, *Anthropophyteia* (1904–1913), was edited by scholars hiding under pseudonyms lest the official corpus and its "proper" tone—and they also—be tainted by these bawdy tales (Tatar 1992).

A British admirer of the Grimms, engaged in the battle against the "yoke of classical tyranny," George Webbe Dasent published the widely read *Popular Tales from the Norse* in 1859. It has many tales of clever, strong heroines. Yet Dasent insisted that the tales were primarily about a male, "the youngest son," and "are uttered with a manly mouth," even though the narrative voice of these tales was imparted to women (Schacker 2003, pp. 116, 125–126). Thus, in this distinctive gender and racial ideology, "the feminized, ruralized, often infantilized images of the narrators of popular tales provide striking contrast with the rhetoric that is mobilized to characterize the study of popular tales—the voices that describe and compare, which dignify folklore with their attention, and which are clearly imagined by Dasent to be male" (Schacker 2003, p. 127).

The seventeenth-century French author of fairy tales Charles Perrault also inscribed his tales in the framework of tradition, times past, and an oral source from "mother goose" (*ma mere l'oye*), a fictive and highly constructed figure of the governess or nanny telling tales to children, and his tales uneasily interwove folk and literary traditions (Soriano 1968). Eighteen of the literary fairy tales of Madame d'Aulnoy (c. 1650–1705) correspond to tale types in the Aarne-Thompson system (Robert 1982). There is indeed a broad interface and historical relationship between literary fairy tales and those folk tales that incorporate the marvelous and the supernatural. These are "fairy tales" in the broadest sense, although they are usually referred to as magic tales, *Märchen*, or *Zaubermärchen*, or *contes merveilleux* (marvelous tales). There are also profound differences of style, usage, and ideological tone between these two bodies, even though many scholars study both fairy and folk magic tales together and brand them both as conveying a fiercely misogynistic ideology (Tatar 1992). However, this article does not refer to tales outside of Western traditions, which cannot be labeled "fairy tales" without erasing cultural difference and distorting their distinctive educational, ritual, religious, or initiatory functions.

Thus begins the tale of tales—a high-stakes game over race, nation, and gender, reflected in matters of content, authorship, audience, and modes of transmission. The written and the oral, tradition and invention, text and illustration, borrowings and survivals, are closely linked. Sociological perspectives, initiated by Jack Zipes (1983), have met historical ones to render obsolete the notion of an immobilized, frozen tale unrelated to the specific historical and cultural context that produced it (Velay-Vallantin 1992). The study of printed fairy tale books' illustrations has also elicited analyses of the ways sex and gender are constructed through the reception of a given tale (Hearne 1989, Velay-Vallantin 1998). As for debates on origins, they need not be of concern here, but they are rife in the history of tale scholarship (Simonsen 1981).

WOMEN AS WRITERS OF FAIRY TALES

Contrary to what has been claimed, Perrault was not the first French writer of fairy tales. This longstanding fallacy has been put to rest by fairy tale scholarship of the 1980s (as in the work of Jacques Barchilon and Elizabeth Wanning Harries). The first French writer to publish a fairy tale was Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, comtesse d'Aulnoy, whose "L'île de la Félicité" appeared within her novel, *L'histoire d'Hypolite, comte de Duglas*, in 1690, seven years before Perrault's and her own volume of fairy tales. The highest volume of tales written in France in the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century was by women—even though the genre attracted a plethora of writers of both sexes.

Madame d'Aulnoy was a prolific author, popular in her day, who published more than nineteen works, including eight volumes of fairy tales (d'Aulnoy 1997). A similar style is found with other women writers of tales, such as Madame de Murat (1670–1716) or Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon (1664–1734): These tales were longer, more prolific and eclectic both in sources and in tone, replete with details, did not shy from the grotesque or the macabre, played with gender identity, and were less conventionally moralistic than those of Perrault and other male writers. Madame d'Aulnoy boldly treats sexual matters, evoking passion, desire, violence, even sadomasochism. Women typically wrote much longer tales than did men, even on the same motifs or based on the same type: Patricia Hannon (1988) has defined this as writing a "motivated text," in which, through the transparent effort of producing text and writing it as a literary work while telling the tale, both the heroines and the writer attain voice. Women within the tales written by d'Aulnoy, L'Héritier, and Murat also speak more, with greater eloquence and freedom, and are capable of enjoying and fostering conversation, while the famous male-authored collections of Perrault and Grimm enforce silence on women (Marin 1996).

German women in the late eighteenth century also produced many tales, before or concomitantly with the collecting endeavors by famous male intellectuals such as the Grimm brothers, Achim von Arnim, or Brentano; yet a masculinist critical tradition has catalogued them mainly as translators and transcribers, active but in subordinate roles. Women writers created highly skilled and original works, such as the mother and daughter couple Bettina and Gisele von Arnim, whose novel *Gritta* (The Life of the Countess Gritta von Ratsatourhouse, c. 1843) was based on fairy tale motifs and themes, and had an intricate narrative structure with endless series of "drawers." Many German women tale-writers also corrected and strayed from male-dominated moralities and from silencing and punishing women (Blackwell 1997). And some of the tales written by German women demonstrated bold and original social thinking (Morris-Keitel 1997).

In France, mid- and late-eighteenth-century tales were freer toward sex and sexuality than their models, and took increasing liberties with tradition. This was, not surprisingly, more apparent in the works of male authors, less limited by the constraints of decency than women (see, for example, *Les Bijoux indiscrets* [1784] by Denis Diderot); but even some women went fairly far in questioning gender and societal norms, such as the iconoclastic Mademoiselle de Lubert (Duggan 1994).

In the 1970s and 1980s, feminist collections or rewritings aimed to depart from traditionalist and patriarchal models. Results are not always felicitous within a stated feminist goal. Seeking "strong, capable heroines"

Angela Carter. *Angela Carter has rewritten many of the best known tales to address feminist issues.* © **MIKE LAYE/CORBIS.**

in nineteenth-century printed collections, Ethel Johnston Phelps openly transformed tales, omitting or adding details, changing story endings, and imparting a strange racial twist by claiming a higher valorization of "strong, resourceful women valuable as marriage partners" in northern climes (Phelps 1981, pp. x–xii). The fairy tales of professional women writers have been more innovative in destabilizing masculinist norms. Margaret Atwood's "Bluebeard's Egg" and "Alien Territory" (Bacchilega 1997) and Angela Carter's substantial work have been influential and defining. Carter reinvented fairy tales of the international repertoire, with a strong feminist eroticism focused on female (hereto)sexual desire. She has translated, anthologized, and rewritten many of the best-known tales, such as "Beauty and the Beast" and "Little Red Riding Hood," revising fairy-tale mythology, thematizing conflicting images of women, and highlighting the violence that runs through these tales (Bacchilega 1997). Emma Donoghue's revisions are stylistically taught, far-reaching questionings of gender roles, normative institutions, and heterosexuality: Thus "Cinderella" ("The Tale of the Shoe") and "Beauty and the Beast" ("The Tale of the Rose") are transformed so that the heroine discovers love and intimacy with another woman.

MEANING AND INTERPRETATION AND THE FAIRY TALE

Fairy tales have been read psychoanalytically beginning with Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) himself. Motifs such as various enclosures (ovens, caskets), towers, and blood reflected familial relations. Geza Roheim (1891–1953) interpreted the tale of the "Good Girl and Bad Girl"

(Perrault's "Les Fées")—rewarded or punished by the fairies with oral production of flowers and jewels or vermin—as a dream, and its latent content as translating aggressive hostility toward the mother but projected onto the sister. The Freudian psychologist Bruno Bettelheim (1903–1990) famously advocated for fairy tales as the privileged story form available to children to structure their psyche and direct their life; his theories have been scathingly criticized by tale specialists and pretty much discredited (Zipes 1979). Jungian readings of tales are exemplified by the work of Erich Neumann (1905–1960), Hedwig von Beit (who published two major works on the symbolism of tales between 1952 and 1964), and Marie-Louise von Franz (1915–1998). Bridging the needs of the collective unconscious with the hero or heroine's effort to reconstitute a fully integrated self through a variety of functions enacted through the fairy or magic tale's details, such readings do not typically confer agency primarily on women. In one study devoted to women in the fairy tales, von Franz develops her theory of the anima, asking whether the image they project corresponds to the true status of women and their psychology, or to the anima of men, concluding that they are not mutually exclusive and that women influence the anima of men, and conversely; she also considers the impact of the tale-teller's gender on this reading (von Franz 1972, Simonsen 1981).

Historical studies have also addressed sex and gender in fairy tales. Yvan Loskoutoff linked their appearance in the late seventeenth century, and the artificial recreation of an "innocent" folk tradition through a falsely naïve and childlike style, with a precise historical moment: before a mystical Catholic reform movement led by a woman, Madame Guyon (1648–1717), and supported tacitly by François Fénelon (1651–1715), was actually condemned. This was a form of the *repuerascentia* advocated by Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1469–1536), a devotional cult of the infant Jesus demanding a spiritual metamorphosis that embraced all the phases of childhood (Loskoutoff 1988). In 1695 Madame Guyon was arrested for heresy, and the fact that tales like "The Patient Griselda" and "Donkey Skin" were found in her papers was apparently held against her (Loskoutoff 1988). Many tale writers at the time—including Perrault—would have felt the impact of this doctrine, but the vogue of mystical childishness was particularly strong among women of the court, who reproduced it in the carefully contrived style of fairy tales (Loskoutoff 1987). It has also been suggested that fairy tales, commencing with the Italian versions of the sixteenth century, were from the onset embroiled in pedagogical debates on the independence of children from mothers, who become bad-fairy types, in parallel with the masculine forms of authority such as State and Reason, and against whom childhood learned to seek freedom. Another avenue is to read the tales of

women writers, like Mademoiselle L'Héritier, in the light of Norbert Elias's work on court culture, and analyze their representation of the "euphemization of violence" and the extolling of ancient warrior virtues or obsolete chivalry models (Velay-Vallantin 1988, p. 66).

Catherine Velay-Vallantin thus provided a rich interdisciplinary interpretation of the confluence of "Little Red Riding Hood" with eighteenth-century southern French legends of the Beast of Gévaudan that brings together history, theology, sociology, folklore, and the study of fairy-tale illustrations. She has shown how this nexus of tales conjoined to instill fear in women, but also in the population at large, in the context of an antiheretical witch hunt, with a silenced practice of rape and murder against young women by their own kin in a culture where inheritance is a strong economic focus (Velay-Vallantin 1998).

Fairy and folk magic tales have been read as complicit in a lethal acculturation of girls and women into passivity, obedience, and silence, stressing a normative and repressive sex/gender ideology (Bottigheimer 1987, Marin 1996, Tatar 1992). However, other studies, especially of the literary corpus, have focused on their destabilizing potential, for instance by deconstructing masculinity (Seifert 1996). Ritual and symbolic material has been analyzed to reveal an imaginary of sex and power that confers active and transgressive roles on women (Sautman 1986, 1989). These viewpoints may not be as mutually exclusive as they first appear, since the corpus of fairy and magic tales is immense and extremely variable by writer, literary moment, region and sub-region, and tale type.

The representation of sex and gender in folk magic tales need not be traditionalist and misogynistic. The folk versions of tales that are easy targets of feminist criticism, such as "Cinderella" or "Little Red Riding Hood," can project more "woman-centered" messages. The folk variants of "Cinderella" are of the Ashputtle type in the English tradition, a tale that focuses on female bonding and the power of protective female ghosts, as opposed to hostile ones, and have generated feminist rewritings (Carter, Donoghue). While the Aarne-Thompson typology labels tale type 313A as "the Girl as Helper of the Hero on his Flight," the ethnologist Claude Gaignebet returns the focus to the girl when he dubs it "the demonic fiancée" or "devil's daughter." "Demonic" is not necessarily evil at all, but pertains to an imaginary of power and poetics of ritual that counter the pattern of "victim awaiting savior." In this type, women have magical and shamanistic functions: When the young man needs a tall object, he must kill the girl and boil her, and then put all the bones back, but he forgets one, and she is thus left with a defective foot or limb, a demonic mark. Cinderella also shows the demonic limping func-

tion, as she has only one shoe, with a foot that fits no humanly known size; this signals her as an Otherworldly being who leaves traces in the hearth, an identity confirmed by the glass slipper: The French *verre* (glass) is homonymous with *vert* (green), and thus she hails from the green mountain which is also the glass mountain, the Glastonbury of British fairy lore.

The nineteenth-century and twentieth-century French folk versions of "Little Red Riding Hood"—whose eleventh-century version stressed protection through religious ritual and color symbolism, not terror and punishment (Berlioz 1994)—depart both from Perrault's dire ending, and from Grimm's masculinist one with the manly hunters freeing the women from the beast's stomach—a version not in the German oral tradition at all, but derived from the French and found in Italian Tyrol (Verdier 1997). In the folk versions, the resourceful and brave little girl outwits the wolf. These tales are filled with gendered and erotic rituals, through the motifs of pins and needles, and the girl's cannibalistic repast, as well as scatological elements mobilized by the child to her advantage (Verdier 1997).

Thus, in the name of greater antiquity—the folk versions are recorded later, so they do not matter—many scholars have tended to privilege literary versions of tales that exist in both registers, or to glide over authentic folk origins as unimportant (for instance in the well-established treatment of the Grimm brothers' texts as oral tradition). They thus ignore or obliterate the unsettling, even disturbing, content of the folk versions. The latter prove unruly not merely with respect to female acculturation into the sex/gender order, but to the veiling and silencing of sexual matters. Scholarship on the literary tales of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has greatly illuminated the gender gaps and gender disobedience of these tales; the task remains to bridge the gap between the two bodies of tales and recognize the unique contribution of the folk tradition to non-normative readings of sex and gender.

SEE ALSO *Big Bad Wolf; Little Red Riding Hood.*

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FAMILY

The family is perhaps the only societal institution that is regarded widely as both natural and essential. The biological basis of kin ties and the reproductive capacities of women historically have conferred that status on the family. This emphasis on biology has led to reductionist and functionalist accounts of the family that transcend

cultural barriers. For example the sociologist Talcott Parsons (Parsons and Bates 1955), using a functionalist perspective, argued that the modern family has two main functions: to socialize children into a normative system of societal values and inculcate appropriate status expectations and to provide a stable emotional environment that will protect (male) workers from the psychological damage of the alienating occupational world. These functions are carried out by the wife and mother: She plays the affective, *expressive* role of nurturer and support, whereas the husband plays the *instrumental* role of earning the family's keep and maintaining discipline. In similar fashion, the Egyptian Islamist Seyid Qutb spoke of the family as "the nursery of the future," breeding "precious human products" (Choueiri 1990, pp. 127–128). According to Qutb, a man and a woman voluntarily enter into a relationship of marriage as two complementary partners, each discharging functions assigned by nature and biology. A woman fulfills her functions by being a wife and mother, and a man is the undisputed authority, the breadwinner, and the active member in public life (Haddad 1983).

THE ROLE OF SOCIALIZATION

Social scientists differ in their explanations of the biological, cultural, and social underpinnings of the family, but most agree that socialization plays a major role in the perpetuation of the sexual division of labor in the family and society. Socialization patterns ensure that girls and boys will be raised differently, with different expectations of their place in the family and the society. In this way attitudes and practices regarding gender and sex have shaped notions of the family. Similarly, the sexual division of labor in the family has reinforced attitudes toward and practices of gender and sex as well as state policies regarding women's roles.

THE MYTHIC GOLDEN AGE OF THE FAMILY

For some feminists the family is the site of women's oppression and gender inequality, whereas for some psychoanalysts it is the source of personality disorders or conditions such as the Oedipus and Electra complexes. Nevertheless, the family is regarded by many as a haven in a heartless world. Some have argued that in Europe and North America, this concept of the family emerged in the course of struggles against the market and the state.

Conservative commentators warn against the breakdown of the family and family values. In the former Soviet Union during the restructuring known as perestroika in the late 1980s, social problems were blamed on the *overemployment* of women and their *forced detachment* from the family under communism. The solution, in that view, was to reduce female labor-force attachment and increase female family attachment. In Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, a romanticization of the family, domesticity, and the private sphere, combined with an emphasis on women's maternal role, followed the end of communist rule.

According to the sociologist Rebecca Klatch (1994), for the conservative movement in the United States in the 1980s, the ideal society was one in which individuals were "integrated into a moral community, bound together by faith, by common moral values, and by obeying the dictates of the family and religion" (p. 369). In this ideal community, male and female roles are respected as essential and complementary components of God's plan but men are the spiritual leaders and decision makers in the family. Women's role is to support men through altruism and self-sacrifice. Similarly, a contemporary Muslim view sees the family as the fundamental unit of society and stresses the mother's role in the socialization of children, particularly in raising *committed Muslims* and transmitting cultural values. According to the Iranian Islamist thinker Murteza Mutahhari (1982), marriage and family life are central to social reproduction and are "a sublime manifestation of the Divine Will and Purpose." He argues that "mutual affection and sincerity, as well as humane compassion and tenderness," are highly desirable attributes in married couples and "are often in evidence in societies governed by Islamic moral and legal checks and balances. In the others, such as those in the Europe and North America, these qualities are seldom noticeable" (pp. 7, 31, 58).

The 1990s saw the formation of a coalition of conservative Muslim, Catholic, and Protestant governmental and nongovernmental organizations in defining and dealing with family values. That coalition first formed around what it saw as objectionable recommendations pertaining to women's sexual rights in connection with the United Nations (UN) International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), which took place in Cairo in 1994, and the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW), which was held in Beijing in 1995. The alliance regrouped in June 2001 at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on AIDS in New York to stop what it saw as the expansion of sexual and political protections and rights for gays being pushed by the European Union.

Lamentations about the current condition of the family imply that at an earlier period, the family was more stable and harmonious than it is in the early twenty-first century. However despite massive research historians have not located a *golden age of the family*, as Stephanie Coontz (1992) found in the case of the United States. John Caldwell (1982) notes that many writers have tended to romanticize the peasant family even though Russian peas-

ant women and girls worked 1.21 times as many hours as men and boys. Teodor Shanin (1987) points out that despite their heavy burden of labor (both housework and fieldwork) and their functional importance in the Russian peasant household, women were considered second-class members of the family and nearly always were under the authority of men.

The family is a powerful metaphor that is projected onto communities and even nations. In some accounts the ethnic group or the nation is a kind of family writ large. Notions of *ideal* family forms, typically accompanied by notions of the *ideal woman*, are found in an array of religious and nationalist writings and discourses across cultures. Here the ideal is the traditional patriarchal family unit, sometimes extended and sometimes nuclear, in which women are responsible for the biological reproduction and hence the continuity of the community (whether an ethnic group, a religious community, or an aspiring nation), and men are in charge of political, military, and economic matters. Women also are cast as the means by which the group's values are transmitted to the next generation and as symbols of the group's identity; this explains why women's dress and comportment are emphasized and often controlled. During times of transition, conflict, or crisis, nationalist ideologies and the state will stress women's reproductive responsibilities, exhort women to have more children, and/or ban contraception and abortion.

The importance attached to biological reproduction and group identity and the strength of attitudes toward male and female roles are the principal reasons for the continued opposition to nonheterosexual affective relationships and family forms in many parts of the contemporary world. This also explains why there is ambivalence and sometimes hostility toward female-headed households, especially when the female heads are unmarried and have children. The family ideology also is behind the continued control of the sexual behavior of women and girls, especially in more *patriarchal* settings. Many social scientists, including feminist scholars, have attributed gender inequalities and hierarchies in societies to the persistence of traditional family upbringing and the sexual division of labor in the household. Scholars of second-wave feminism wrote about the oppression of women within the family, whether as daughters, sisters, or wives, and called for equality in the family as well as in other societal institutions.

PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY AND THE FAMILY: RISE AND DECLINE

In *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Friedrich Engels (1972) wrote about the "world-historical defeat of the female sex" (Engels 1972, p. 68) in the wake of the agricultural revolution and the advent of civilization and class society. The historian Gerda Lerner (1986) opposed Engels's narrative by arguing that the subordination of women—the creation of patriarchy enforced by legal codes in the ancient Near East—enabled the development of private property and state power there and elsewhere.

The persistence of patriarchy is a matter of debate, and some feminist theorists argue that industrialized societies are also patriarchal. Sylvia Walby (1996) distinguishes between the *private patriarchy* of the premodern family and social order and the *public patriarchy* of the state and the labor market in industrial societies. In his work on South Korea, John Lie (1996) distinguished between agrarian patriarchy and patriarchal capitalism. Others have used the term *patriarchy* more strictly so that patriarchal society is cast as a precapitalist social formation that historically has existed in varying forms in Europe and Asia.

In the patrilocally extended household—commonly associated with the reproduction of the peasantry in agrarian societies—property, residence, and descent proceed through the male line. The senior man has authority over everyone else in the family, including younger men, and women are subject to control and subordination. Childbearing is the central female labor activity. Women's honor, along with, by extension, the honor of the family, depends in great measure on their virginity and good conduct. A study of "the values of Mediterranean society" described the importance of manliness, woman's sexual purity, and defense of family honor in Andalusia, Spain; in villages in Greece and Cyprus; and among the Kabyle in Algeria and the Bedouins of Egypt (Peristiany 1966).

As John Caldwell (2001) and Deniz Kandiyoti (1985) separately described it, the contemporary *belt of classic patriarchy* includes areas in North Africa, the Muslim Middle East (including Turkey and Iran), and southern and eastern Asia (Pakistan, Afghanistan, northern India, and rural China). In those places one finds practices such as adolescent marriage of girls, high fertility, a preference for sons, and abortion of female fetuses (largely restricted to India and China). In many areas the preoccupation with female virginity leads to *honor killings* when there has been real or perceived sexual misconduct by a female relative. Such killings of females who are considered to have transgressed the norms of proper sexual behavior are meant to cleanse the violation of the family's integrity and restore its respectability and honor.

STRATEGIES FOR REPRODUCTION AND EXPANSION OF THE FAMILY

Family strategies for reproduction and expansion are varied. One strategy is endogamy, the practice of marrying

within the lineage. In many cultures cousin marriage is used to keep property within the lineage and is associated with adolescent marriage, especially for girls. Jack Goody (1990) argues that endogamy mitigates the view of women as property, rejecting the classic Claude Lévi-Strauss's view of women as pawns who embody trans-action and exchange, a view adopted by Gayle Rubin (1975). Lévi-Strauss (1969) studied *primitive* groups, which were exogamous, whereas Arab-Islamic tribes are endogamous. Nonetheless, many scholars continue to view endogamy as being related to patrilineality, which privileges men in terms of property ownership and control over family resources. In such settings women are considered a form of property.

In a study of northern Africa, Germaine Tillion (1983) identified endogamy as setting the stage for the oppression of women in patrilineal society long before the rise of Islam. Endogamy, she argued, kept property (land and animals) within the lineage and protected the economic and political interests of men. Endogamy increases the tendency to maintain property within families by controlling women in tightly interrelated lineages.

Endogamous and exogenous marriages alike entail some form of bride price or bride wealth. Often this transaction is meant to compensate the father, extended family, or tribe for the loss of a girl's labor power. Sometimes it is the price of the girl's deflowering; at other times it signifies the respectability and value of the girl or that of her family. It can take the form of cattle, jewelry, or money. Studies on Afghanistan find that the bride price (*walwar* in Pashto) signifies an interfamilial exchange.

Nancy Tapper (1984) has described the mobility and migration patterns that revolved around the bride price in Afghanistan in the 1970s. Men from one region would travel to another area to find inexpensive wives, and fathers would travel in search of a higher price for their daughters. In the Muslim communities of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) the dower (*mahr*) goes from groom to bride. In India it goes from the bride's family to the groom's family (dowry). In either case it can be an onerous financial burden. More important, dowry and dower are remnants of a patriarchal inegalitarian past in which parents *sell* their daughters. In all cases inheritance practices favor male kin, and those practices often are codified in law.

Another strategy of family (or kinship) reproduction and expansion is polygyny. The practice of multiple wives for a man is rooted in tribal imperatives and the agrarian economy, which requires the labor power of women and children. In the early twenty-first century polygynous households are most prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa, which remains largely rural and agrarian. Although Muslims claim that their religion permits men to marry up to four wives, urbanization and educational attainment have led to a decline in the practice and an expansion of nuclear families among Muslim communities in urban settings. Whereas family structure in the MENA region once was described as extended, patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, endogamous, and occasionally polygynous, in urbanized countries in that region polygny has become a statistically insignificant family form. Monogamy is the norm, and the recent reform of family law in Morocco has made it extremely difficult for a man to obtain a second wife; however, only Turkey and Tunisia have banned polygyny outright.

CHANGES IN HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES

Some of the most extensive studies on changes in household or family types and the impact of economic changes on women's status have been undertaken in Turkey. In the 1970s Kandiyoti delineated six socioeconomic categories of women: nomadic, traditional rural, changing rural, small town, newly urbanized squatter (*gecekondu*), and urban middle-class professionals and housewives (Kandiyoti 1985). Family form and household composition varied across those groups, as did the sexual division of labor. An interesting discovery was that the patrilocal extended household was being undermined by market incorporation, migration, and poverty, although patriarchal attitudes and practices remained strongest in the countryside. The patrilineal extended household is similarly characteristic of rural areas elsewhere in MENA but is less typical in large metropolitan areas, where neolocal residence is assumed upon marriage and the nuclear family form prevails.

Nuclear families, however, can continue to be patriarchal, partly as a result of the provisions of family law. The gender hierarchies and inequalities of the law may allow parents to beat their children and husbands to beat their wives. Brothers inherit more than sisters do, and a deceased man's wealth may be inherited by his male kin as well as by his widow or widows and children. Divorce may be obtained easily by a man but is very difficult for a woman, and after divorce, the children remain with their father or his kin. The husband is entitled to exercise his marital authority by restraining his wife's movements and preventing her from showing herself in public. This is the case because Arab-Islamic culture privileges patrilineal bonds and enjoins men to take responsibility for the support of their wives and children. The wife's main obligations are to maintain a home, care for her children, and obey her husband. Valentine M. Moghadam (2003) has referred to this as the "patriarchal gender contract." In the MENA region the patriarchal contract has been codified by the state in the form of Muslim family

law or personal status codes, which usually are based on an interpretation by one of the Islamic schools of jurisprudence.

Studies of patriarchal family forms and kinship ties have been conducted by anthropologists, sociologists, and historians, including feminist scholars. The social anthropologist Jack Goody (1990) drew attention to two major kinship systems: African and Eurasian. The sociologist William Goode (1963) argued that the nuclear family form in the Europe and North America would be replicated in other parts of the world because it was best suited to the requirements of industrialization. More recently, Göran Therborn (2004) surveyed family systems across time and place and identified five *geocultural* patterns, each of which has been shaped largely by its predominant religion: European (including New World and Pacific settlements): East Asia, sub-Saharan African, West Asia/North Africa, and South Asia. Two additional *interstitial* family forms are religiously hybrid: the southeastern Asian and the Creole American. All traditional family systems, Therborn argues, include three *regimes*: patriarchy, marriage, and fertility. Echoing the work of other scholars, he argues that whereas at the turn of the twentieth-century patriarchy in the classic sense of male domination was a universal pattern, by the twenty-first century patriarchy had experienced a serious decline.

Many sociologists have attributed this decline to the effects of industrialization, urbanization, and educational attainment, along with the social changes caused by the youth rebellions of the 1960s and 1970s and second-wave feminism. Therborn also stresses the effects of wars and revolutions and especially the ideologies and political systems of communism and socialism, which transformed the family in Russia and China. He agrees with other scholars that the patriarchal holdouts are Muslim and Hindu communities in the Middle East, North Africa, and southern Asia. In Euro-American postpatriarchal societies social movements and equal rights have led to significant changes in family systems, although women remain unequal in terms of political and economic power.

The other two family regimes of marriage and fertility also have undergone change. Divorce, cohabitation, and extramarital birth are very common, and *civil unions* have been increasing in European and North American societies. In the United States 70 percent of women age twenty to twenty-four were married in 1960, but by 2000, that proportion had dropped to 23 percent. In Tunisia the average age at first marriage has risen dramatically, reaching twenty-eight years for women in 2005. However, Therborn points out that heterosexual marriage, along with monogamy, remains universal, the principal way of regulating sexual behavior and sexual bonding. In regard to fertility Therborn cites the major demographic literature to show how birth rates have been falling throughout the world and across the family systems, with some variations. Such a demographic transition, in which previously high-fertility countries such as Iran have seen major decreases in family size, is the result of the usual sociological and economic explanations of urbanization, educational attainment, and the increasing cost of caring for children, along with modern ideologies of socialism, secularism, and feminism that have promoted family planning or women's control over their own bodies.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION, THE FAMILY, AND SEXUALITY

The demographic transition involves a change from the high-mortality and high-fertility characteristic of preindustrial societies to a pattern of low mortality and low fertility. John Caldwell (1982) argued that in Western Europe, the economic and demographic transitions coevolved: The transition from the traditional peasant (family-based) economy to the capitalist economy entailed changes in decisions about and the need for reproduction. There was less rationality for having large families because the cost of each additional child increased. In England and France the rate of population growth increased up until 1780 and then slowed after 1820 and 1879 in France and England, respectively. Although lower fertility rates came about in European and North American societies over the course of industrialization and urbanization, another important source of instability in the family-based system of production and reproduction, according to Caldwell, was "the egalitarian strain in the modern European ideology, powerfully augmented by the spread of education" (Caldwell 1982, p. 176). Marriage patterns also changed in the course of the demographic transition in Western Europe.

In the 1960s modernization theorists predicted that fertility and household patterns in European and North American societies would be adopted in developing countries that wanted to enhance their social and economic development. The World Fertility Survey (WFS) conducted in forty-one countries between 1977 and 1982 (World Fertility Survey 1984) found that women with higher education living in urban settings tended to have fewer children. The WFS also found that high fertility persisted in a number of regions, notably the Middle East, North Africa, southern Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. As late as 1988 Algeria reported 5.4 births per woman, and the Islamic Republic of Iran reported 5.6 births per woman. The 1990s, however, saw declines in the region as a whole and a dramatic decline in Iran.

Demographers who have studied global fertility decline since the 1960s offer varied explanations for the fertility transition: mortality reduction; reduced economic

contributions from children; the opportunity cost of childbearing, especially for mothers; family transformation; vanishing cultural props for childbearing; improved access to fertility regulation; marriage delay; and the diffusion of certain ideas and practices. Caldwell (2001) cites the role of ideologies, attitudes, and the mechanisms of fertility control but points out that inadequate socioeconomic change may explain why some countries or some social groups within countries have been excluded from the global fertility decline. Karen Oppenheim Mason (2001) adds gender to the equation, arguing that the status of women and the family determines some of the explanations described above. The status of women is thus both an independent variable and a dependent variable in the demographic transition.

Socioeconomic development, state, gender, and class certainly play roles in fertility. The patriarchal family and the agrarian economy both favor high fertility. In protoindustrial societies the merchants (the traditional elite) organize their families much as farmers do and feel few, if any, ill effects from high fertility. By contrast, the fully developed labor market mode of production offers no rewards for high fertility. There is evidence that the labor status of the wife, especially if she works in the modern sector of the economy (the nonagricultural cash economy), is an important determinant of marital fertility. State policies may encourage or penalize large families. Women's lower status means restricted access to education and employment and hence higher fertility. Because women from elite families generally have the highest degree of access to education and employment, fertility also varies by class. Higher levels of education tend to result in more knowledge and use of contraceptives, although the availability of family planning programs is also an important variable. Salaried middle-class women have the fewest children.

These analyses help explain the demographic transition in MENA and its implications for the status of women, gender relations, and the family. As in other developing regions in the twentieth century, the demographic transition occurred more rapidly in MENA than it occurred in Europe, though it occurred later than in Latin America and southeastern Asia. The Demographic and Health Surveys statistics from the early 1990s in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey, and Yemen, along with many other developing countries, found that rural versus urban residence, education, and socioeconomic status determined the number of children as well as the health of the mother and child. In general, the surveys found lowering fertility rates and a rising age of marriage in the MENA countries surveyed (survey data are available at the Demographic and Health Surveys web site).

On average, fertility in MENA countries declined from seven children per woman in around 1960 to 3.6 children in 2001. As Farzaneh Roudi (2001) has shown,

only Yemen has been relatively unchanged, and the average number of births per woman there is close to eight. In Iran, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Turkey, the combined effects of socioeconomic development, women's educational attainment, and state-sponsored family planning programs have produced the lowest fertility rates in the region. Indeed, the average of about 2.5 children per woman in these countries is even lower than the fertility rate in many Latin-American countries.

Thus, urbanization, industrialization, proletarianization, and mass schooling, which were so important in the demographic transition and the decline of classic patriarchy in the Europe and North America are present in the MENA region and have altered the social structure and gender relations, including the family system. Developmentalist, welfarist, and revolutionary states also have helped bring about societal changes, including legal reforms that bolster women's position in the family. Those reforms are an important basis for the ability of women to act autonomously. However, perhaps most important has been the expansion of schooling for girls. As Fatima Mernissi (1987, p. xxv) has stated: "Access to education seems to have an immediate, tremendous impact on women's perception of themselves, their reproductive and sex roles, and their social mobility expectations." These social changes have led to differentiation among the female population and an expansion of the range of options available to women, including the right to make informed choices about marriage and childbearing. These trends are relevant to a growing proportion of the urban female population, and they have been visible enough to result in opposition by conservative forces. Those forces see the relative rise in the position of women as having the potential to undermine the traditional patriarchal family.

Caldwell (2001) has argued that mass schooling probably has had a greater impact on the family in developing countries than it had in Europe and North America. First, mass schooling came in many countries at an earlier stage of economic and occupational structure development than it did in Europe and North America. Second, schooling frequently means westernization, including European and North American concepts of family and gender. According to Caldwell, "Schools destroy the corporate identity of the family, especially for those members previously most submissive and most wholly contained by the family: children and women" (2001, p. 322). Mernissi similarly emphasized the role of state-sponsored education in creating two generations of independent women. These are the women, Moghadam (2003) notes, who are forming feminist organizations that seek further social changes, including the modernization of family law and the criminalization of honor crimes and domestic violence.

Algeria and Iran, two large MENA countries, are representative of the profound family changes that are occurring in that region. Whereas a few decades ago the majority of women married before age twenty, only 10 percent of that age group in Algeria and 18 percent in Iran were married by the early twenty-first century. This is despite the fact that the age of marriage was lowered to puberty after the Iranian revolution and is age fifteen. The surge in unmarried young people and the fear of illicit sex led some Islamist leaders, such as then-president Hashemi Rafsanjani, to encourage *temporary marriage* (*muta'a* in Arabic, *sigheh* in Persian) and an Islamic contractual arrangement for sexual relations. Temporary marriage is, however, highly unpopular in Iran's middle-class society, which associates it with legalized prostitution.

Elsewhere more young people are remaining unmarried. In Turkey 14 percent, in Morocco 13 percent, and in Tunisia 3 percent of young women age fifteen to nineteen were married in the 1990s. Mernissi has argued that the idea of a young unmarried woman is completely novel in the Muslim world, for the concept of patriarchal honor is built around the idea of virginity, which reduces a woman's role to its sexual dimension: reproduction within an early marriage. The concept of a menstruating and unmarried woman is so alien to the Muslim family system, Mernissi adds, that it is either unimaginable or necessarily is linked with *fitna*, or moral and social disorder. The unimaginable has become a reality. Young men faced with job insecurity or lacking a diploma to guarantee access to desired jobs postpone marriage. Women, faced with the pragmatic necessity to count on themselves instead of relying on a rich husband, further their formal education. Rates of higher education have increased, and in a number of MENA countries, women's enrollments exceed those of men.

REACTIONS TO RECENT CHANGES IN THE FAMILY

There is a consensus that the dramatic increase in education among North American women in the postwar era was a major cause of the women's movement. The baby boomers went to college in massive and unprecedented numbers. College education increased women's labor-force participation; at the same time there was an expansion of labor participation by married women. A similar pattern can be discerned in MENA countries. Activist women, married and unmarried, emerge from the ranks of the educated and employed. This rapid social change—the impact of industrialization, urbanization, and education on marriage, the family, and gender roles—has caused a conservative backlash and a rise in religious fundamentalist movements as well as lamentations about eroding family values.

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FAMILY, ALTERNATIVE

The concept of the alternative family encompasses those models of family life that differ from the so-called traditional, or nuclear, family—that is, a family comprised of a husband and wife and their children. Two family types—women-headed families and lesbian/gay families—are often presented as clear and present threats to a traditional model of the family and thus to the very fabric of the United States.

Prior to the 1960s researchers noted that most Americans shared a common view of the traditional family:

> Family should consist of a husband and wife living together with their children. The father should be the head of the family, earn the family's income, and give his name to his wife and children. The mother's main tasks were to sup-

port and facilitate her husband's career, guide her children's development, look after the home, and set a moral tone for the family. Marriage was an enduring obligation for better or worse. The husband and wife jointly coped with stresses. Sexual activity was to be kept within the marriage, especially for women. As parents, they had an overriding responsibility for the well-being of their children during the early years until their children entered school; they were almost solely responsible. Even later, it was the parents who had the primary duty of guiding their children's education and discipline.

(Hamburg 1993, p. 60)

Similarly, according to James S. Coleman (1988), families are the financial, human, and social capital of children, and these facets determine and influence a child's quality of life.

IMAGES OF THE FAMILY

Some have argued that three distinct images of the family have emerged (Baca Zinn and Eitzen 2005). The first is the image of the family as a safe "haven in a heartless world" (Lasch 1977, p. 8), providing protection in "a womblike" environment (Keniston 1977, p. 11). The second image presents the family as a location of personal fulfillment (Demos 1979). The third image—and definitely not as flattering as the previous two—presents the family as a location of encumbrance (Millman 1991). This image suggests that because of responsibilities to a variety of family members, the family inhibits individual development, expression, and joy.

Not only is the family sometimes viewed as an encumbrance, it is also frequently viewed as a source of society's decline.

> Each day, the media serve up new stories and statistics documenting that marriage is going the way of the horse and buggy, that we are becoming a nation without fathers and that, as a result, children are suffering and society is falling apart. The breakdown of the family is taken for granted as a simple social fact. The only question is who or what is to blame and how can we restore the family to the way we imagine it used to be.

(Mason, Skolnick, and Sugarman 2003, p. 1)

This question received peak airtime in the public discourse in the early 1990s when then Vice President Dan Quayle challenged television character Murphy Brown for a having a baby without a husband. He also went on to blame the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion on, among other things, family decline. According to Maxine Baca Zinn and D. Stanley Eitzen, Quayle and his intellectual contemporaries have it backward. It is not changing

family forms that cause structural decline and disarray. Instead, the authors state:

> Divorce and single parenthood are the consequences of social and economic dislocations rather than the cause. … Disappearing jobs, declining earnings, and low-wage work have far more detrimental effects on families than the demise of family values. … The simple solution that we return to the nuclear family at all costs allows the public and the government to escape social responsibilities, such as intervening in the ghettos, building new houses and schools, and creating million of jobs. … This view shifts the focus from the larger society to individual family members, who must then devise their own solutions for the dilemmas of our times.

(2005, p. 21)

SINGLE-PARENT HOUSEHOLDS

Diana Pearce (1978) coined the term *feminization of poverty*, which calls attention to the large number of single women and their children who live in poverty. Pearce concluded that labor market discrimination contributes to the feminization of poverty. Single women care for more children than do single men, and single women receive less income when they enter the labor force than do single men. Meanwhile, father-only households, in comparison with mother-only households, are less likely to be poor, more likely to be in the labor force, and are generally smaller with older children (Norton and Miller 1992).

These assertions are borne out in national data. For example, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (2002, 2003), the number of families with children increased by more than seven million between 1970 and 2002. During this same period, the portion of households that were so-called total family households—that is, married-couple families with children—declined from 87 percent to 72 percent. Single-mother families increased from six million in 1980 to ten million (26%) in 2002. The number of single-father families increased from 690,000 to 2.2 million (6%) during the same period.

Carolyn Smith and Marvin D. Krohn (1995) contend that social class, and by extension the larger economy, influence household organization in cultural groups that are more economically disadvantaged. They found that living in a single-parent home has less influence on family processes than living in a situation of economic hardship. Other studies indicate that focusing on the effects of parental configuration and educational achievement without adequately considering socioeconomic status is misleading (Battle, Alderman-Swain, and Tyner 2005).

LESBIAN/GAY FAMILIES

Misleading research can also be found in the debate around lesbian/gay families, and exact statistics about such families are hard to generate. The research of Alfred C. Kinsey and colleagues (1948, 1953) suggested that 10 percent of adults in the United States are lesbian or gay. A more recent nationally representative sex survey, however, places that number around 4 percent, depending on how sexual orientation is defined and/or measured (Michael et al. 1994.) Regardless of the number, most scholars agree that generating exact numbers for lesbian/gay individuals or families is problematic because, among other reasons, sexual orientation is fluid throughout the life course, cultural definitions of lesbian and gay change over time, and there is still so much stigma around being lesbian or gay that many homosexual people choose not to disclose their orientation.

Some researchers have begun to examine differences between lesbian and gay male parents. For example, lesbian mothers tend to live in committed relationships far more often than gay men do and are more monogamous sexually (Fowlkes 1994). Similar to their straight peers, lesbian women are socialized to care for kin, which largely explains the formation of larger numbers of lesbian than of gay male families.

These differences notwithstanding, much research exists highlighting similarities between lesbian/gay parents and their heterosexual counterparts (Hotvedt 1982). More recently, however, researchers have begun to highlight some differences between these two family forms. For example, compared with straight couples, same-sex couples handle conflicts better (Gottman and Levenson 1999), have higher levels of cohesion (Zacks, Green, and Marrow 1988), tend to be more egalitarian in the division of housework labor (Kurdek 1993), and engage more equally in other key decision-making processes within their relationship (Allen and Demo 1995).

ALTERNATIVE FAMILIES AND GENDER

Women-headed families and lesbian/gay families challenge notions of patriarchy and gender hierarchy in very powerful ways. Their successes force societies in Europe and North America to seriously examine their assumptions about male dominance and their romance with traditional family forms.

Sociologists who study families are in broad agreement that gender is a social construction that influences the differing roles males and females play in families (Richardson 1977, Lorber 1994). More specifically, gender roles are the set of attitudes, behaviors, and activities that are socially and culturally defined as appropriate for each sex (masculinity and femininity) and learned through the socialization process (Lips 2005). In European and North American societies, for example, males are largely expected to demonstrate aggressiveness

Lesbian Family. *A lesbian couple with their daughter.* © MARKUS MOELLENBERG/ZEFA/CORBIS.

and stoicism whereas females are expected to be submissive and emotional.

The process of socialization into gender roles occurs from birth—though some researchers argue that this can commence as soon as the sex of the fetus is known. Gender is embedded in the images, ideas, language, and practices of a society. Parents are encouraged to provide gender-specific toys that not only reinforce gender-based identities but also can influence career choices (Thorne 1993). Toys given to boys such as computer games and tools allow for invention and manipulation—integral to scientific careers—whereas dolls and homemaking toys given to girls encourage imitation and nurturing. When children are able to help with household chores, they are often assigned differing tasks. Maintenance chores (such as shoveling snow) are given to boys, whereas domestic chores (washing clothes) are given to girls.

Research in school settings suggests that teachers can perpetuate gender bias. Teachers provide important messages about gender through both the formal content of classroom assignments and through interactions with students. For instance, Qing Li (1999) found that teachers often have different gender expectations around math competencies. They stereotype males as competent in math, which is reflected in the tendency to overrate their abilities at the expense of female classmates. Other researchers have found that boys receive more attention than do girls because they call out in class, demand help, and sometimes engage in disruptive behavior (Sadker and Sadker 1994). Globally, all societies use gender to assign tasks along gender lines—whether those tasks be housework or construction—while providing differential rewards to those who perform these tasks. To be sure, gender differences are strongly embedded in the structure of societies and shape gender-based hierarchies of power, wealth, and status where men are dominant over women (Risman 1998). In other words, because society depends on a predictable division of labor, gender becomes a major social institution that facilitates the organization of social life along unequally ranked gender roles. Sociologist Judith Lorber (1994) thus encapsulates the significance of gender: "Gender is a human invention, like language, kinship, religion, and technology; like them, gender organizes human social life in culturally patterned ways. Gender organizes social relations in everyday life as well as in the major social structures, such as social class and the hierarchies of bureaucratic organization" (p. 6).

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SEX AND GENDER

Gendering is an integral part of the daily experiences of both men and women. The gendering process includes societal ideas regarding masculine and feminine attributes that are formally legitimated by religion, law, and society. Informally, gender is legitimated through the sanctioning of behaviors that are viewed as not appropriate by peers (Lorber 1994). The differences between male and female gender roles are established because of the power, status, and division of labor in society. For example, within the context of male dominance, men continue to be ranked above women, and the activities performed by women are strongly correlated with less power, prestige, and economic rewards, and are viewed as less significant than those of their male counterparts (Sadker and Sadker 1994, Desmarais and Curtis 1999). Assumptions about appropriate gender roles serve to perpetuate unequal opportunities in employment, education, and contracting. As a result, when women attempt to participate in gender-inappropriate endeavors—whether in the workplace, at home, or in leisure activities—they are often targets of various forms of prejudice and discrimination.

Some scholars who study gender have maintained that gender should be analyzed as a primary basis of social stratification (Lorber 1994). Critics of this position, however, maintain that gender must be also examined in relation to both race and class because women of color experience the intersection of gender and race—often in concert with class (Collins 1990). For example, within postindustrial societies, jobs are disproportionately segregated by gender, race/ethnicity, and class, whereby women of color are consigned to the lower classes, often providing *care work* to middle- and upper-class families (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). These gendered positions are invariably lower paying, are less prestigious, and possess little opportunity for advancement. Thus, notions of gender and race serve to unevenly relegate women of color to jobs that reflect their overall subordination in society (Higginbotham 1994).

Similar to single parents, gay and lesbian parents are becoming increasingly common. The birthrate of unmarried women increased 60 percent in the 1990s, with about one-third of unmarried women between the age of 15 and 44 becoming mothers (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2002). The increase is due to lesbian and straight women's increased ability to support themselves in the labor market, their desire to parent, and greater social acceptance of their roles as parents.

SOCIETAL IMPACT OF ALTERNATIVE FAMILIES

Gay male and lesbian families as well as heterosexual female-headed families render unstable European and North American cultural convictions about the patriarchal, heterosexual, nuclear family. By depicting the family as a unitary object, this notion implies that everyone has identical kinship relations while sharing a universally agreed-upon definition of family (Weston 1991). These *deviant* family types challenge presuppositions regarding the ideal family type and are often stereotyped by some media, politicians, and religious figures as deleterious for children (Stacey and Biblarz 2001). Almost invariably, children living with heterosexual single mothers are viewed as potential social problems—more likely to academically underperform, drop out of school, and become teen parents (McLanahan and Booth 1991). Similarly, because of homophobia, children of lesbian and gay male parents are feared to be at risk of psychological maladjustment, of molestation by parents or partners, or of becoming homosexual (Ross 1994). Therefore, gay male and lesbian parents are more likely to lose custody to heterosexual partners (Robson 1992). Moreover, in most states, only the biological parent has any legal right to the child after the breakup, and as such, the other lesbian or gay male parent may not even have visitation rights (Patterson and Chan 1997).

Both family types—women-headed and lesbian/gay families—challenge the traditional normative assumption that the patriarchal, heterosexual nuclear family is best equipped to successfully raise children. Because neither type conforms to the societal norm, they are both viewed as deviant or pathological. In industrialized societies, the traditional nuclear model of family implies a patriarchal heteronormativity that valorizes the role of the dominant male while simultaneously questioning the capacity of women to head the family. Women-headed families and lesbian/gay families not only challenge dominant notions of family by demonstrating the viability of differing household and sexual arrangements; they also have shown that traditional definitions are too restrictive and that no one universal family form exists (Gittins 2007). In short, fluid and dynamic family structures reflect changing historical periods, that suggest an evolving family structure is inevitable and adaptive.

SEE ALSO *Childcare; Domestic Partnership; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Marriage.*

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Juan Battle

FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT

Employment opportunities for women in the United States have been limited by the assumption that women are mothers first and workers second or that working and mothering are incompatible. Differences in the treatment of men and women have been justified on the basis that women are or could become mothers. Women's prominence in the private, domestic sphere created a parallel stereotype in which men were thought not to have domestic responsibilities. Employers denied or discouraged men from taking leaves from work to care for family members, especially children. In 1993 Congress passed the Family and Medical Leave Act to allow both men and women to take leaves from work to provide family care.

THE PROVISIONS OF THE ACT

The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 (FMLA) requires public and private employers to grant eligible employees up to twelve weeks of unpaid leave from work for a serious health condition, for the birth or adoption of a new child, or to care for a family member with a serious health condition. Although an employer can require an employee to exhaust any accrued paid leave as part of its twelve-week obligation, the important provision of the statute is the right of the employee to return to the same position or a similar position with equivalent pay, benefits, and working conditions after completing the leave. Employees may enforce the statute in federal or state courts by seeking money damages or an injunction to require compliance.

The FMLA applies to employees who have worked for an employer for at least a year and for more than 1,250 hours within the last year. Employees in high-ranking or sensitive positions are ineligible for FMLA leave; state elected officials, their staff, and appointed policy makers are excluded expressly from coverage.

THE PURPOSE AND APPLICATION OF THE ACT

The stated purpose of the FMLA is to protect the right to be free from gender-based discrimination in the workplace. Congress found that primary responsibility for family caretaking often falls on women and that such responsibility affects the working lives of women more than the working lives of men. To minimize the potential for sex-based employment discrimination, Congress attempted to ensure that family leave would be available on a gender-neutral basis. By creating an across-the-board rule and setting minimum standards for leaves, Congress tried to ensure that family leave would not be stigmatized as a drain caused only by female employees. The statute challenges the stereotype that only women are responsible for family care.

The FMLA applies to men and women alike, although nearly 60 percent of those who take leaves are women. It also applies to the married and the unmarried in terms of leave for the birth or adoption of a child. The statute also allows employees to take a leave to care for a child, spouse, or parent. The term *spouse* does not include domestic partners; the term *parent* does not include parents-in-law. The term *child* is more inclusive in that it includes not only biological and adopted children but also stepchildren and children for whom the employee has day-to-day responsibilities to provide care and financial support.

The FMLA does not address fully the problems facing single parents—not because they are ineligible but because there is often no one to share the work and family responsibilities. It also does not address the problems facing employees who cannot afford to take unpaid leave. Private employers with fewer than fifty employees are excluded from the FMLA; this means that a significant part of the workforce is not covered by the statute.

Workers' illnesses have dominated the use of FMLA leaves. This transformation of the FMLA to an extension of sick leave is the source of most employer criticism of the statute. Moreover, most leaves under the FMLA are short: Half of the longest leaves are for ten days or less.

As a policy to minimize the potential for gender-based employment discrimination, the statute gives eligible employees additional choices in dealing with family responsibilities. As a policy to aid in the balance of the demands of the workplace with the needs of families, the statute has had a minimal impact. Many leaves are for an employee's own illness. Leaves to care for children, spouses, and parents focus on single extraordinary events such as birth, adoption, and a serious health condition despite the fact that most conflicts between family and work involve much more ordinary events.

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FAMILY PLANNING

Family planning is a term that was created in the mid-twentieth century to refer to the ability to control reproduction through access to contraception, abortion, sterilization, and information and education. Reproductive control allows a woman to determine when and whether she will have children. A woman's ability to control the birth and spacing of her children has a direct impact on her educational, economic, and social opportunities, and a woman's enjoyment of heterosexual activity can be affected by the fear of becoming pregnant because she lacks information about and access to contraception and abortion.

HISTORY OF FAMILY PLANNING

Women have found ways to control their reproduction since the earliest days of recorded history. However, those methods were not always safe or effective. With industrialization, urbanization, and the advent of new reproductive technologies, there was a shift away from women's ability as individuals to control their reproductive lives. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the regulation of contraception and abortion began in earnest in the United States. In 1873 Congress passed the Act of the Suppression of Trade In, and Circulation Of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use (Comstock Law), which was named for the U.S. postal agent Anthony Comstock (1844–1915), who lobbied for the bill's passage. The law criminalized, among other things, the distribution through the U.S. Mail of information and materials related to contraception and abortion. By 1900 every state had criminalized abortion in most circumstances.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, social activists such as Margaret Sanger (1879–1966) and some members of the medical profession initiated a campaign for legalized contraception. By the mid-1930s contraception was more widely available in the United States, whereas abortion remained illegal until the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Roe* v. *Wade* in 1973. Sanger's organization, the American Birth Control League (formed in 1921), joined with other advocacy groups to become the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942.

Since their decriminalization the availability and acceptance of contraception, abortion, and information about sexuality and reproduction (sex education) have fluctuated with the influence of political and religious and/or moral leaders, the attitude of the medical profession, and advances in and the availability of technologies. One perspective on the role of family planning is that it provides information and technology to women so that they can control the number of children they will have (if any) and when they will have them. However, this ideal often is not met in reality. Women may have to contend with limitations on their reproductive rights on a micro level. They may be forced by a heterosexual spouse or other family members to prevent births (sterilization, contraception, abortion) or to give birth to a large number of offspring. With an unequal power differential in many families and marriages, women may be forced to create a family on the basis of the needs and desires of others.

On the macro level nations and international non-governmental agencies are actively involved in regulating the availability of contraception, abortion, and sex education in countries around the world. These macro-level decisions often are based on economics, racism, military strategy, or the opinions of religious leaders. Typically, the nations with the largest financial input into international organizations, such as the United States, have the greatest voice in whether such groups advocate pronatalist or antinatalist policies.

ANTINATALISM AND PRONATALISM

Antinatalism is the discouragement of population growth (limiting childbirth) through policy and law. It often appears in nations where limited resources or geographic space requires limitations on population growth. Often antinatalism comes in the form of forced utilization of contraception, sterilization, and legalized abortion. Coercion to limit childbirth may take the form of legal acts or economic incentives. In China, for example, a one-child policy was introduced in the 1970s in response to fears of overpopulation in relation to that nation's limited resources. Although a couple could have more than one child, additional offspring meant an increased economic burden for a family through levies and fines. In China antinatalism combined with a cultural preference for male offspring led to a high rate of selective abortion and female infanticide.

Pronatalism refers to laws and policies that encourage population growth. It often becomes the policy in nations that have experienced a significant population

decline (for example, after a war or a natural disaster) or when a government attempts to expand the labor force. Criminalization of contraception and abortion and limited access to sterilization are indicators of a pronatalist policy. Economic incentives such as tax breaks and monetary awards may be utilized to encourage marriage and large families. For example, after World War II, with the deaths of millions of its citizens in combat and on the home front, the government of the Soviet Union encouraged women to have large families, giving them medals and rewarding them monetarily for compliance. In a more recent example, after the war in the former Yugoslavia in the mid-1990s, Serbian women were encouraged, in a campaign steeped in nationalism, to have children to replace the soldiers lost in war.

Not all nations have a specific, overtly stated policy on population growth. However within nations different economic classes or ethnic and/or racial groups may be encouraged to or discouraged from reproducing in large numbers through specific, targeted laws or policies.

In each of these scenarios the concept of reproductive choice or reproductive justice is circumvented to some degree by national law and policy. Reproductive decisions are made by someone other than the woman who is or may become pregnant.

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FANNY HILL

Published in two volumes in 1748 and 1749 while its author, John Cleland (1709–1789), was in debtor's prison, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*—commonly known simply as *Fanny Hill*—is widely considered one of the first and most famous erotic novels in English. Roundly condemned in public and denounced by the Church of England, it was avidly consumed in private and led a long and often surreptitious afterlife in the literary underground, surviving primarily in editions published by small presses trafficking in erotica. In the spring of 1963, however, the U.S. publisher G. P. Putnam's Sons released the first modern commercial edition of *Memoirs* and was immediately prosecuted on charges of obscenity. After a series of protracted trials, the publisher was cleared in March 1966 in a landmark U.S. Supreme Court case—*"Memoirs" v. Massachusetts*—wherein it was determined that the novel appealed to prurient interest and was patently offensive but retained some "redeeming social value." *Memoirs* continued to be banned in Cleland's native England until the 1970s.

Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure chronicles the sexual education of Fanny Hill, a country-bred orphan of unflagging spirit who is absorbed into the sex trade immediately upon her arrival in London at the age of fifteen. Taken in by a kindly older woman named Mrs. Brown, Fanny unsuspectingly finds herself living in a brothel and is hastily initiated into an erotic life by a fellow prostitute, whose caresses awaken new ecstatic feelings in the heroine: "I was transported, confused, and out of myself . . . my heated and alarmed sense were in a tumult that robb'd me of all liberty of thought." Eager to pursue these novel sensations, Fanny willfully engages in a succession of sexual encounters that read like a compendium of early modern erotic practices (voyeurism, masturbation, lesbianism, group sex, hair and glove fetishes, sadomasochism, etc.), the novel unfolding like a pornographic bildungsroman. In the hermetic environment of Cleland's brothel, however, Fanny is hardly being instructed in the ways of the world, but rather in the connoisseurship of sexual pleasure. The narrative ends with Fanny back in the arms of her first and most idealized male lover, Charles, and improbably concludes by promoting "the delicate charms of VIRTUE" and the rewards of marriage. That Fanny designates this rather belated admonition a "tail-piece of morality" suggests the winking nature of Cleland's narrative style.

It is precisely such verbal dexterity and cheekiness, aside from its exhaustive depictions of a range of sexual acts, that earned the novel its reputation. According to his acquaintance James Boswell, Cleland set out to write an erotic novel "without resorting to the coarseness of *L'Ecole des Filles*, which has quite plain words." The result is a narrative that produces a spectacular array of metaphors and equivalences for the genitalia, a procession of ample "machines," "may-poles," "theatres," and "pleasure-bowers" designed to mask the body part but never its action. Indeed, the novel is ever aware of its

parody of "literary" discourse, frequently lavishing sexual acts with mock-epic significance and mimicking best-selling novels of sexual decorum such as Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740). Surprisingly, Fanny even apologizes for the tedium of her descriptions midway through the novel, recognizing that one might grow "cloyed and tired with the uniformity of adventures and expressions," wherein even the words themselves "flatten, and lose much of their due spirit and energy." Cleland's obvious interest in the semantic power and promiscuity of erotic discourse led him subsequently to compose *The Dictionary of Love* (1753) for "young people, and especially of the fair sex, whose mistakes are the most dangerous" and, later in his career, a series of etymological treatises on the generative potential in language.

Although Fanny's narrative is broken into two long letters addressed to an unnamed woman, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* is most often read by critics as a straight male fantasy of female sexuality. Fanny frequently lapses into panegyric when describing the "sublime" male organ, and her rendering of the female form is often highly aestheticized. Moreover, Fanny's narrative is almost entirely devoid of anxiety over unwanted pregnancy or disease, thus freeing her to explore her sexual impulses with impunity. Similarly, so as to carefully manage the erotic affect generated by the text, Cleland has his heroine go to outlandish measures to spy on two men making love. Fanny is appalled by what she watches, deeming such behavior "criminal," although she "had the patience to see it to an end, purely that I might gather more facts." Wishing to have the men arrested, Fanny stumbles in her haste to rouse the house, and knocks herself unconscious, conveniently allowing the lovers to escape. Cleland's meticulous handling of Fanny's attraction and repulsion here suggests his careful calibration of the volume's sexual mores. What makes the novel compelling for contemporary scholarly work on sexuality is its spirited attempts to valorize "pleasure" in an age that preached moderation: its self-imposed linguistic strictures and indebtedness to sentimentalism make it a provocative case study in the consolidation of bourgeois sexuality.

Cleland himself denounced the volume as "a Book I disdain to defend, and wish, from my Soul, buried and forgot," and shortly after its publication he offered the public a heavily expurgated version that sought to repackage the novel as a didactic narrative. He also published a less randy novel, *Memoirs of a Coxcomb* (1751), in an attempt to capitalize on the scandal that he claimed to regret. Together the two works sold but a small fraction of what *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* went on to sell illicitly, and both went quickly out of print.

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Scott Juengel

FAP

In the context of sex and gender, the word *fap* is an ono-matopoeic representation of male masturbation. It is used widely as a sound effect in sexually explicit *manga*, a Japanese cartoon format. *FAP* also is used as an acronym for unrelated terms such as familial adenomatous polyposis, First Amendment Project, and FORTRAN Assembly Program.

The use of *fap* to describe male masturbation was popularized by the Internet-based *manga* Web comic *Sexy Losers*. On April 28, 1999, episodes one through four were launched in the traditional four-*koma* (vertical panes) format. Episode three featured the first use of the term. The author, a Canadian known only by his first name, Clay, credits the *manga* novel *Heartbroken Angels* by Masahiko Kikuni (2000) as the inspiration for his series. Others ascribe the use of the word to commercial translations of the novel. In the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the term had not yet made its way into dictionaries of American slang and continued to be associated with the Internet community.

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FARROKHZAD, FORUGH
1935–1967

Forugh Farrokhzad was a pioneer among Iran's women poets and is considered one of the country's most innovative poets of modern times. She was born on January 5 in Tehran, the third of seven children born to Mohammad Farrokhzad, an army officer, and Turan Vaziritabar, a homemaker. Farrokhzad's formal education was limited, as she never finished high school. At age sixteen, she fell in love with and, against her family's wishes, sentiments, married Parviz Shapur, a distant relative fifteen years her elder. The couple moved to the southwestern city of Ahvaz where he worked in the provincial office of the Ministry of Finance. The marriage ended in acrimonious divorce three years later. As was common practice in Iran, the court awarded custody rights of their son, Kamyar, to the father; Farrokhzad also lost visitation rights because the court judged her unfit to raise a child. Her pariah status was to turn into a haunting force in Farrokhzad's life and poetry.

Farrokhzad began writing poems first in the form of *ghazal*, the most central lyrical genre in the classical tradition, and later in *charpareh*, a ballad-like poetic form consisting of a number of stanzas each made up of four hemistiches where at least two rhyme. The themes of her early poems are youthful love, pangs of separation, particularly from her son, and a desperate search for true love. Three collections of poems were published successively, *Asir* (The captive) in 1955, *Divar* (The wall) in 1956, and *Osyan* (Rebellion) in 1957. By and large, the poems in these collections are in a confessional tone and address themes of physical and emotional intimacy. Although her poems refresh the millennium-old tradition of male Persian lyricism, their self-expressive qualities worked against the poet's status in the highly normative culture of mid-twentieth-century Iran. The response from poets, critics, and readers was generally negative. The very community that could have welcomed the audacity enshrined in such expressions reacted with repulsion or derision or both, earning the poet the undeserved reputation of a loose woman and a threat to Iranian women's sense of modesty.

The effect on the aspiring poet's fragile psyche was devastating. Farrokhzad suffered a nervous breakdown in September 1955 and was hospitalized for about a month. What sustained her, at least in part, was a new interest in filmmaking, which would lead to her close association with Ebrahim Golestan, a leading intellectual filmmaker. Meanwhile her poetry, still largely in traditional verse forms, began to take on social issues. This tendency became evident in *Osyan* and together with the themes of love forms the twin strains that dominate the poems that followed. In 1956 Farrokhzad took the first of several trips to Europe, an experience that helped restore her to health; it also infused her poetry with the kind of cosmopolitanism hitherto absent from all writing by women in Iran, including her own early works. She also kept a journal, which was first published under the title *Dar Diari Digar* (In another land), and posthumously as *Javdaneh Zistan, Dar Owj Mordan* (Living for eternity, dying at the peak).

Farrokhzad's 1958 friendship with Golestan led to the last, most productive phase of her life. She worked on at least four documentary films through Golestan Film Studio, *Yek Atash* (1959; A fire), *Khastegari* (1960; Courtship), *Ab va Garma* (1961; Water and heat), and *Mowj va Marjan va Khara* (1961; Waves, corals, and flint stones). Some of these films were featured and won prizes at various European festivals. The 1962 film *Khaneh Siah Ast* (The house is black), a poetic treatment of the life of lepers which she wrote, directed, and edited during and after a twelve-day sojourn in the Baba Baghi leper colony, remains her best film by far. During the same period, she adopted a boy from his leper parents. In 1964 the publication of *Tavallodi Digar* (Another birth) awakened Iran's literary community to Farrokhzad's poetic genius, and the feeling has only grown through the decades. Although many of the thirty-three poems in this volume had been published in the leading literary journals of Tehran, the book revealed the coherence of an evolving vision that had gone largely unnoticed. Farrokhzad died at the age of thirty-two on February 14, 1967, when she swerved the car she was driving into a stone wall to avoid colliding head-on with a school bus.

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Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak

FASCISM

Fascism refers to a set of movements and political ideologies that emerged after World War I, first in Italy. Fascism also refers to sufficiently similar movements in

other countries, notably German National-Socialism or Nazism. Fascist movements were nationalist, authoritarian, anti-egalitarian, anticommunist, and antidemocratic mass movements that also adopted corporatism in economics, a cult of violence as a cure for decadence, the leadership principle, and the use of uniforms and paramilitary formations in politics.

GENDER POLITICS OF FASCISM

Fascist movements blended modernizing with traditional and reactionary elements. On questions of gender, it was most often the traditional and reactionary strands that came to the fore, at least in theory if not always in practice. Fascism sought to exploit the mass mobilization and industrialization of modernity without the accompanying push for emancipation. Aggressive opposition to feminism and women's rights were ideologically ideal. The demands of national mobilization for war, however, pulled in the other direction. Yet fascist regimes, like that of Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) in Italy and Adolph Hitler (1889–1945) in Germany, were less successful at exploiting female labor than either the communist Soviet Union or the liberal democratic Great Britain and United States.

The radical rightists that provided much of the intellectual basis for fascism, like the followers of Georges Sorel (1847–1922) in France and Italy, or radical Italian nationalists (later fascists) like Giovanni Papini (1881–1956), touted an antifeminism heavily colored with misogyny. Even the futurists, like Emilio Marinetti (1876–1944) known for his "scorn for women" (De Grazia 1992, p. 25), who represented the most modernizing aspects of fascist ideology, had no place for women's rights. Instead their cult of speed, machinery, noise, and war had a strong hypermasculinist tendency.

ITALIAN FASCISM

Not surprisingly, Mussolini's regime (1922–1945) sought to strengthen the family and traditional sex roles. Its pro-natalist policies (somewhat illogical in a country that regularly had to export population) led to policies and institutions to support women and children, promoting motherhood and discouraging female work outside the home. Some of these social welfare measures were similar to steps taken in non-fascist countries. Others bore the imprint of Italian Fascism, like the (openly homophobic) tax on bachelors, which grew greater as the unmarried man grew older (and exempted those in military service). Family allowances were provided for large families; and especially prolific women (twelve or more children) were paraded in special public rituals as the regime sought to promote the female ideal of the pretty, nubile, peasant girl as a counter to the Hollywood starlet or selfish bour-

geois woman. Other public rituals mobilized women in parades of uniformed gymnasts or in ceremonies during which women sacrificed their gold wedding bands for the nation. Given the compromises (as with the Church) and contradictions of Italian fascist governance, the effects of these policies on marriage and fertility patterns were modest.

NAZISM: RACISM AND REPRODUCTION

Italian Fascism came to power in a society in which women had not yet achieved the vote (Fascists both blocked women's suffrage and rendered it irrelevant). Nazism rose in the ultra-democratic Weimar Republic which gave women full political rights. Seeking women's votes meant downplaying misogyny and stressing how Nazi policies would address traditional women's concerns (like public morality or getting their unemployed husbands back to work). Hitler consistently did better among female than male voters, though in this German women echoed a general tendency in that country as well as elsewhere in Europe for women to vote more to the right (and have greater religious participation) than their husbands and fathers.

In power from 1933 to 1945, the Nazi government was pro-natalist and pro-family (and it also drew these policies from earlier, *Völkisch,* currents) but Hitler's eugenicist and exterminationist racism resulted in different applications. (Racism in Fascist Italy was a late and imitative phenomenon.) In Nazi Germany, the male/female gender dichotomy was bisected by the racialist one of Aryan/non-Aryan—in practice the latter meant Jews, Gypsies (Roma and Sinta), and non-Europeans. Men and women were also divided into the *valuable* or *life worthy* versus the *life-unworthy*, which included both those deemed asocial or criminal and those with hereditary mental or physical diseases or conditions. Combining the eugenicist with the racist models (non-Aryans were automatically unhealthy), Nazi natality policy sought to promote healthy Aryan births while discouraging all others. Promoting the birth-rate, in general, while restricting reproduction among many was an inherently difficult policy. Nazi policies also reflected the contradictions between those who sought a more biological approach (derided as zoo-politics by its opponents) and those who favored traditional family values, in line with the teachings of the Catholic and Lutheran churches.

The 1935 Law for the Protection of the Hereditary Health of the German People sought to ban marriages of the unfit (including those with unfit relatives), by requiring a Certificate of Suitability of Marriage, though this was not always enforced in practice. Merely unfit couples could sometimes marry if they produced a guarantee

(e.g., through sterilization) that they would not reproduce. Often a medical examination for a potential marriage could lead to forced sterilization. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 extended the marriage (and sex) ban to racially mixed couples. Similarly abortion was prohibited for Aryans but encouraged for Jewish women. The availability of contraception was also systematically reduced. Institutionalized handicapped individuals were methodically killed due to a combination of economic and eugenicist concerns, though this policy was cut back in Germany after the Catholic Church vigorously objected.

A series of social welfare measures were meant to encourage large families: from subsidies (including loans and tax breaks), visits by social workers, and education for expectant and new-mothers to public honors including awarding military-style medals for prolific mothers. The definition of asocial (for purposes of either denial of marriage or sending to a concentration camp) tended for males to reflect criminal activity. For women, it usually meant sexual profligacy, reinforcing traditional sexual double standards. Though Nazis insisted that woman's place was in the home, Hitler was not above using female talent (like the filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl) when it served his purposes.

The more radically Nazi Schutzstaffel (SS) sought to promote racially healthy children whatever the marriage status of the mother. To this end, the SS opened retreats where racially valuable single-women could have their children. In a few cases, SS men could assist in conception. Finally, during the war, unwed mothers could retroactively legalize their marriages with dead soldier-fathers. Plans were even afoot to encourage bigamy after the war to make up for the loss of males.

HOMOSEXUALITY

The close male bonding in Nazi organizations could easily slide into homosexuality. Ernst Röhm, leader of the Sturmabteilung (SA), the Nazi storm troopers or brown shirts, was generally considered to be at the center of a homosexual clique. Hitler exploited this reputation when he destroyed Röhm and the leadership of the SA in 1934 for completely political reasons. The bureaucratically competing police agencies of the Nazi state actively repressed male homosexuality while largely ignoring (technically illegal) lesbian activity. Though differing psychosexual fears and attractions may have played a role, the stated reason was the allegedly more passive role of women in sex and the belief that lesbians might become mothers. Male homosexuals were subject to arrest and deportation to concentration camps where they wore the particularly dishonoring pink triangle badge. At the camps, homosexuals could be worked to death, executed, or sometimes forcefully re-educated through sex with women in the camp brothel (among such women were lesbians, sent to the brothels as punishment).

If Nazi pro-natalism had only limited success, its policy of extermination was devastatingly effective. The reproductive logic of Nazi racism was also responsible for what, to many Europeans, was a horrific innovation: the systematic murder of Jewish and Gypsy women and children along with their menfolk. Families arriving at extermination camps were separated, the men from the women and children, since breaking up the family group made the prisoners easier to control.

FASCISM AS A SEXUALIZED POLITICS

Fascists always touted their virility. But there is much that is classically feminine in the Fascist emphasis on uniforms, on organized display, and on an aestheticizing of politics. Some have seen this as an indication of a redirected sexual energy, linked to Fascism's cult of the irrational. Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957) gave this theory its fullest formulation, including an analysis of the swastika as an ancient sex symbol representing two intertwined bodies.

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Allen Douglas

FASHION SYSTEM

Fashion, it has been said, is a way of telling the time. From time immemorial to present, fashion has shaped the appearance of humanity in the journey from antiquity to modernity. Long before the "father of history," as Herodotus was coined by Cicero, in his passage to the Middle East in the fifth-century BCE, recorded the exotic costumes of the Persians and the foreign lifestyle those costumes signified, humans invented dress presumably as a way of surviving the wrath of God and/or nature. The often unacknowledged initiator of what would be called "fashion" appears to be the same tempter who led Adam and Eve to their post-nudist state. Prompted by sin and imposed by a sense of guilt, the first piece of clothing was

made in Paradise. "And the eyes of Adam and Eve were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons" (*Genesis* 3:7).

During the millennia that followed the elusive origins of myth and history, fashion emerged in the Western world as a seductive sorceress who gradually "aestheticized and individualized human vanity" and "succeeded in turning the superficial into an instrument of salvation, a goal of existence" (Lipovetsky 1994, p. 29).

The permanence of the ephemeral remains the most charming paradox of fashion whose continuity depends on rapid cycles of creation and decline. As a versatile social and psychological system, fashion "abhors fixity, of form or meaning, of knowledge or feeling, of the past itself" (Hollander 1994, p.17). And as one of the most significant industries of modernity, fashion is a master of trends and the mirror of the rapid pace as well as the unpredictable moods of a mutable world. Through a process of constant formation and deformation, the aesthetics of fashion also reflect the inescapable anxiety of a transient world in search of endless visual stimulation and individual theatricality.

The question remains: When did fashion appear first in the Western world? In the Bible or in Homer? In ancient Athens or in modern Paris? And is it possible that this fundamental institution of modernity lacks a "fixed point of origin?" (Finkelstein 1998, p. 23). Since the early days of recorded history, in places like ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, the prevalent pleated garment retained its form and simplicity for an extended period of time. In Egypt, the "same tunic-dress, worn by both sexes, was maintained for nearly fifteen centuries ... in Greece, the peplos, a woman's outer garment, prevailed from the origins of Greek society to the middle of the sixth century BCE in Rome, the male garb of toga and tunic persisted with slight variations from the earliest period to the end of the empire" (Lipovetsky 1994, p. 19).

However, as fashion critics assert, the power of fashion as a homogenizing phenomenon capable of meeting psychological needs for self-expression as well as of charting an individual's social territory according to one's status, class, and gender, scarcely existed before the Middle Ages. It has been argued that fashion in the strict sense did not emerge until the mid-fourteenth century. "This moment stands out, first and foremost because of the appearance of a radically new type of dress that was sharply differentiated according to gender: short and fitted for men, long and close to the body for women. This revolution in apparel laid the groundwork for modern dress" (Lipovetsky 1994, p. 20).

Gender differentiation through garments offered civilization a new approach to sexuality and social perform-

ance; it was during and after the Middle Ages that the fashioned self acquired a different sense of coquetry in a state where the aesthetic distance between genders, classes, and cultures was exaggerated. It has been argued that fashion "can be employed as a measure of the civilizing process. The logic behind this maneuvre is that fashion denotes self-consciousness, and that when the cycles of fashion move rapidly then a more complex idea of self will exist" (Finkelstein 1998, p. 13). As an answer to Descartes, the premise that *I dress therefore I am* would later emphasize modernity's recalcitrant fixation with the visual culture. In the twentieth century, the recycled visual images of the entertainment industry, and especially fashion magazines, corroborated modernity's fixation with the culture of aesthetics. As Finkelstein (1998, p. 14) observes:

> The widespread fascination with body image underscores the idea that a preoccupation with appearances—as evidenced by fashion—is a natural, universalistic tendency ... The history of art production, the building of urban landscapes, and human body decoration are all swept together as 'natural' expressions of the human need to aestheticize the environment.

Long before the advent of fashion magazines or Hollywood, the wisdom of the late Middle Ages underlined the sharp importance of the rising aesthetics of fashion. A famous writer who lived and thrived at the end of the Middle Ages remarked, "clothes provide the basis for making hard and fast judgments about a man's character, or that one cannot discover far more from someone's words and actions than from his attire. But I do maintain that a man's attire is also no small evidence for what kind of personality he has, allowing that it can sometimes prove misleading" (Castiglione 1997, p. 136). As Lipovetsky (1994) points out, for the long period that preceded Castiglione's time, societies went on without the capricious dictates of fashion. This does not denote that life revolved without "change, or curiosity, or a taste for exotic realities. But it was only at the end of the Middle Ages that the order of fashion itself became recognizable—fashion as a system, with its endless metamorphoses, its fits and starts, its extravagance" (p. 15).

The fashion system did not simply transform the appearance of western society after the Middle Ages; it altered its expectations and its manner of interaction. The metaphor of cloths as language, with its own grammar, syntax and vocabulary, confirms the power of fashion as a "visual language" capable of silently conveying cultural messages. It is a "new way of speaking the body, and freeing it from silence" (Finkelstein 1998, p. 67). Roland Barthes has famously affirmed that "fashion does not evolve, it changes: its lexicon is new each year, like that of a language which always keeps the same system but

suddenly and regularly changes the 'currency' of its words" (Barthes 1990, p. 215).

Fashion is both visual and discursive. In fact, "in fashion the two languages coexist and live side by side. Any kind of analysis of fashion must take account of this fundamental theoretical assumption." (Paulicelli 2004, p. 11). As both a visual and verbal communication, the aesthetics of modern fashion, especially in the twentieth-century, expressed the Western civilization's wish for refinement. Through film and photography, magazines and advertisement, directly or indirectly, Western fashion intrigued the imagination of the middle classes no end and affected both sexes equally and most civilizations generally. As a critic observes, "nobody with eyes escapes (fashion)" (Hollander 1994, p. 11).

It is within the context of a nonverbal communication that fashion rules as the queen of signs in an environment of aesthetic exchange and competition where people crave for social approval, acceptance, and individuality. As a mode of social exchange, fashion places an individual's taste at the mercy of the collective judgment. Vice versa, the public judgment influences and conforms personal taste. Hence, a continuous and daily dialectic between the self and the public reforms identity and restructures public perceptions. Cinema and photography have been instrumental in shaping a relationship between the private and the public realms in the twentieth century. Finkelstein (1998) observes that "fashion works for the individual as a way of advertising the self; it mediates between what one desires and what can be presented as socially acceptable to the other" (p. 55).

Western fashion more often than not declares its whims, tendencies, and turning points through public figures envied or adored, or both, by their followers. From the time of Marie Antoinette to the century of Eva Peron, Madonna, and Princess Diana, the middle class taste reflected, reproduced, and redefined the style of its "queens of style," reinforcing the role of fashion as a dual desire for conformity on the one hand and an individual differentiation on the other (Finkelstein 1998, p. 38). As the last French queen before the revolution, for instance, Marie Antoinette was posthumously applauded for her "heroic fashion"—her impeccable taste that on one hand provoked the impoverished French, and on the other placed her as a winner in the annals of fashion. Thanks to the *Christian Dior* ed Eva Peron, French fashion permeated the Argentine upper class aesthetic of the 1940s and 1950s, leaving its traits on the Argentine bourgeois aesthetic since. And Diana's personal quest for emancipation was highlighted by the fashionable image of a sparklingly dressed princess who spoke through images, not words. As Lipovetsky (1994, p. 31) observes:

> This is the crux of fashion's originality and also its ambiguity: an instrument of social discrimina-

tion and a manifest mark of social superiority, fashion was nevertheless also a special agent of the democratic revolution. On the one hand, it blurred the established distinctions and made it possible to confront and confuse social strata. On the other hand, it reintroduced –although in a new way- the timeless logic of signs of power, brilliant symbols of domination and social difference. Here is the paradox of fashion: its flashy displays of the emblems of hierarchy played a role in the movement toward the equalization of appearances.

As a "Western phenomenon," fashion is naturally linked with developments in consumerism and industrialization. "Consumerism is invoked to explain a great many social changes which transformed the west from the sixteenth century to the present" (Finkelstein 1998, p.89). Jean Baudrillard once claimed that "modernity is a code, and fashion is its emblem." Above all, fashion embodied charm and deception, the two sides of capitalism that gave modernity its coding. As a vital part of what Veblen coined a "conspicuous consumption" society, fashion expressed, "in luxury and ambiguity, an invention characteristic of the West: the free, detached, creative individual and its corollary, the frivolous ecstasy of the self" (Lipovetsky 1994, p. 37). It is in the landscape of capitalism that fashion attained a new orientation. Once the instrument of the elite and the upper classes, fashion under capitalism reached a wider audience. As a designer claims, "fashion is more than the darling of the upper classes and that became obvious in modernity when capitalism unleashed its forces" (Lagerfeld 1996, p. 64).

Parisian haute couture, for example, used to be the epicenter of modern fashion as well as the epitome of class. As an international pole of attraction, the French *haute couture* houses used to cater to the few privileged ladies who would come to Paris to spend fortunes on a dress especially made for them. *Haute couture's* dictates would then reach the middle class through editorials and displays which presented the rare couture aesthetic to the public and seamstresses who were capable of mimicking it for their clients. The death of couture was officially declared in January 2002 when Yves Saint Laurent presented his last, farewell couture collection in Paris. Even though some fashion houses continue to maintain their *couture* ateliers, the age of the *prêt-a-porter* (ready-to-wear) industry, more accessible to the masses, heralded long ago the downgrade of the importance of *haute couture*. Industrial production transformed fashion into an industry; photography, journalism, and cinema turned that industry into a fountain of enticement.

The notion that women are more attuned to fashion than men sounds like a relic of the past where coquetry and fashion were strictly associated with a leisurely female bourgeoisie in search of enticement. By the end of the

second millennium there was no substantial doubt that "the mechanism of desire which operates in the fashion system draws into its orbit not just women but every consumer, irrespective of gender or age" (Griggers 1990, cited in Finkelstein 1998, p. 96). However, at the time when the English couturier Charles Frederick Worth was taking Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century, women indeed were the best clients of the emerging industry. As has been noted, "before the nineteenth century, upper-class men and women were equally ornamental in their dress. Both wore excessive amounts of lace, perfume, highly colored silks and brocades. The dramatic division between male and female appearances, which began with the emergence of the bourgeoisie, is often accounted for by industrialism, capitalism and the segregation of private from public domains." (Finkelstein 1998, p. 55) According to Kaja Silverman (1986), it was this division that allegedly transformed middle class women into "fashion slaves unable to pay for their obsession, while men abandoned the world of fashion but retained financial control over it" (cited in Finkelstein 1998, p. 58).

The end of the nineteenth century marks the starting point of the culture of enticement. It was around that time when men and particularly women discovered a new sense of materialism in the emerging temples of modernity, namely the department stores. From the post-arcade era of the department store to the post-modern time of fashion magazines, fashion not only acquired social meaning, but also succeeded in creating everlasting wordless images of modern existence based on the presumption of European perfection and desire for its mimicry by non-European cultures. Prior to the magazine era, one finds the allure of European fashion concentrated and constrained within the bounds of physical space of the department store, in places such as Paris where department stores preceded the modern form of the magazine and the advertising industries (Appadurai 1996, p. 73).

When Denise, Zola's heroine in *The Ladies' Paradise*, first enters the sensational Parisian department store, she feels "a desire to run away and, at the same time, a need to stop and admire. She was so lost and small inside the monster, inside the machine, and although it was still idle, she was terrified that she would be caught up in its motion, which was already beginning to make the walls shake" (Zola 1998, p. 49). Within the frame of its time and space, the 'machine' Denise is enraptured by epitomizes the spirit of an early era eager to conquer the consumer's imagination with the commodification of ambience. Ironically, the place is called "Paradise" in the English translation of the novel; a paradise liberated from mythical sin: Within its reformed

gates of pleasure, the only modern sin not tolerated by the religion of capitalism is poverty.

It has been asserted that "wherever capitalism goes, its illusory apparatus, its fetishisms, and its system of mirrors come not far behind" (Harvey 1990, p. 344). Part of this apparatus is the reinvented Denise, a global creature enraptured by the evolving power of the fashion industry. As Finkelstein (1998, p. 64) notes,

> the fashion industries have thrived on the instability of women's identity, and have continued to burden women with the putative need to reinvent themselves constantly. Women are ubiquitously portrayed in various and often contradictory poses as the 'new' woman, the working woman, the sports woman, the family woman, the sexually liberated and educated woman. This chameleon is capable of looking attractive in high-impact shades, reptile gloves, evening gowns by Ungaro, spiked heels, and a divided skirt.

One of capitalism's favorite expressions, *reinvention*, is the key word in the fashion lexicon. A post–Cold War global fashion icon like Madonna uses it often to illustrate postmodernity's photogenic aimlessness and tireless quest for new short-lived images swallowing the old. Ephemerality is crucial to the experience (as well as to the economy) of modernity. "Newness," Walter Benjamin argues, "is the illusion of which fashion is the tireless purveyor," (1999, p. 22) a phrase which, if it means anything, means just that—the greater the ephemerality of images the more pressing the need for more. Thus, fashion functions as the unchanging means of selling what is perceived and desired as changeable.

More than ever before, post-industrial capitalism draws its capacity for reinvention through the politics of consumerism. Consumption creates time and fashion breaks up time into seasons and months. Pressed between the draconian rules of advertising and the Herculean demands of the global market, early twenty-first century fashion media urge consumers to think and consume within the given timeframe. A critic reminds us that "Marx argued that classes are defined by their means of production. But, it could be true, that in the information age at least, classes are defined by their means of consumption" (Brooks 2000, p. 61). Surely, the ability to consume makes us modern, but above all, as the line from a popular film goes, "it's our ability to accessorize that separates us from the animals." Fashion is a substantial part of the contemporary gigantic machine of consumerism. Not simply because people can afford to buy cloths more than ever, but also because fashion, as the power-generator of fashion magazines and other media, constantly dictates rules to a receptive audience used to being tutored on the aesthetics of living: from how to decorate, to how to build a house;

from where to eat sushi, to how to eat it; from when to make love, to how to wear a condom in style. This process of *fashionization* involves the dialectics of public and private realms, of social space and the individual. Fashion, in a nutshell, not simply shapes but *inhabits* space. It *normalizes* people's fantasies, regulates their appearances and pedals their aesthetic choices on both a local and a global level.

Fashion itself, at least in its post-industrial phase, is a mirror with two faces: consumerism and vanity at a time when the individual is urged to be, think, and look global. Asides from products and images, fashion advertising sells the existing social order. "Apart from the ideological force of ads themselves … the entrenchment of the new selling practices decisively changed the network of social relationships, changed the outlook for democracy, changed what it meant to be a person" (Ohmann 1996, p. 115). Furthermore, in the years that followed the magazine and television boom, "advertising is no longer built around the idea of informing or promoting in the ordinary sense, but is increasingly geared to manipulating desires and tastes through images that may or may not have anything to do with the product to be sold. If we stripped modern advertising of direct reference to the three themes of money, sex, and power there would be very little left" (Harvey 1990, p. 287). In addition, "the acquisition of an image (by the purchase of a sign system such as designer cloths …) becomes a singularly important element in the presentation of self in labour markets … it becomes integral to the quest for individual identity, self realization and meaning" (Harvey 1990, p. 288).

As a powerful tool in the process of projecting and spreading fashion ideology, fashion magazines and advertising consistently propagate a specific idea of a Western lifestyle that goes beyond dress coding; it is an idea of homogenization that, often in harmony with the rhetoric of globalization serves the needs of the global market above all. The aesthetic gentrification that derives from the *fashionization* of modern lifestyle leads to a bifurcation: on a global perspective it divides the new world map in the light of a softer post–Cold War prejudice: the *fashionable* and the *unfashionable* world. It is a prejudice reminiscent of the division that Edward Said described between an emergent West and its abject Other, according to which the Other that was excluded and negated gives birth to a positive identity for the Western colonizer (Sharma and Sharma 2003, p. 303). Masking the local as global is a gradual process that generates new capital while it trains the consciousness of a nation to the global art of the hyperreal. The new capital seals the changing urban landscapes with the pride of the *fashionable*: Ralph Lauren, Prada, Benetton, or Armani stores parade in rejuvenated fashionable streets. Cities themselves become gigantic department stores and magazines glitter as their magic mirror.

It was long before the fall of the Berlin Wall that aesthetics had taken over ethics in Western culture. At a culminating moment of the twentieth-century, the Yuppie culture of the Reagan years embraced image over meaning, and accordingly revised the lexicon of language by adding up terms that emphasized a false representation of reality at a time that the "real" was marching toward disconnection from its origin or reality, or historical perspective. Ageless tales from that era, such as Tom Wolfe's *The Bonfire of the Vanities* and Brett Easton Ellis' *American Psycho*, portray the emergence of a sensational yet unenthusiastic world for whom "Armani" becomes synonymous to "acceptable." Language is reduced to a system of "substituting signs of the real for the real itself" in fashion-conscious Manhattan of the vanities. Image, as a Platonic idea of power, inspires this system of signs formed and reproduced within the realm of desire, which resembles what Baudrillard describes as, "the map that precedes the territory" (2001, p. 1733).

In the third millennium, it is hard to imagine that a world without fashion ever existed. From privilege to necessity to addiction, fashion has gone full circle all the way from its evasive origins in Paradise to a literal heaven of endless profit and possibilities. Even in the thorniest of historical circumstances the fashion industry has risen above adversity. During World War II, for instance, the famous Parisian *haute couture* houses not simply did not go bankrupt, but the French fashion industry in general "had its profits siphoned into the treasury of the German government, helping to finance the Nazi invasion of France and the continuation of war in Europe" (Finkelstein 1998, p. 87). On September 11, 2001, while the remains of the Twin Towers burned, anxious women all over America were calling the main Yves Saint Laurent boutique in Manhattan to inquire about a skirt designed by Tom Ford. There is an unabashed impatience about fashion that even catastrophe cannot tame. Between the urge to consume and the disappointment of possession (Baudrillard 2001) postmodernity is never short of reasons to justify its need for vanity and deception. As Umberto Eco banters, "it is impossible to build a perfect society if people are ill dressed" (1986, cited in Finkelstein 1998, p. 70).

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Michael Skafidas

FATHERHOOD

Fatherhood is the state of being a father. That state can be defined as a biological function, a legal classification, an emotional connection, a social role, a symbol of authority, or even a philosophical position. Fathers in all those guises have constituted a central part of the social, cultural, and religious life of most cultures. Many societies are patriarchies, organized around the father as the dominant figure in an extended family. The roles of fathers have changed in the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. The familial roles of individual fathers have become more nurturing at the same time that biological science has made the identities of fathers more certain.

THE BIOLOGICAL FATHER

Biologically, a father is the male individual who has contributed to half of a child's genetic material. The father's genes may be contributed in several ways. Males may inseminate females through sexual intercourse or may contribute sperm to a sperm bank. The father may be married to the woman he impregnates and continue to live with her and their child as a nuclear family. The father may have contributed genetic material as a part of a more casual sexual encounter and have either no relationship or only a legal relationship with his child. Women may be inseminated with sperm from a sperm-donor bank so that the identity of the father is unknown.

Occasionally males contribute sperm to women who wish to have children but to whom they are not married.

Only recently has it become possible to determine with certainty the identity of a biological father. Before scientists developed the ability to sequence and read DNA, the identity of a biological father could be presumed only through circumstances. Blood typing, which was invented in 1901 by Karl Landsteiner, could indicate with any certainty only males who could not possibly be the father of a child. The need to guarantee that a husband was the father of his wife's children produced many legal and social constraints on the activities of women. Endowing the wife's offspring with the name of her husband—the patronym—constituted an attempt to make the father's link to his wife's children more certain. Because in many societies a family's wealth was passed through male children, it was important to try to assure that those children were indeed from the father's bloodline. Even in an era when it is possible to discern who a child's father is with overwhelming probability through DNA tests, the law still presumes that the husband of a woman who bears a child is the child's father unless circumstances suggest otherwise.

Before the advent of DNA technologies, many laws were passed to protect the assumption of paternity and the rights of fathers, though it also was presumed that mothers had more responsibility and greater capabilities with younger children. If a married couple wished to divorce, the law presumed that the mother had a stronger claim to the custody of younger children (the *tender-age presumption*). At the same time it was much more difficult for unmarried males to claim paternity or for unmarried women to prove that a specific man was the father of her child. More recently family law has acknowledged that fathers have more than legal ties to their children and has begun to even out the rights of both parents in relation to their children. More unmarried fathers take, or are forced to take, legal responsibility for their offspring because their relationship to children can be proved.

THE SOCIAL ROLE OF FATHERS

Over the generations, fatherhood has become a more emotional, caring, nurturing relationship. Fathers often share child-care responsibilities, bonding with their children as caretakers and contributing members of the family unit. In the traditional European and North American bourgeois nuclear family, the father was understood as the source of authority, rule making, financial security, and discipline, mostly because he tended to be the parent who worked and had only limited responsibilities in caring for the children. In cultures in which both parents work or the mother is a major source of family income, fathers have become more involved with their children's

daily care. They thus have become more intimately involved in their children's emotional lives and development. There are many cultures in which fathers still are patriarchal authority figures governing the family. However in many European and North American cultures, fathers have become coparents, sharing decision making and having more multifaceted and enriched relations with their children.

Many nuclear families include fathers who are not the biological fathers of the children. Second marriages and stepchildren point to a more social function for fathers. Fathers need not have a biological relation to children. They may have important legal and social relations with them as stepfathers or adoptive parents or in other relationships in which males take the role of protector and nurturer.

One result of changes in the family has been a growing fathers' rights movement. This movement attempts to balance family laws that favor the mother and make it difficult for fathers to have rights in relation to their children, especially when they are no longer or never have been married to the children's mothers.

THE FATHER AS SYMBOL AND METAPHOR

The role of the father as authority figure in and protector of the traditional patriarchal nuclear family has long served as a model for a more figurative understanding of the father as a powerful person who oversees the welfare of a group of people. In societies organized around the prohibitive powers of males, the father becomes symbolic. The father is one who has the power to prohibit certain desires and activities, not as an individual prohibition, but as a social rule. In this sense all governments act as figurative fathers when they pass and enforce legislation. The symbol of the powerful but beneficent father is employed as a metaphor to characterize important cultural figures. The founders of nations, such as George Washington in the United States, are the *fathers of the country*. Inventors become the metaphorical fathers of entire technologies. Henry Ford is the father of the modern assembly line, and Alexander Graham Bell is the father of modern communications. The heads of religious groups, such as priests, often are referred to as Father. Deities have paternal attributes.

In the end the notion of fatherhood is a philosophical position in which an individual assumes an ethical responsibility for the care of a group. People's comprehension of this position is premised on the image of the father as the powerful one in whose name they live but whose prohibitions also foment desires and rebellions. A central myth of European and North American culture, the myth of Oedipus, is centered on respect for and defiance of the fathers' prohibitions. The figure of the ethical presence of the father governing people's lives penetrates many religions, social organizations, literary traditions, and psychoanalytic conceptions of the ways in which people become conscious individuals.

SEE ALSO *Family; Motherhood; Patriarchy; Patrilineality.*

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Judith Roof

FATIMA
c. 606–614–633

An emblematic figure in Islamic history, known as Fatima al-Zahra (the pure one), Fatima was the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad (d. 632) and his first wife Khadija (d. 619). She was married to Muhammad's cousin, 'Ali ibn Abu Talib (r. 656), the fourth caliph of Islam (r. 656–661), the fourth caliph of Islam (r. 656–661) and the first Shi'i imam. It is said that Muhammad had insisted that she should be 'Ali's only wife, as Khadija had been his. She was the mother of Hasan (625–669) and Husayn (626–680)—second and third imams venerated by Shi'is worldwide, among other children. After her father's death, Fatima was denied by Abu Bakr (r. 632–634) and 'Umar b. al-Khattab (r. 634–644), the first and second caliphs of Islam, what was considered by Shi'is as well as many other Muslims to be her rightful inheritance: revenues from the land of Fadak. Fatima's vigorous defense of the rights of the family of Muhammad was recorded in medieval sources of differing ideological backgrounds. The denial of the inheritance to Muhammad's only living child was considered a figurative act depicting the repudiation of his legacy by the community. The slaying of Fatima's son, Husayn, by the Umayyad dynasty army came to be considered akin to the biblical Fall, insofar as its influence on the crafting of the language and rhetorical arsenal of Islamic political discourse and worldview is concerned.

The historical persona of Fatima, as it can be reconstructed from medieval sources, can be read in contradistinction to that of 'A'isha (c. 614–678). 'A'isha was Muhammad's favorite wife, who competed with Fatima for the Prophet's affection, and whose father, Abu Bakr, rather than Fatima's husband, won out in the succession disputes that plagued the Muslim community after Muhammad's death. But the rivalry ran deeper: Both women manifested remarkable courage in the public arena, but the emphasis on Fatima's piety and probity in traditional sources (as, for instance in, her oft-cited punctilious observation of the decorum of segregation from unrelated men) is juxtaposed to the more controversial behavior of 'A'isha, whose marriage to Muhammad was fraught with accusations and insinuations.

The iconic similarities between Fatima and Mary, mother of Jesus, as figurative emblems of feminine compassion and courageous resilience, alluded to in many medieval works of exegesis particularly by Shi'i writers since at least the tenth century, also have been explored further and meditated upon from the middle of the twentieth century, most notably by the French Catholic orientalist Louis Massignon (1883–1962). In the latter half of the twentieth century—with the rise of Islamic feminism, connected to both the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 and the subsequent Islamization of the public sphere and sociopolitical discourse throughout the Muslim world—there was renewed interest in the exploration of early Islamic history for the cultivation of Muslim female role models. As part of that endeavor, and while retaining Fatima's image as a model of piety and exemplary motherhood, other traits have been underlined. The influential Iranian religious thinker Ali Shariati (1933–1977), an admirer of Massignon, wrote a polemical and idealized portrayal of Fatima as a determined, resolute, and authentic example of liberated Islamic femininity. This proved particularly important for the modern Islamist platform in Shi'i circles, representing both the centrality of the question of women to a reinvigorated and modern Islamic political theology and the call to discard European and North American customs and mores in order to bolster the anticolonial dossier of the burgeoning Islamist movement.

SEE ALSO *'A'isha; Islam.*

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Neguin Yavari

FAT SUBCULTURE
SEE *Body Image.*

FELCHING
SEE *Sexual Practices.*

FELLATIO
SEE *Oral Sex; Sexual Practices.*

FEMALE

The claim that humans are "naturally" female or male is a contentious one. This debate stems in large part because of varying definitions of gender (how society defines femininity and masculinity) and sex (female and male). The categories of "female" and "male" sex stem from a biological classification, which typically begins by noting whether an organism can produce ova (and thereby classified as female) or sperm (and thus classified as a male). However, this distinction provides only an initial dichotomy. For humans, biological sex is determined by their chromosomes, genitals, gonads (ovaries or testes), and hormones. Typically, these factors are aligned so that a person is considered biologically male or female. Scientists have also become invested in determining what genes may play a role in human's biological sex, noting, for instance, that the lack of a Y chromosome does not necessarily make one biologically female; nor does having a Y chromosome make one automatically male. Yet such binaries risk overlooking the complications of how "female"ness and "male"ness function and are ascribed meaning in society (see Ortnor and Whitehead 1981; Warren and Bourque 1991). Casual references about the "opposite" sex not only suggest that men and women are in opposition to each other but also that there is nothing in between. This gender binary is challenged if

one takes a cross-cultural, historical, or interdisciplinary view of sex categories.

All humans begin, biologically, with a "female" brain. Eight weeks after conception, the testes of male fetuses begin producing testosterone, thereby altering fetal development so that the fetus becomes masculinized (for information on the role of sex development and brain structure, see Brizendine 2006). Because this time of fetal development corresponds with the increase of sex hormones and the development of major organs, biologists continue to investigate possible biological differences between males and females. However, biologists also wonder if there are structural (as well as hormonal) differences between female and male brains. They typically focus their energies on the communication and emotional centers of the brain to see if those components develop differently in men and women. Indeed, many researchers try to link sexual anatomy with gender identity. Some biologists insist that females, because of reproductive demands, have limited intellectual skills (such ideas stem from medical texts in the Middle Ages and continued into the twentieth century) or should be prohibited from certain activities. Other biologists examine biological differences between males and females without attempting to limit either sex's agency. For instance, Richard Udry (2000) found a correlation between the amount of testosterone that fetuses were exposed to in utero and the degree of masculine traits that they exhibited later in life. Others have found consistent differences in childhood developmental milestones (sitting independently, walking) to suggest some differences due to sex alone (Reinisch, Rosenblum, Rubin, and Schulsinger 1997). The mentioned researchers associate the trend of male infants achieving these skills with those infants developing more independence, suggesting a biological component to the agency we associate with masculinity and to the extended dependence some associate with females.

Others are reluctant to make such a link between biological sex and gender traits, claiming that labeling someone a female is a social construct rather than a biological mandate. Yet there is a wide spectrum of opinion about how to best understand the relationship between the theoretical concepts of sex and gender. Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000), for instance, foregrounds the extent to which concepts of gender—rather than biological science—can make supposedly rigid biological constructs of sex quite relative. She critiques focusing on anatomy to the exclusion of one's genetic, hormonal, and cultural influences. Yet certain cases have demonstrated risks in absolutely divorcing sex and gender. In the 1960s and 1970s, John Money (1952) emerged as an influential figure in debates about sex and gender identity, arguing that children's gender identity is fluid until a certain age (for differing perspectives, see Powlishta, Sen, Serbin, et al. 2001). Money is perhaps best known for his role in the John/Joan case of David Reimer, whose penis was amputated during what should have been a routine circumcision. Money "reassigned" Reimer, an infant, as a female and reported that the treatment was successful. Later, evidence about the failed efforts to socialize Reimer as a female and Reimer's 2004 suicide cost Money credibility in the medical community and established him as a divisive figure in debates of sex (Colapinto 2001). Although the John/Joan case was atypical in many ways, such cases reveal the myriad ways that biologists and the medical profession address sex.

Fausto-Sterling (2000) and others have proposed that sexual categories be rethought and expanded from the original two (female and male) to recognize that not all people have alignment between their sexual characteristics (chromosomes, genitals, gonads, and hormones). Approximately 1 in 100 people have some sex deviation from these categories (Blackless, et al. 2000). Some deviations that occur naturally are termed *intersex* (formerly referred to as *hermaphroditism*) and may include ambiguous genitalia, discernable at birth, and other subtler signs that present later in life. This condition does not pose a physical threat to humans and yet is often treated, typically involving surgery on nonconsenting patients (infants) who may not be told their full medical histories as they mature. In 90 percent of these surgeries, infant bodies are typically transformed into "females" because surgeons consider the procedure easier than creating a penis (Angier 1997). Many scholars note the degree to which medical anxiety about the family's response to such an infant, as well as the pressure to announce a sex, constrains medical practice (Kessler 1998). Some contend that these bodies are not "corrected" out of medical necessity but because they disrupt biological binaries (male and female), threatening cultural norms about sex and gender (Herdt 1994). Those who have undergone such treatment have begun speaking out about their experiences, as have other people who are not intersexed but have been treated to reconcile their "sex" and gender (Scholinski 1998).

Some people, in addition to intersexed individuals, find these sexual categories oppressive. The possibility that biological attributes linked to sex can be challenged—or conquered—by culture has energized various social sciences. Many insist that gender is not based solely on biology but manifests itself in other spheres (values, relationships, communication, interests, self-presentation, and self-concepts [Ruble and Martin 1998]). For instance, U.S. parents continue to interact with their infants in ways shaped by their gender expectations, focusing on their daughter's appearance and supposed vulnerability (Karraker, Vogel,

and Lake 1995) and continue to allow gender to alter their interactions with their children as they grow. It would be inaccurate to state that children simply absorb gender messages; children themselves become quite interested in discovering, questioning and/or reinforcing gender norms, particularly at certain developmental stages (see Martin and Ruble 2004). Scholars have found that differences in the gender socialization of children can affect their sexuality as well, both in terms of people's self-definition and expression (Levine and Evans 2003). However, these gender norms shift significantly depending on one's social setting, and thus an understanding of culture provides a necessary context to explore how "sex" operates.

Anthropologists, by definition, study humanity in the hopes of understanding how people function in society. Anthropology is different from other social sciences in its investment in cultural relativism and cross-cultural comparisons. In the 1960s, anthropologists began to write about the parallels they saw between the scholarship that overlooked indigenous histories and that which overlooked females. Given the field's investment in comparative work, some viewed both exclusions as intensely problematic. The first recourse for many was observing and addressing the discipline's male bias. Margaret Mead's (1928) earlier work about the malleability of what was appropriately female and male, depending on one's geographic and cultural contexts, became newly important because of this reevaluation.

Others began observing the ways in which work may be asymmetrically distributed along sex lines. Many noticed that the bulk of domestic labor was not only accomplished by females, but that such work was often unseen and unvalued, especially when compared with "male" work that received public recognition and monetary compensation. Theorists began observing that sexual categories were used as metaphors for other social interactions, including those based on racial terms, class, and colonizer/colonized divides (Stoler 1991). People who inhabited social categories linked with the female typically had less power, fewer resources, and less control over their representation. Certainly, anthropologists acknowledge that a group's lived life and the way in which it understands its meaning may vary. For example, some observe that popular myths about which sex is more powerful may contradict a group's lived reality. However, by expanding the work of Gayle Rubin (1975), who offered the field the term *sex-gender system* and thereby separated those theoretical terms, the field began addressing how matters of sex can impact a community. Anthropologists, finding that gender norms not universal (see Lamphere, Ragone, and Zavella 1997, Ortner 1996), continue to examine assumptions that the female's primary role is a nurturing and subordinate one in order to construct a fuller understanding of how women actually live their daily lives.

Sociology as a field is largely concerned with recognizing societal issues and generating solutions to those dilemmas. This discipline uses the term *status* to describe how various members of society are categorized and treated and also how relationships among people are shaped. Sex can be considered a "master" status, in that being female or male affects multiple aspects of a person's life (Lindsey 1997). Sociologists analyze what is considered "normal" for different types of statuses and then decipher how larger social institutions and arrangements uphold these norms. They also consider how power affects these definitions and the people within these statuses. "Sex roles" then, may convey inaccurate information about men and women, as they privilege the stereotypical and assumed behaviors for various sexes. Sociology's three major paradigms (functionalism, social conflict, and symbolic interaction) articulate different understandings of how society operates.

Within the field, women have historically been excluded from discussions of social institutions other than those of the family and home. This trend began with the foundational work of Auguste Comte in the 1850s, whose pattern of addressing females exclusively in relation to their family role was repeated by other key figures. Comte's model was continued by functionalist theorists who focused on how society is organized and how those parts cooperate to build a social whole. For instance, some functionalist theorists (including Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim) saw the domestic sphere as the most apt choice for women because it gave females a restricted function in proportion to their assumed limitations. Sociologists who focused on symbolic interaction may question how individuals experience, initiate, and alter social patterns; because such fields were dominated by men, it took time for this field to consider women's experience of society. Conflict theorists (who focus on social inequality within systems) were among the first sociologists to critique women's status in society, noting that this power dynamic (within the home, for instance) paralleled other social problems seen as pertinent to the field (see Engels 1972 [1884] and Weber [1947]). Questioning the status quo has been a standard part of sociological practice; the repercussions of conflict theory encouraged sociologists to see sex as a productive variable for investigating power distributions within society.

Since these developments, sociology has embarked on research that investigates differences between the sexes, analyzes the stress of individuals' playing their sex roles, and recognizes women as a culturally peripheral and economically dependent group. Sociologists have

begun critiquing their methodology as well, noting that some theoretical models were developed without considering female experience, a crucial absence given that women compromise over half of most populations (Harding 1986). Those invested in female autonomy began synthesizing sociology's methods for critiquing social injustice and feminist theory in order to generate alternate questions, paradigms, and institutions for social change. Both approaches focus on how females have experienced and do experience their lives and continue sociology's contention in critiquing power as a malleable phenomenon (Chafetz 1988). It is important to note that the sociology of women is not necessarily feminist (Delamont 2003).

A definitive consensus within psychology about the significance—or reality—of differences between the sexes does not exist. Clinical psychology encountered its first major feminist critique in the work of Naomi Weisstein (1968). In *Psychology Constructs the Female*, Weisstein contends that when it comes to the consideration of women, the "science" of psychology frequently repeats stereotypes of the female and underplays or ignores individual contexts. After her influential book, journals (including *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy* and *Women and Therapy*) continued her exploration of the role that sex plays in clinical practice. Subsequent psychologists analyzed the ways that social norms about gender impact individuals' emotional lives (Miller 1976). Others noted that some disorders (historically, hysteria in the early 1900s and survivors of violence in the 1980s) tend to be diagnosed by the individual's sex (Brodsky and Hare-Mustin 1980).

The field of psychology's analysis of "female" can be roughly categorized as having four themes that overlap chronologically: an initial inquiry into "exceptional" women (focusing on women designated as successful); "problematic women" (focusing on females deemed deviant or deficient, especially in comparison to men—Freud's work is often included within this category); "psychology of gender" (looking at how gender structures relationships between females and males); and "transformation" (critiquing the assumptions and practices of psychology; Crawford and Marecek 1989). Researchers' theoretical background helps shape the field: Some focus on the historical and methodological practices that excluded women except to consider their abnormality, others focus on how biological factors may impact (but not irrevocably determine) people throughout the lifespan, whereas others focus on the social context of gender and how those systems affect individuals. Many psychologists continue to ask the question about how sex could be considered not just a variable but a salient characteristic. In 1973, the American Psychological Association designated the studying of women's psychology as a subfield (Unger 2001). Journals such as *Sex Roles*, the *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, and the international journal *Feminism and Psychology* focus on such questions.

Undoubtedly, these larger scale issues impact individuals and their families. Social-cognitive psychologists note that children's gender lessons are influenced by factors outside the sphere of one's individual family and can include modeling by others, interactive experience, and explicit instruction (Bussey and Bandura 1999). Adult females and males may find that their gender is determined by personal goals, environment (political, social, economic) and various conditions that occur—a model that suggests a larger amount of fluidity (Deaux and Major 1987). Awareness of these patterns led to the critique of diagnostic standards. Other psychologists continued to reflect on the relationships between patient's issues and the larger society—such as the relationship between the prevalence of eating disorders in women and social pressures for women to conform to beauty norms—are kept in focus (see Fredicksen and Roberts 1997).

Some claim that quantitative and qualitative work of psychologists is affected by society and that they are, therefore, unable to properly critique gender (for an assessment of approaches, see Kimball 2001). Many researchers in the field remind colleagues that the sexes differ not only biologically but in terms of their political, economic, social, and psychological backgrounds (Rabinowitz and Martin 2001). Quantitative studies, then, that present differences between the sexes as "essential" or hardwired may find those differences resolved when controlling for those additional contexts (see Deaux 1984, Deaux and Major 1987). Qualitative psychologist Carol Gilligan's (1982) work was influential for her critique of ways that moral development had been conceptualized within the field; her demand that psychologists scrutinize one's social location and absences and/or silences (termed *women's voice theory*) was championed and criticized within the field. Others have continued to contend that scholars analyze their relationship to research subjects and topics to avoid repeated dismissals and devaluing of females (Fine, Weis, Weseen, and Wong 2000; Morawski 1988).

SEE ALSO *Male.*

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Maureen McDonnell

FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION

Female circumcision is the English-language term used for many different traditional practices that involve cutting and modification of the female genitalia. Now considered a euphemistic term by many writers, it nevertheless embodies the intention of the practitioners to perform a traditional cutting ritual analogous to male circumcision practices. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the term *female genital mutilation* or FGM was popularized to draw attention to the severity of some forms of the practices as well as the international opposition to all forms, and to stimulate the movement for change. *Female genital cutting* (or FGC) is the term frequently used to stress the benign intent of the practitioners, even though the practices are known to be harmful in various ways.

The actual cutting that is done, as well as the ideas and purposes behind the practices, vary tremendously. In an effort to describe the physical consequences more systematically, the World Health Organization developed a typology that is widely used. The first type (Type I) is commonly referred to as clitoridectomy, which includes the partial or total removal of the clitoris and clitoral prepuce (hood). An intermediate form that includes the removal of the entire clitoris, clitoral prepuce, and some or all of the labia minora (inner lips) and often some or all of the labia majora (outer lips) is usually referred to as excision (Type II). Infibulation is done in Type III, which refers to procedures that include the removal of tissues such as in Types I and II plus the partial closing of the vaginal opening by joining the raw tissue on the two sides together so that scar tissue forms across the vaginal opening. In the practice of this very severe type—found mostly in northern Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, and Djibouti—a straw or other thin object is used during healing to preserve a single tiny aperture for urination and menstrual flow. For infibulated women, first intercourse is extremely difficult, resulting in tissue damage or the necessity of cutting a bride open at marriage (usually by a midwife). In societies where infibulation is culturally practiced, it is common to reinfibulate the vulva following each birth, a practice also called recircumcision. Reinfibulation may also be done at other times, such as when a woman wants to have herself tightened. Any other practices that change or affect the female genitalia are categorized together as Type IV. This category includes the custom of labia stretching found in some cultures, the use of astringents, or piercing.

ORIGINS AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Female circumcision practices have carried differing meanings in the historical periods and in the cultures and where they are practiced. Female genital cutting practices have existed since ancient times in northeast Africa and may have existed as long in many of the countries where they are found in the twenty-first century. The practice was reported in the ancient Nile Valley, but some of the stories told about its origins are not factual, being used as origin myths either to reinforce or discredit people's beliefs in the practice. Some stories attribute infibulation to the sexual preferences of the ancient pharaohs or their need to monitor births of potential rivals, whereas another story attributes the origin to the revenge of the biblical Sarah on her husband's concubine Hagar. Some speculate that female circumcision with infibulation may have originated as a way to protect shepherd girls from rape by strangers or nomads. While these stories have no basis in evidence, contemporary Nile Valley peoples do presume that the severe form known as *pharaonic circumcision* dates back to the time of the pharaohs. Although evidence has not been found by studying the remains of predynastic or later mummies from Egypt, there is documentary evidence from Herodotus that Egyptians, Phoenicians, Hittites, and Ethiopians practiced female excision about 500 BCE. Lililan Passmore Sanderson (1981) cites several ancient references to the rites translated as circumcision of girls, including a papyrus dated 163 BCE that refers to the circumcision of girls in Memphis, Egypt, at the age when they received their dowries. Writers believe that it may have been ideologically grounded in the concept of bisexuality of gods, reflected in the human anatomy. Circumcision would have represented the removal of the feminine "soul" of the man and the masculine "soul" of the woman so that each could be more fully male or female. This is a widespread idea in circumcising cultures, that circumcisions serve to establish unambiguous gender identity. In the Nile Valley, the practices predated the spread of Christianity and later Islam, and survived and were syncretized into the belief systems of ordinary believers in those faiths.

In other parts of Africa, female circumcision practices are not necessarily related to Nile Valley origins. The

practices vary widely, as do the timing, purpose, and techniques. The areas where female circumcision is most common include northeastern, eastern, central, and western Africa, but not all ethnic groups in those regions practice it. In all, about twenty-eight countries of Africa, including all the countries of coastal West Africa (Mauritania to Cameroon) and across the continent to the east coast from Tanzania to Egypt, include some groups who practice some form of female genital cutting. The highest incidence of the severe forms is found in Djibouti, Somalia, some areas of Eritrea and Ethiopia, and central and northern Sudan. Only very small percentages of women are circumcised in Zaire, Uganda, and Tanzania (5–10%); less than half (20–30%) in Mauritania, Senegal, Ghana, and Niger; and half or more in the remaining countries of the region.

Terminologies vary a great deal, and the terms used provide clues to people's ideas and beliefs about the origin and meaning of these practices. In Sudan and Egypt the surgeries, of whatever type, have been commonly referred to by the Arabic word for "purification" (*tahur* or *tahara*). Purification is thought to render the girl clean and pure, physically and morally. When clitoridectomy is combined with infibulation—the most common practice in Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea—people call it *pharaonic purification* (*tahur faroniya* in Sudanese Arabic), underscoring their belief about its origins in the ancient civilizations in the Nile Valley. For the partial or total clitoridectomy or prepuce removal, Sudanese commonly used the term *sunna purification* (*tahur as-sunna*). By using the term for the traditional practices associated with the prophet Muhammad (*sunna*), practitioners invoke the contested idea that the prophet approved removal of the prepuce or even partial or total clitoridectomy. Many Muslim scholars, however, assert that any sort of circumcision of females is against the teachings of Islam, criticizing what they see as misuse of the term *sunna*. Nevertheless, many Muslims continue to use the term *sunna* for whatever form of the surgeries they practice, including excision of all external genitalia.

Although often assumed to have religious meanings, female genital cutting has been practiced by members of all the major religions in Africa, including Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, as well as by followers of other African indigenous religious belief systems. It is found in diverse cultures and given different meanings. In some cultural groups, such as the Gikuyu and Maasai of Kenya, excision traditionally has marked a girl's transition to womanhood, usually performed between the ages of eight and thirteen. The Maasai did excisions just weeks prior to marriage, and the Gikuyu prior to first menstruation. In these cases, the surgeries are commonly accompanied by symbolic rituals (such as the shaving of heads among the Maasai) and communal celebrations; the girls are expected to adopt changes in behavior or clothing.

Young women experience the transition individually among the Maasai, collectively among the Gikuyu. Where such transitions are ritualized collectively, the circumcision experience may form the basis of an age-set, as among the Gikuyu. In addition, being circumcised according to traditions has often been interpreted as necessary to affiliation with one's ethnic group.

The age of circumcision in many cultures is so young that it is clearly not intended to mark the onset of womanhood. Sudanese girls are most commonly infibulated between the ages of five and seven, although research indicates some practitioners have begun performing clitoridectomies on babies; in western Africa, circumcision seems to be not uncommon as young as age three. Instead of marking womanhood, it seems to mark the end of early childhood, a rite to be completed before a girl enters school or begins to be significantly involved in family labor that takes her outside the home, long before she approaches sexual maturity. In some cultures the goal of genital cutting is explicitly to reduce sexual desire in preadolescent girls and women. In the case of infibulation, there is the added goal of preventing illicit intercourse by constructing a barrier of scar tissue. Among Arab Sudanese of many ethnic groups, failure to preserve a daughter's virginity in this socially marked way would dishonor the entire family, so timely genital cutting is considered vital. Additional reasons given include cleanliness, femininity and the removal of "masculine" parts, and an aesthetic preference for smoothness. European missionaries under colonial regimes, medical workers, and administrators participated in efforts to suppress female circumcision. Nationalist reaction, most notably in Kenya, led to political defense of the practices. Even at the turn of the twenty-first century, some African leaders expressed strong resentment toward outsiders who condemn the practices without understanding their significance.

EFFORTS TO END THE PRACTICES

Change efforts accelerated over the last several decades of the twentieth century. Young Gikuyu women and urban Kenyans have largely given up circumcision, and many urban and rural Sudanese have shifted to the less severe sunna or stopped doing any form. However, there has also been persistence or even expansion of the practices in situations where migrants or displaced persons seek to assimilate to the practices of higher-status ethnic groups with more severe forms.

Hygienic conditions have improved in many areas. Well-trained circumcisers with access to modern equipment and supplies perform clitoridectomy and infibulation with sterile razors, needles, and sutures, and utilize antibiotic powder, but for many areas unhygienic circumstances

are still a concern. However, there has been growing consensus among reformers that medicalization or reduced severity of the cutting should be rejected and only complete abandonment of the practices should be advocated.

Psychological and sexual impairment have not yet been extensively researched, although a few researchers have begun to focus on these topics. More common has been information on the health risks associated with these surgeries (including hemorrhage, septicemia, shock, infections, urine retention, and obstructed labor), and it has been mostly the medical issues that have prompted criticism. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, however, international and African criticisms of the practice in all its forms had grown tremendously, with human rights concerns becoming increasingly central to change efforts. International organizations (UNICEF, WHO), government ministries, international and local non-governmental organizations (CARE, Inter-African Committee Against Harmful Traditional Practices), and committed individuals have begun to develop effective strategies for public health education programs in each of the affected countries.

The human rights focus has drawn particular attention because the surgeries are usually performed on children, with or without their consent. Change agents are promoting the right to bodily integrity for girls, and in some cases simply encouraging delay—to let the girl decide for herself when she is older—has been explored. Delay is a particularly useful strategy because change is not a one-time act, but rather requires resolve to continue to resist the social pressures of traditional values. Adding months or years of delay allows the parents to avoid confronting change, yet it improves the chance that a girl will not be circumcised since she or her parents may become influenced by the new ideas about abandonment of the practice.

Particularly important has been the development of theological discussions about the practices. Some religious leaders have become active in questioning and even condemning some or all types of the practices. Particularly in light of the fact that some people use religion to justify continuing the sunna form of circumcisions, the increased involvement of Islamic religious teachers who are speaking out against the idea that sunna circumcision is permissible has been significant. However, there continue to be some Muslim leaders who defend the less severe form, so the ongoing theological discussions are important.

In some countries, change agents have successfully promoted alternate rituals without cutting. Governments and organizations have cooperated on projects to raise awareness in neighborhoods and rural communities, combining religious messages, health messages, songs, and skits. The (IAC) Inter-African Committee Against Harmful Traditional Practices has sponsored boys' soccer tournaments (the FGM Cup, for example) to promote male awareness. Posters, videos, radio programs, and religious songs with anti-circumcision messages are being utilized. Basic work to promote women's literacy and empowerment continues to be important.

Resistance to change is attributed to such concerns as the fear that daughters will be unmarriageable, male sexual preferences for infibulated women, and the desire to preserve ethnic traditions and identity.

SEE ALSO *Clitoris.*

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Ellen Gruenbaum

FEMINISM

This entry contains the following:

I. AFRICAN (SUB-SAHARAN)

African feminisms must be identified as post–Cold War phenomena, although many precursors and contributing influences coalesced during the mid-1970s and 1980s, and we have witnessed the florescence of African feminist movements in the post-1995 period. These feminisms have acknowledged African cultures and philosophies that celebrated women's participation in separate but complementary gender arenas, as well as subjected the gender bias within traditional culture to the critiques of modern life.

BACKGROUND

The slow evolution of African feminisms relative to American and European feminism is related to the fact that between 1957 and 1967 most Sub-Saharan African countries were emerging from colonialism, and public attention was focused on drawing the parameters of new state political, economic, and legal systems. Women subordinated gender concerns to nationalist concerns during this period. They played complementary roles with men in the movements that brought about independence, and elite women mobilized their organizations and institutions to support the nationalist parties. However, the fact that women did not receive the recognition that was due them and were increasingly marginalized within postindependence politics allowed a critical activist dynamic to emerge in African women's feminist dialogue.

African women tended to reject Western feminism (as well as the use of the term) in the 1960s and early 1970s because they saw it as a hegemonic force focused on individualism and the "politics of the body." In the dialogues that followed, scholars such as Niara Sudarkasa and Kamene Okonjo emphasized the assymetrical but complementary roles of men and women, and Gwendolyn Mikell focused on how the emerging African feminists blended traditional communal and pronatal concerns with the new strategies for survival within a crisis-ridden state. Scholars such as Oyeronki Oyewumi accused European colonizers and missionaries of creating binary male/female categories that distorted the reality of women's blended public and private roles in traditional African cultures. In general, African women resented the early Western focus on clitoridectomy or "genital cutting" as sensationalist and as a hegemonic attempt to control African women's private realms.

Takyiwaa Manuh and Frances Dolphynne described women's primary concern with addressing the serious social and economic challenges they faced in the 1980s and their resulting determination to craft new laws that created greater equality in property ownership, maintenance of children, and justice for wives given the existence of polygynous forms of marriage. However, during the economic decline of African states and the emergence of economic restructuring programs monitored by the international financial institutions, the devastating increases in maternal, infant, and child mortalities and the increase in HIV/AIDS prevalence rates drew attention to women's health status. Organizations such as Women in Nigeria (WIN) devised strategies to educate women about their economic and political rights, producing documents in local languages that increased knowledge accessibility. Not surprisingly, many African women scholars such as Patricia McFadden began to stress the need to interrogate and transform the conditions facing women in Africa through feminist activism.

THE TRAJECTORY OF AFRICAN FEMINISMS

The United Nations Decade of Women (1975–1985) set in motion a chain of local, national, continental, and global conversations that produced more varied concerns, which crystallized into what scholars call African feminism. Filomina Chioma Steady describes how the 1985 Women's Conference in Nairobi provided an opportunity for African women from all walks of life to share in discussions about "forward looking strategies" to address illiteracy and poverty and the responsibilities that women had to press governments to construct and implement national women's policies. However, with the end of the Cold War and the withdrawal of Western countries from much of Africa in the absence of a Soviet threat, the challenges for women altered. Into the political void stepped military governments, rebel groups, and informal armies that exploited the natural resources of Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, waged genocidal war in Rwanda and Sudan, and used rape as a tool of war. This violence against women accompanied by the rising HIV/AIDS rates in the 1990s had the effect of clearly focusing African women's feminist mobilization on issues related to the state.

The Fourth Women's Conference in Beijing in 1995 was the major culminating event, after which the language of feminism was widely used across Africa. The African national and NGO delegations that went to Beijing came back with broader ideas about how to implement democratic changes, demand that their countries sign onto CEDAW, provide educational equity for the girl child, and establish goals for the representation of women in politics. African women from different cultural and religious backgrounds, including Muslim, Christian, Traditional, Afro-Asian, Arab, and Swahili, could now discuss aspects of the Beijing platform relating to the family in a way that guaranteed respect for all traditions. In 1994, South Africa, which had moved from apartheid to democratic elections, and Rwanda, which was recovering from genocide, became important sites for feminist discussions. Some of the discussions among women of the African National Congress (ANC) involved women negotiating a percentage of elected and appointed positions in the new government; and this has been replicated in Uganda, Rwanda, and other places. Aili Mari Tripp has emphasized the fact that these local and regional African women's organizations have focused on the elimination of difference and the emergence of a culture of unity within African state politics.

The debate about whether African feminism should be equated with activism or scholarship by and about women was heated at the end of the millennium. The notion of "'women's rights as human rights'" and the

focus on eradicating violence against women began to be thoroughly integrated into the activism of African women's organizational networks such as BAOBAB in Nigeria. Women shared ideas and tactics in subregional conferences in Rwanda and Uganda, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, South Africa, Ghana, and Mali about how to construct a "Culture of Peace" that empowered women. Out of these discussions came support for the notion that in a post-war environment, women needed to transform national security strategies and insert themselves into state, transstate, and United Nations policy initiatives, such that human security gained importance as a balance to militarized security. They were aware that in situations of economic or political crisis, religion could be a critical arena for either local amelioration or conflict resolution. For example, Ayesha Imam and others helped counter the post-militaristic conflict between religious groups in Nigeria by working on equitable treatment for Muslim women accused of *ZINA* (sexual) crimes under Islam, and these death sentences were overturned. Women such as Regina Amadi-Njoku and Ndioro N'Diaye have helped push these notions of gender inclusion into the dynamics of the African Union and have helped it systematically integrate women into their emerging peace and conflict resolution mechanisms.

Equally as important has been the intellectual mobilization in the formation of African feminist ideas. Molara Ogundipe-Leslie and others have examined women's portrayal of themselves and their aspirations through literature. Then, through the Gender Institute at the University of Cape Town, women have analyzed their own conditions and proposed new approaches to African feminist understandings. The journal *Feminist Africa* became the major tool for women's dialogue about these issues. Through its pages one could see African women examining the scholarly arena with the goal of removing disciplinary boundaries that inhibited gender knowledge and recreating it as a site for feminist imagination and greater gender equity. Over a period of five years, *Feminist Africa* highlighted the work of groups such as the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) and the Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA). The journal explored ways that women's organizations mobilized to transform the African state and thoroughly examined "sexual cultures" (no. 5) and "subaltern sexualities" (no. 6). These approaches were considered sufficiently inclusive to encompass new sexual realities, despite the fact that they challenged the binary sexual symbolism of traditional African culture. Rather than occurring in isolation, this feminist intellectual dynamism has also been global, in that African women and American Africanists

have shared their ideas and analysis at forums such as the Women's Caucus of the African Studies Association in the United States.

The subtle shift from the pervasive use of the term *feminism* to the analysis of social conditions related to gender equity is symbolic of the new African perspectives. Certainly, there is a link to traditional predilections to deny a singular focus on women's individualism and urge concern for what is positive for society in general. However, the new focus on gender conditions and experiences is designed to be inclusive and holistic, reflecting the realization that the meanings and contexts of maleness and femaleness have begun to alter in the new global environment. African women pushed for and achieved a new Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2005) that, although still not acknowledging women's full sexual rights, was a tribute to their activism. In that sense, African feminists have returned to the issue of the body but on their own terms and within the context of historical and cultural change. The scholarly articles in *Feminist Africa* (no. 5 and no. 6) point this out and that African women are now challenged to respond to and transcend the historical conditions of the region. The new thinking about gender included consideration of the need for scrutinizing African gender hierarchies, especially to counter stereotypes and achieve greater equity in how sexuality and homosexuality play out within African culture.

Most recently, African feminist activists have begun to ask themselves how to think about these transformations and how African women will function as gender stereotypes fade away in the coming period. The book *Africa after Gender?* edited by Catherine M. Cole, Takyiwaa Manuh, and Stephan F. Miescher, is symbolic of this new period of feminist intellectual questioning. It examines volatile arenas of gender confrontation, forms of women's activism in public spaces, ritual and performative aspects of gender, and issues of masculinity, misogyny, and seniority. In the final chapter of the book, Helen Mugambi raises this issue: Can there be a post-gender question in African studies at a time when women's everyday lives at the local and state levels are still permeated by the gender hierarchies and battles of a post-colonial era? She answers it by proposing that African feminists reject a linear approach to the gender issue in favor of a circular approach that blends history, present challenges, and desired futures into a dynamic, interactive configuration that is constantly imagining, seeking, and addressing equitable treatment for both women and men.

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Gwendolyn Mikell

II. ASIAN

Europeans and North Americans have often been skeptical of feminism in Asia because of instances of women's oppression there such as domestic violence, dowry, and seclusion. Women's activism has a long history in Asian cultures albeit its distinctiveness from European and North American feminism.

The uniqueness of Asian feminism is based on:

1. The conception of multiple sources of women's subjugation rather than patriarchy only;

2. The recognition of imperialism and colonization as causes of gender oppression;

3. A focus on collectivism instead of individualism;

4. The rejection of the label *feminism* as a symbol of European and North American ideological domination.

Asian feminist perspectives are also called third-world feminism as it includes race, class or caste, sexuality, imperialism, gender, and the role of state in analyzing gender oppression. In many Asian societies, the common experiences of feudalism, traditions, colonization, and androcentric social and familial hierarchies reduced women to domestic subservience. Consequently, feminist activism historically concentrated on improving women's lots. Feminist movements of the 1970s and 1980s, conversely, stressed women's emancipation and empowerment and their entry into the core of national politics.

Feminism in Asia has traditionally been disparate along class lines, with mainly elite women occupying leadership roles. However, conditions of poverty have drawn feminist theorizing to Marxism, whereas the centers of action and debate are located in nongovernmental organizations (NGO) rather than academia.

EAST ASIA—JAPAN, KOREA, AND CHINA

Rapid industrialization after World War II, U.S. occupation of Japan, and the Korean War (1950–1953) shaped the women's movements in the two countries. Japanese feminists utilized their experiences of organizing for suffrage in the nineteenth century to agitate against the occupation and, later, to demilitarize U.S. bases. Simultaneously, women's groups worked to improve

health care, food supplies, and social benefits for families. By the early 1950s Korean and Japanese women increasingly entered labor forces and, in 1956, Japan established its first female trade union. Nevertheless, a clash between pro-work and pro-motherhood forces polarized the fledgling Japanese feminist movement. In the early 1990s women regrouped to force the government to pass laws protecting part-time workers and child-care laws to support working mothers. Since then Japanese women's movements have taken up issues such as prostitution, trafficking, sex tourism, reproductive rights, and violence.

In Korea, workingwomen's conditions remained poor and marginalized, particularly in rural areas. In 1983 Korean women pressured the government to establish a special agency for women's welfare, the Korean Women's Development Institute, and in the early 1990s, they worked to pass laws ensuring labor equality. In both Korea and Japan, women's participation in political processes continues to climb.

Feminism in China can be traced back to the 1800s, when many women resisted marriage to live as independent workers. After the revolution in the 1950s, the communist government introduced laws to initiate gender equality in the marriage and labor structures to mobilize women to join the workforce. Most Chinese women's groups were established under the government's auspices. Nonetheless, the Chinese government's one-child policy to reduce population has encouraged violence against women and sex-selective abortions. With rising consumerism and unemployment in the post-Mao era, women are being sidelined in the labor force while traditional gender roles in the family are being resurrected.

SOUTHEAST ASIA—INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE, THAILAND, PHILIPPINES, AND VIETNAM

Following globalization and growing affluence in Southeast Asia, a new class of urban, professional, workingwomen is exerting significant influence on the market and politics and has begun to scrutinize traditional gender disparity. But these critiques consciously reject European and North American models and position feminism within local cultures. For example, in Malaysia women's organizations such as Sisters in Islam (established in 1988) are engaged in seeking women's rights within an Islamic framework.

Since the 1980s Southeast Asian feminists have been challenging the working conditions of housemaids and women employed in multinational companies, domestic violence, polygamy, inequality within marriage, and lack of educational opportunities. In the Philippines feminists took leadership in ousting U.S. military bases in 1991.

Antiprostitution and antitrafficking campaigns have occupied the center stage of women's activism in Thailand.

Vietnamese women's movements carry the legacies of the two Trung sisters (both died in 43 CE), who led an all female army against Chinese invaders in 40 CE, and of Bui Thi Xuan (d. 1802), a peasant-revolt leader in the eighteenth century. The first women's organization in Vietnam was formed in 1930. Vietnamese women played critical roles and held high-ranking positions in the rebellion against the French in the 1940s, in the war with the United States from 1964 to 1973, and against invasions by Cambodia and China in 1978 and 1979. The communist government has actively forwarded women's rights and endeavored to end patriarchal and feudal control. Women's participation has been vital in national reconstruction after the wars, and the government has passed several laws supporting workingwomen, particularly mothers.

CENTRAL ASIA—UZBEKISTAN, KYRGYZSTAN, AND KAZAKHSTAN

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1980s, central Asian nations became independent and began restructuring their governances and economies. The resultant sociopolitical upheavals placed in jeopardy women's rights guaranteed during the Soviet regime. Even under communism the main culture of the region was Islamic, which is being vigorously reclaimed with various traditions affecting women, such as purdah and segregation, making a comeback.

The Soviet administration viewed feminism as socially divisive, and this attitude is prevalent in the early twenty-first century. The burgeoning women's movements are prioritizing issues of violence, reproductive rights, sexuality, and gender equality but have lost grounds in achieving equitable political representation. To dissociate from the past women's movement under the Soviet administration because of its ties to the Communist Party, contemporary women's movements have de-emphasized participation in political processes. Instead, central Asian women's movements are attempting to find a balance between their identities and roles as Muslims and feminists in society.

SOUTH ASIA—BANGLADESH, INDIA, PAKISTAN, SRI LANKA, AND NEPAL

Feminism in south Asia is inexorably linked to nationalism. Although women have historically played prominent roles in socioeconomics of the region, their organized political participation occurred during anticolonial struggles that led to sovereignty in the late 1940s. After independence several powerful women's NGOs operated

in each country, such as Bangladesh Mahila Parishad (established in 1970), the National Federation of Indian Women (established in 1954), the Women's Action Forum in Pakistan (established in 1981), the Women's Foundation of Nepal (established in 1988), and the Voice of Women in Sri Lanka (established in 1978), often working simultaneously against repressive governmental policies and instituting supportive laws.

Although influenced by European and North American thought, south Asian feminist philosophies have been deliberately nested in indigenous cultural contexts. Feminist activism has centered on women's inclusion in political processes, economic advancement, issues of violence, and overall improvement of status. The theoretical bases of south Asian women's movements have generally been broad and have stressed intra- and extranational issues such as political repression, judicial insensitivity, law enforcement tyranny, neocolonialism, and globalization. The movements tend to work concurrently on legislative and nonlegislative solutions and redress. For example, mainly because of women's activism India passed The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act into law in 2005, whereas the majority of anti-HIV intervention is being led by regional NGOs. The movements are characterized by their nongovernmental and decentralized status as well as diversity in mass base, structure, administration, and focus.

South Asian nations have generated voluminous and varied feminist writings in indigenous languages and English that range from fiction to theory. The first feminist utopist writing in English, *Sultana's Dream* (1905), is credited to India's Begum Roquia Sakhawat Hossain (1880–1932). Susie Tharu and K. Lalita edited a valuable two-volume collection of women's writings from 600 BCE to the 1990s in *Women Writing in India* (1991–1993). Although operating under harsh political conditions, such as civil war, armed insurrection, governmental corruption, theocratic stranglehold, and crushing poverty, women's movements for social and legal equality in south Asia have been vast, radical, and vibrant.

TRANSNATIONAL FEMINISM

Despite the diverse political situations in each country, feminist organizations in Asia have endeavored to forge regional alliances. Between 1990 and 1992 women's movements in Japan and Korea collaborated on the issue of Japan's exploitation of *comfort women* during wars. In 1996 Pakistan's Women's Action Forum formally apologized to Bangladeshi women for the Pakistani military's atrocities and rampant rape during the 1971 war that led to the formation of Bangladesh. In the 1990s Naripokkho of Bangladesh (established in 1983) created transnational collaboration among several nations including France, England, Canada, and the United States to facilitate the treatment of girls and women disfigured by acid thrown on them. Asian women's organizations continue to convene conferences and exchange programs to further such collaborative relationships.

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Shamita Das Dasgupta

III. MIDDLE EASTERN

Middle Eastern feminism is a discourse and practice of educated and employed middle-class women, some of whom are active in women's organizations. Using a variety of legal and discursive strategies and calling themselves secular, Muslim, or Islamic, Middle Eastern feminists challenge women's institutionalized second-class citizenship and call for change in women's positions in the family, the polity, and the religious community. Feminists and women's organizations are rebelling nonviolently against women's location in the private domain and men's control of the public domain. Their principal demands are (1) egalitarian family laws; (2) criminalization of domestic violence and other forms of violence against women, including "honor killings"; (3) nationality rights for women and their children; and (4) greater access to employment and participation in political decision making. The point of reference for Middle Eastern feminism is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), but some also use the Qur'an and early Islamic history to make the case for women's participation and rights.

"Islamic feminists" call for women's right to *ijtihad*, or religious interpretation, and the reform of patriarchal Islamic jurisprudence.

HISTORY OF ISLAMIC FEMINISM

Middle Eastern feminism has existed since at least the early twentieth century, often in conjunction with nationalist or other progressive social movements. However, in the latter part of that century feminist activities became more focused on women and gender issues and more organized. That process arose in the context of sociodemographic changes (urbanization, increased female educational attainment and salaried employment, declining fertility, the predominance of the nuclear family), political developments (the spread of fundamentalism as well as a gradual process of political liberalization in some of the countries in the region), and the global women's rights agenda.

Whereas the period from the 1950s to the 1970s saw women involved almost exclusively in official women's organizations or charitable associations, the period since the third United Nations World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 saw the expansion of many types of women's organizations. State conservatism in some countries forced women's organizations and feminist leaders to assume a more independent stance than they might have taken in previous decades. For example, the preamble of the 1986 report of the Arab Women's Solidarity Association called on women "to unite, to close ranks and become a political and social force able to effect changes in prevailing systems, laws and legislation that will be beneficial for women and for all the people." A recommendation of the political committee was for the "release of general freedoms, particularly the freedoms of expression and organization; for respect of human rights for men and women; for a greater participation by women in political decision-making, and for an equal share with men in the authority exercised both in the state and the family" (cited in Toubia 1988). The first meeting of Arab women's nongovernmental organizations in Amman, Jordan, in November 1994 made similar recommendations.

ISLAMIC WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Women's organizations include the traditional charitable or service organizations, professional associations, women-in-development (WID) nongovernmental organizations, research centers and women's studies institutes, women's auxiliaries of political parties, and women's rights or feminist organizations. All are contributing to the development of civil society in the region, although the feminist organizations perhaps are doing this most consciously. For exam-

ple, Moroccan feminist organizations such as l'Union d'action feminin and l'Association démocratique des femmes marocaines launched a campaign in the early 1990s to reform the patriarchal family law, the *Moudawana*, in the face of state lack of interest and organized Islamist opposition. In the latter part of the 1990s a more conducive political environment enabled a feminist-state alliance that succeeded in legislating a more egalitarian family law in 2003.

The Lebanese League for Women's Rights runs candidates for political office, and the Beirut-based Women's Court launched highly visible campaigns "to resist violence against women" in 1995, 1998, and 2000. North Africa's Collectif 95 Maghreb Egalité was the major organizer of the "Muslim Women's Parliament" at the NGO Forum that preceded the fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995; later it formulated an alternative "egalitarian family code" and promoted women's political participation. North African feminist action also is concerned with the social rights of working-class and poor women. Turkey is home to the Association to Support Women Candidates (Kader), Flying Broom, Women for Women's Human Rights, the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work, and Anakultur (a feminist organization for rural women). Palestine's Legal Aid and Counseling Center lobbies against family violence. The Jerusalem Center for Women promotes women's rights and peaceful solutions to the conflict with Israel. Birzeit University's Institute of Women's Studies seeks to produce new generations of feminist leaders in the Middle East.

Middle Eastern feminism also may be seen in literary and cultural efforts such as the publication of books, journals, and films. Feminist publishing houses include Cairo's Noor (which organized the first Arab Women's Book Fair in 1995), Morocco's Edition le Fennec, and Iran's Roshangaran Press and the Cultural Center of Women, along with journals and magazines such as Morocco's *8 Mars*, Iran's *Zanan* [Women], and Turkey's *Partisi*. The quarterly feminist journal *Al-Raida* is published by the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World at the Lebanese American University. The Women's Library in Istanbul contains research and documentation on women and gender issues. Skillfully circumventing censorship, Iranian filmmakers, male and female alike, have produced internationally acclaimed films with feminist themes.

Well known in their own countries as well as in international feminist circles, Middle Eastern feminists include Algeria's Khalida Messaoudi and Boutheina Cheriet; Iran's Shahla Lahiji, Noushin Ahmadi-Khorassani, Parvin Ardalan, and Shadi Sadr; Jordan's Haifa Abu Ghazaleh and Rana Husseini; Lebanon's Lamia Shehadeh and the late Laure Moghaizel; Morocco's Latifa Jbabdi, Rabéa

Algerian Feminist Khalida Toumi. HZ/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

Naciri, and Nouzha Skalli; Palestine's Hanan Ashrawi, Zahira Kamal, and Souheir Azzouni; Tunisia's Bochra Bel Haj Hmida, and Esma Ben Hamida; and Turkey's Sirin Tekeli and Pinar Ilkaraccan.

GOALS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Campaigns for women's rights have succeeded in effecting legal reforms and policy changes. In Iran, as a result of a well-publicized case of a girl's death at the hands of her brother and father, feminist lawyers and activists challenged the automatic granting of child custody to the father in the aftermath of divorce. In 1999 Egyptian feminists secured the reversal of Article 291, which exonerated rapists who married their victims. Egyptian feminists and public health activists also have formed or worked with coalitions against female circumcision. In December 2001 the Jordanian cabinet approved several amendments to the Civil Status Law, raising the legal age for marriage to eighteen for both males and females and granting women legal recourse to divorce. An amendment to the penal code makes perpetrators of honor crimes liable to the death penalty. However, judges are allowed to commute the sentences of the convicted, and the practice continues, with families using underage men as the perpetrators of the violence.

In some countries feminists are contributing to national dialogues and political debates on democracy and human rights, and women's organizations are building coalitions with human rights organizations to expand civil society and citizenship rights. Algerian feminists not only are active in the struggle for modernization of family law and against religious extremism but also have formulated a position on democracy that is based on their experience with the violent Islamist movement of the late 1980s and the 1990s.

OBSTACLES AND CHALLENGES

Feminism in the Middle East continues to confront obstacles and challenges. In addition to the resource constraints of many women's organizations, feminism faces unreliable or patriarchal governments, societal conservatism, the preoccupation of Islamist movements with women's appearance and behavior, and cultural debates about "authenticity" versus westernization. Nevertheless, domestic and global developments have produced women's movements that challenge popular understandings and legal codes regarding the public sphere and the private sphere and that demand more access to the public sphere, full and equal participation in the national community, and full and equal rights in the family. Those gender-based demands not only would extend existing rights to women but also broaden the political agenda and redefine citizenship in the region.

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Valentine M. Moghadam

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SEX AND GENDER

IV. WESTERN

The term *Western feminism* is controversial because the appellation *Western* is ambiguous—does it name a geographical place, a political or ideological hegemony, or a state of cultural, historical, or racial homogeneity? Does it preserve imperialist divisions between the "West" and "the rest," enabling a series of exclusive and exclusionary valuations along axes of superiority/inferiority, civilized/uncivilized, and developed/underdeveloped? Is it the enabling fiction of racially white global dominance in the fields of politics, culture, law, and economics? Are *Western* and *white* analogous? Who is included in the category—second- and third-generation immigrant populations with complex forms of national identification, resident nonwhite populations, people of mixed race? What implications are there for its use in a postcolonial context in which the terms *Western* and *Eastern* have been rigorously critiqued? And what of the differences between the countries that are conventionally considered to be Western? Yet the term may have some valency insofar as it now necessitates the kinds of qualifications suggested here and thus recalls its specific history. The term *feminism* is also problematic insofar as it suggests a homogenous political movement through time and space. The history of feminism, however, indicates a multiplicity of *feminisms* that offer significant differences of emphasis, context, and motivation however much they share the common goal of female emancipation and equality.

Bringing the terms feminism and Western together raises yet another series of difficulties, not least that some feminist approaches have been explicitly opposed to the liberalist frameworks of the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment within which the West was established as the dominant global power. Nonetheless, Western feminism is both created by and resistant to the form of post-Enlightenment individualism that established the autonomous, rational individual as the basis upon which the basic rights of citizenship might be secured. Western feminism, in addressing the unequal status of women, has necessarily aligned itself with the emancipatory discourse of Western liberalism, which has proved to be a powerful tool for feminists seeking to establish gender parity. It has also required, however, acquiescence with the principle of the sameness of individuals, and this has often been at the expense of the specificity of a more plural understanding of women and the differences between them. Further, some feminists believe that Enlightenment individualism inscribes patriarchal values and is thus of limited worth. Consequently, Western feminism invokes a complex history of both complicity and resistance, and if it has any definitional utility it is with regard to embodying and clarifying this tension.

Western feminism also names a specific set of discourses that have historically been promoted as universal.

To recognize some forms of feminism as Western, therefore, is to acknowledge the particularity of feminist programs produced within the West and to resist both the imposition of a homogenous narrative of feminist achievements on non-Western contexts as well as the assumption that Western feminist analyses and objectives are shared with non-Western movements. At the more localized level, however, the term is unsatisfactory inasmuch as it obscures the huge regional and political differences between the feminisms that operate in the countries that constitute what is, at least in everyday use, understood to be the West. Moreover, it appropriates those forms of feminism that are critical of the ethnocentrism of Western feminism and may identify as Western but are nonetheless produced in dialogue with Western intellectual and political environments. For the purposes of this entry, therefore, the term Western feminism will refer to those feminist discourses that are inscribed within or conducted with reference to liberalism and that operate within those regions conventionally considered to be Western, namely western Europe, North America, and Australasia.

There are two main approaches to discussing the development of Western feminism and delineating between the various feminisms that constitute it. The first offers a chronological treatment of Western feminism from its emergence in the nineteenth century to the early twenty-first century, while the second offers a system of classification of the main forms of feminist thought and activity within Western feminism.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN FEMINISM

The historical development of Western feminism is generally discussed in terms of three main "waves," each of which constitutes a stage in the form of feminist activity. The chronology and thematic organization is somewhat loose, however, and each stage overlaps with the others.

First-wave feminism is usually dated from the mid-1850s to the beginning of World War II and was characterized by its liberalist stance insofar as it sought, through political activism, the full citizenship rights of universal suffrage, self-determination, access to higher education, and ownership of property.

Second-wave feminism, often considered synonymous with the women's liberation movement, refers to the reemergence of feminist activity in the aftermath of the World War II until the 1990s. Significant developments in the first half of the twentieth century prepared the ground: Simone de Beauvoir published *The Second Sex* (1949), reinvigorating debates regarding the status of women rendered dormant during World Wars I and II; women's suffrage had been achieved in most Western

countries; and women's participation in higher education had also undergone a period of rapid expansion.

Like the first wave, the second wave was largely defined by its liberal agenda, but expanded its focus to include a vision of female solidarity; demands for equal pay; interventions in the spheres of reproduction, sexuality, and cultural representation; and the more substantial theorization of patriarchy. Many of the forms of feminism outlined below emerged during the second wave, but as Elizabeth Weed (1989) argues, "for all the varieties within the [feminist] movement ... the 'second wave' ... was inscribed within the liberal system of individual rights ... and the various strains of feminism have had to engage in one way or another with the terms of that inscription. It is in this sense that 'liberal feminism' is the mainstream feminism" (p. xii). Several defining features and concerns of second-wave feminism rapidly emerged. First, all feminists, regardless of their particular approaches, agreed that in societies that divide the sexes into binarized cultural, economic, or political spheres, women are less valued than men. Second, key concepts such as patriarchy, sexism, and misogyny were formulated as ways of theorizing about the purportedly universal oppression of women. Third, autonomous female identities were suggested in which women's bodies and conventionally "feminine" activities were prioritized and represented as positive in contrast to the centuries-old portrayal of femininity as a source of danger, impurity, and evil. Finally, feminists acted on the principle that women could consciously and collectively change their social position and identity whether through advocating for equal employment, reproductive, and sexual rights, or by challenging and resisting male violence against women, pornography, sexual exploitation, unequal domestic arrangements, and all other forms of gender-based discrimination.

Despite broad agreement regarding the assessment of the position of women, considerable disagreements began to emerge among feminists in the 1970s and 1980s. Feminists of color, who confronted both sexual and racial discrimination, and lesbian feminists challenged the movement; both groups argued that second-wave feminism was dominated by white, middle-class, and heterosexual agendas that failed to address the multiple axes of oppression in the intersections between class, race and sexuality. The failure of the leaders of the women's liberation movement to take up the concerns of their fellow feminists resulted in the splintering of the movement. If feminism was losing its identity as a unified political movement, however, it was beginning to make its presence felt in universities as feminists recognized the powerful role of educational institutions in shaping cultural values and meanings and the importance of critiquing their exclusion of women's contributions. Women's studies departments and programs were established in universities starting in the late 1960s, and by the early 1980s the field had been an established discipline for approximately a decade. It was the combination of the critiques of feminism on the grounds of racism and heteronormativity and its increasing academicization that contributed to a decisive shift against the movement's liberalist roots and produced what is now referred to as the third wave.

The emergence of third-wave feminism in the 1990s was the result of an explosion of theoretical perspectives informed by poststructural, postcolonial, and queer theory, each of which problematized the dominant (European) liberal presentation of individualism as homogenous and universal. Because of its roots in liberalism, feminism was by no means exempt from these critiques. Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1991), for example, offered a powerful criticism of the "colonialist move" in some Western feminist scholarship on women in the "Third World," particularly insofar as it appropriated the "production of the 'third world woman' as a singular monolithic subject" (p. 51). She was particularly critical of the presumption in Western feminist scholarship of a conflation between women as historical subjects, and "woman" as a homogenous category of analysis on the basis of presumed shared oppression.

While many of the concerns of the second wave have continued to be important, Western feminist activity in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries marks both a self-reflexive turn and a mature phase in feminist activity as it seeks to address the previously hegemonic assumptions of the second wave. It registers a shift in the common preoccupations that have informed debates between feminists. Most notably, there has been a movement away from the denunciation of gender inequalities toward the poststructural theorization of discursive constructions of gender. In addition, third-wave feminists advocate a sustained examination of hegemonic representations of masculinity and a more nuanced understanding of the often-significant differences between women in the contexts of class, ethnicity, race, sexuality, and economic status.

TYPOLOGIES OF FEMINISMS

Western feminism is generally divided into six main types—liberal, Marxist, socialist, radical, psychoanalytic, and poststructural—each identified on the basis of their central approach (see Tong 1998 for a thorough survey). Before discussing the ways in which these types differ from one another, it is important to note that the various categories regularly overlap and that they all share in common a concern with the causes of the oppression of women and suggest means through which it might be overcome.

Liberal feminism is committed to the full equality of women and men, arguing that this can be achieved through legislation and social reform. It assumes the fundamental sameness of men and women on the basis of the Enlightenment universal individualism and proposes the reformation rather than the dismantling of social systems and institutions that have hitherto discriminated against or excluded women. Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) is considered to be the classic expression of the liberal feminist perspective. The liberal feminist tradition was continued during the 1960s and 1970s by feminists such as Betty Friedan, who in 1966 founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in order to campaign for women's rights.

Marxist feminism disagrees with the liberal analysis of both the causes of women's inequality and the means for overcoming it. Instead, it suggests that the cause is capitalism, in particular the ways in which it promotes private ownership of property and the means of production by a relatively small number of men, in turn producing the class system and ensuring women's social and economic inequality. The solution proposed is the replacement of capitalism with a socialist system with the effect that women would achieve an economically equal status with men. Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (1970), in which she identified "sex class"—the condition of women as an oppressed class—is an early classic of Marxist feminism. Other well-known Marxist feminists include Michèle Barrett and Christine Delphy.

Radical feminists are critical of both liberal and Marxist perspectives, arguing that the analysis of and solution to women's disempowerment must be more far-reaching than either the liberals or Marxists suggest. Rather than capitalism or institutional sexism, it is patriarchy—understood as a complete and universal social system that places men as hierarchically dominant—that lies at the root of women's oppression, and it must therefore be completely dismantled. For many radical feminists, liberalism and socialism are simply different expressions of patriarchy, and thus to adopt any one of these perspectives is to fail to address the fundamental cause of women's oppression. Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1970) is an exemplar of radical feminist analysis in which she examines patriarchy as a socially conditioned belief system that masquerades as the natural order, showing how patriarchal attitudes and systems have penetrated such areas as literature, philosophy, and psychology. Andrea Dworkin, Mary Daly, and Catharine A. MacKinnon are also considered to be influential proponents of radical feminism.

Socialist feminism emerged in response to the Marxist prioritization of the proletariat struggle over that of women. It offers a synthetic analysis of the causes of women's oppression combining elements of the Marxist perspective with the radical feminist view that sexist oppression is endemic in society. Alison M. Jaggar (1983), for example, argues that it is necessary to interrelate the complex forms of women's oppression rather than focusing on a single cause, and she uses the Marxist concept of "alienation" in order to show that within capitalist systems the various roles demanded of women lead to their oppression rather than their full integration within society.

Psychoanalytic feminism attributes the root of women's oppression to the Oedipal crisis suggested by Sigmund Freud, whereby individuals are created as gendered selves as a result of their induction into the world of regulated cultural discourses through the intervening force of their fathers, a movement requiring the negation of the mother. From a feminist perspective psychoanalysis offers a compelling explanation for women's secondary social position within patriarchal societies and indeed for the existence of patriarchy (see Mitchell 1974). Some feminists argue that patriarchy is shown by psychoanalysis to be a product of the male imagination and is therefore open to challenge and transformation (see Mitchell 1974). Others, such as Sherry B. Ortner (1975), Dorothy Dinnerstein (1976), and Nancy Chodorow (1974), argue that if some form of Oedipal crisis is inescapable then its values and meanings can be realigned more positively toward women through dual parenting and women's greater participation in the workforce, leading to those characteristics traditionally associated with weak and dangerous femininity becoming meaningless. Nonetheless, psychoanalysis has tended to validate essentialist and universal gender idealizations, aligning femininity with passivity and negativity and masculinity with agency and normativity. It is thus a dangerous tool for feminists to wield without undertaking critical adjustments to its core propositions, a task that has been undertaken by Juliet Mitchell, Jacqueline Rose, and Elizabeth Grosz.

Each of the feminist approaches discussed above shares a liberal provenance in common. In particular, each provides a unified account of women's oppression and suggests total solutions that mark them out as modernist in orientation. The final school of feminist thought—poststructural feminism—is distinctly at odds with modernist approaches insofar as it refuses to offer a metanarrative of women's oppression but rather suggests that there is no single cause for women's subordination, and that, therefore, there can be no unified approach toward overcoming it. Poststructural feminists are expressly critical of liberalist feminism, suggesting that its efforts to provide unified accounts of women's oppression instantiate phallocentric modes of thought. They also claim that sexual and gender identities are not inherent properties of

individuals but are rather constructed through (phallogo-centric) language. As such, poststructural feminism derives much of its own account from the intellectual strategies of thinkers such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Lacan, and to some extent, therefore, it too can be charged with taking up the discourse of the "fathers." By far the most influential proponent of feminism in this vein is Judith Butler (particularly in her 1990 book, *Gender Trouble* [2nd edition, 1999]).

Poststructural feminists also argue that the promotion of any feminist project on the basis of the assumed commonality of women's experiences is unfeasible because it ignores differences between women rooted in the intersections of race, class, and sexuality. Here they share much in common with those feminists who identify the ethnocentric bias within much Western feminism, where whiteness is figured as both normative and invisible. Hazel Carby (1982), for example, has argued that Western feminism has not included an awareness of the different nature of black women's experiences and that consequently many of the feminist insights regarding the sources of women's oppression are inadequate. She suggests, however, that a supplemental inclusion of non-white perspectives in feminist work would not solve the problem but rather that "the process of accounting for [black women's] historical and contemporary position does, in itself, challenge the use of some of the central categories and assumptions of recent mainstream feminist thought" (p. 213).

Poststructural feminism in turn has been strongly criticized for overemphasizing differences between women and suggesting that the category "woman" is merely a product of phallocentric discourse and thus an empty signifier. As Naomi Schor (1987) has argued, "Whether or not the 'feminine' is a male construct, a product of a phallocentric culture destined to disappear, in the present order of things we cannot afford not to press its claims even as we dismantle the conceptual systems which support it" (p. 97). Perhaps the defining feature of Western feminism, therefore, is likely to remain for the foreseeable future a productive struggle between the claim for the common identity of women and the respect of difference.

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Sîan Hawthorne

FEMME

Femme, sometimes spelled fem, is a queer gender that exaggerates the powerful, highly artificial elements of femininity. Femmes are usually women and sometimes men for whom femininity is experienced as both integral to their self-presentation and highly stylized. Usually, femmes are lesbian women who enjoy being girlish or womanly with other women. Some femmes prefer other femmes, but most femmes prefer somewhat masculine or butch women as their sexual partners, though the category of butch can itself range from soft butches, to athletic types, to very masculine women, to female-to-male transsexuals. Traditionally, however, femme women have been understood as the feminine element in a butch-femme couple, or as feminine women interested in exclusively butch lovers.

Many famous lesbian couples in the early part of the twentieth century were butch-femme in their gender styles: Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas are one famous American butch-femme lesbian example; Radclyffe Hall and Una Troubridge another example from Britain. There are few examples of famous femmes that were not part of a butch-femme couple, in large part because many famous women could not be out lesbians. Barbara Stanwyck is perhaps the best example of a lesbian woman whose femininity was powerful and strategic, and who brilliantly managed to convey this to audiences without having to actually come out and ruin her career. Among mid-century American lesbians, membership in a lesbian sexual subculture might have been signaled by becoming part of a butch-femme couple, where one woman dressed and comported herself as more masculine than did her stereotypically feminine partner. Butch-femme style was especially prevalent among working-class lesbians in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Joan Nestle, an outspoken femme who experienced lesbian life in the 1950s and 1960s, argues that butch-femme style helped make lesbians visible when there was no woman's movement or gay movement to protect them, and that their presence represented female erotic independence from men. As such they became frequent targets of violence. The homophile movement of the 1960s was ashamed of them, and discouraged such open visibility as being too antagonistic to mainstream culture.

Feminism steered many lesbians away from gender polarities of masculine and feminine in the 1970s, and an androgynous style of flannel shirts and Birkenstock sandals became the lesbian uniform for a good part of the decade. The retro revival of the 1980s and 1990s, however, helped bring back butch-femme style, especially femininity in the form of the hyper-girlish lipstick lesbian. Lesbian cultural critics have argued that butch-femme lesbian style offers a challenge to heterosexual gender styles by showing that they can be appropriated and subverted. Such appropriation, these critics argue, reveals heterosexual style *as* style, as artificial and socially constructed behaviors rather than natural ones. Femme style distances itself from heterosexual femininity by embracing the dramatic, campy, subcultural feminine styles found in bondage cultures, Goth and biker cultures, rock-and-roll culture, and sex work culture. The recent revival of burlesque, which emphasizes the dignity and expertise of performers and their routines, is all about femme power, and celebrates female strength and female embodiment in its variety and splendor. The new burlesque confronts audiences, taking the traditional appropriative voyeuristic look that seeks to commodify and consume naked women's bodies and sexualities, and turning that look around, so the dancer looks back at the theater, defiantly owning her own person and offering up instead an appreciation for women and their bodies that is shared by audiences and performers alike. Community burlesque events encourage audiences to celebrate women with big breasts, hips, thighs, buttocks, and stomachs who display their bodies joyously, as a challenge to conventional and narrow childlike, emaciated and passive styles of feminine beauty and comportment.

Many people confuse butch and femme with male and female, and assume that butch-femme couples are imitating heterosexual gender styles. This assumption usually involves misrecognizing femmes as subservient and butches as dominant and aggressive. In fact, femme women are understood in lesbian communities as very powerful—usually as powerful or more powerful than their butch partners, who may be shy, oppressed, and unsuccessful in the larger world. While stereotypical masculinity and femininity rely on the notion that men are powerful and dominant and women are passive and subservient, lesbian butch-femme couples turn that upside down. Butches are there to please and satisfy their femmes, and to demonstrate great devotion, chivalry, and fighting prowess if necessary. Femmes, on the other hand, are sexually powerful divas and mother figures who demand attention, sexual satisfaction, and love, but who may also offer fierce protection and devotion in turn.

Because femmes can pass as straight women, or at least present a certain level of gender normativity, they can hold jobs that butch women are unlikely to get, and thus may have significantly more economic power than their butch partners. Femme women can occupy any position in office culture, schools, restaurants, theater, or the movie industry, whereas butch women are still stigmatized in almost every area of employment. Moreover, femininity, because it is more socially acceptable for women, offers more mobility in terms of class. While there are classed feminine styles, butch gender is almost universally regarded as lower class. An unfeminine

or butch woman is often read as uncultured, uneducated, uncouth, blue collar, and freakish, and her masculine style never fits in with the accessorized, more glamorous feminine gender norms of offices, corporations, or even universities. Femme women can move across and through these worlds, taking what they need and bringing it back to their communities. While many can pass as straight, most choose not to whenever possible, challenging gender norms when they can by doing gender with a difference.

This is to say that femme and feminine are not the same thing. Most femmes adopt femininity as a lesbian style that makes them attractive to other women, not to men. Femme women emphasize the power that can be achieved by feminine wiles. They flirt, use dramatic makeup, act bitchy, and enjoy being bossy and dominating. They may employ highly theatrical gestures, wear tight and dramatic dresses that emphasize their cleavage and legs, use bold lipsticks and mascaras, wear flamboyant jewelry, and totter about on the highest, spikiest heels they can find. At the same time, they present themselves as sexually autonomous out lesbians. For these women, femme is about sexual power, and the drama of their gender is about emphasizing agency, desire, attractiveness, and narcissistic pleasure. They are anything but passive. Indeed, most femmes demand sexual gratification, and their gender style is meant to issue a challenge to the people they desire: "Are you brave enough to take me on? Are you strong enough to please me?"

Men can be femmes too. Usually femme describes a highly effeminate man who identifies less as a gay man than he does as a feminine person. This can mean he identifies as a woman or a transsexual, but not necessarily so. He may be a drag queen, or a radical fairy, or an ultra-feminine boy. Male femmes share with female femmes the adoption of femininity as a powerful and theatrical style of gender that emphasizes agency, independence, costume, comportment, flair, flirtation, narcissism, and feminine strength. There are femme categories in most voguing competitions, and these reward the contestant for displaying a feminine style that is clearly constructed yet richly felt and inhabited, reflecting a deep understanding of the strategic way gender operates in the world around all of us, regardless of our gender and sexual identities and identifications.

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme.*

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Jaime Hovey

FERTILITY

Fertility is defined as the quality of being fruitful and productive. Physiologically, it refers to the ability to conceive a child. A closely related term, fecundity, refers to the capability of conceiving and bearing live offspring, though in everyday language the two terms are often used synonymously. Before people had a better understanding of human reproduction, the term fertility was applied exclusively to women, but today the term may apply to either sex. Virility is a masculinized version of fertility and suggests robust sexual activity and the ability to impregnate women. Virility is also associated with culturally determined images of masculine appearance and behavior. In certain cultures (especially Latino), machismo, or an exaggerated sense of masculinity, is not only acceptable but often expected in virile men.

Biologically, women become fertile at puberty (usually between ages ten and thirteen) when the ovaries begin functioning. Each month, roughly corresponding to day fourteen of her menstrual cycle, the woman ovulates (releases an egg). It is during this time that she is most fertile. If sperm is present fertilization may occur in the fallopian tubes with the resulting embryo implanting in the uterus. Females continue to release one egg each month throughout their reproductive years, though after the age of thirty a woman's fertility begins to diminish. Infertility affects only 5 percent of women in their thirties; however, by the time they reach their thirties, they can expect a 25 percent chance of infertility, which is defined by the inability to conceive a pregnancy after one year of unprotected sex (six months if she is thirty or older). The chances of delivering a healthy baby (because of miscarriage or other medical conditions) are even less. The onset of menopause near the age of fifty marks the cessation of the woman's menstrual cycles and her ability to conceive a child. Men, however, remain sexually fertile throughout most of their adult life. After the onset of puberty, when the testicles begin functioning, males are able to produce a continual supply of sperm capable of impregnating a woman (though male fertility does diminish as men approach advanced years).

Most couples have no trouble conceiving. In the United States 85 percent of women will get pregnant within one year of unprotected sexual intercourse. Of the remaining 15 percent, most are not entirely infertile (very uncommon) but, rather, subfertile, meaning they

may need medical or technological assistance to conceive a child. It is estimated that at the start of the twenty-first century 2.4 million couples worldwide experience infertility, and the number appears to be growing. Essentially, each step in the reproductive process contributes to fertility, and anything that interrupts or interferes with those processes may cause difficulty for couples trying to conceive a child. The two most common reasons for infertility are hormonal conditions (in either sex) or anatomical abnormalities (including blockages in the reproductive organs caused by disease).

Cultural influences, as well, including nutrition, sexual behavior, timing, economics, lifestyle, and emotions, may also influence fertility. In addition, the deferment of childbearing due to later age of marriage, the availability of reliable birth control and abortion, the changing roles of women in the workplace, and the tendency to delay childbearing until later in the marriage account for the increase in infertile couples.

FOLK REMEDIES FOR INFERTILITY

Primitive cultures, which lacked a full understanding of reproduction, often developed rituals and ceremonies to ensure that both the land and the people would be fruitful. Dances, prayers, sacrifices, and sacred rites were performed to try to influence those aspects of nature that could not be otherwise explained or controlled. Ancient people often personified the concept of fertility in the form of female deities such as the Greek's Aphrodite, the Roman's Venus, the Teutonic Freyja, the Irish's Brigit, and the pagan's Mother Nature. Societies as diverse as Incan, Babylonian, Slavonic, and Iroquoian believed that fertility of people and land were controlled by female deities and priestesses.

Though feminized versions of fertility were common, male images were also involved in fertility rituals. Some ancient cultures scattered the testicles and penises of animals on the fields to encourage crop fertility in a conflation of human and agricultural regeneration. Phallic symbols were thought to promote fertility, and many early Romans carried amulets that depicted phalluses of priapic proportions. In India early cultures believed that a female virgin would be fruitful if she were deflowered with a lingam, a stone in the shape of a phallus that symbolizes Shiva, the god responsible (among other things) for creation. Human and animal sacrifices and ritual prostitution were all performed in an attempt to bring fertility to the community. Many modern European and North American rituals and celebrations were born from early pagan fertility rites. The tradition of Easter eggs arises from two pagan symbols of fertility: the egg, and rabbits (which procreate efficiently and prodigiously). Phallic maypoles (some even

included two rings representing the testicles) were erected for young couples to dance around in traditional spring rituals meant to assure a bountiful harvest.

Early people also sought herbal remedies to assure fertility. Pagans believed that mistletoe, because the parasitic plant grew halfway between Earth and the heavens, never touching the ground, contained mystical powers, which, among other things, could promote fertility. To maintain its potency the druids cut mistletoe with a gold sickle, being careful to keep it from touching the ground where it would lose its power. Because the plant was green year round, druids thought it contained the spirit of Mother Nature. Couples hoping to conceive kissed under its bough and took away a berry (which contained juices very similar to semen) each time until all the berries were gone and the mistletoe lost its potency.

Other folk beliefs held that mandrake root could cure sterility and act as an aphrodisiac to promote sexual vigor. In the Bible the long-barren Rachel eats mandrakes in order to conceive a child (Genesis 30). Jewish people called the fruit of the mandrake *dudaim* (or love apple) because of its purported ability to cure infertility. Ancient Greeks steeped it in vinegar or wine to make an infusion, which they drank. Even in the early twenty-first century in many Middle Eastern cultures, dried mandrake roots are carried as a charm to promote fertility. Yams have been long thought to promote both fertility and the incidence of twins in humans because they contain chemical compounds that are similar to female sex hormones. Ginseng, another home remedy for infertility and sexual dysfunction, is used by many couples to improve male sexual function (leading it to be called the *herbal Viagra*) and female fertility.

EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN MEDICINE AND TREATMENT OF INFERTILITY

Modern treatment for infertility consists of hormonal and reproductive technologies. Fertility drugs such as Clomid and Pergonal stimulate the follicles (the site of the egg in the ovaries) to mature and release one or more eggs. Artificial insemination, a practice dating back to the eighteenth century, has improved to allow for the concentration of sperm in men with low sperm counts (and in cases where there is an incompatibility between the man's sperm and the woman's cervical mucous). Artificial reproductive technologies (ART) have been developed that involve the surgical removal of the egg from the woman's ovaries. The most commonly known of these techniques is in vitro fertilization (IVF), in which the woman's egg is isolated in a laboratory Petri dish, mixed with sperm, and, if fertilization occurs, the resulting zygote (or very early stage of an embryo) is injected

into the woman's uterus (which has been hormonally primed to accept a pregnancy) where it will implant. The procedure is expensive and time-consuming, but it offers the chance for many infertile couples to conceive.

There are numerous variations of the in vitro technique, such as gamete intrafallopian transfer (GIFT) where the embryo is returned to the fallopian tubes instead of the uterus in an attempt to let the process proceed as naturally as possible after fertilization. In cases where a woman's ovaries remain able to produce eggs but the egg is unable to travel to the uterus (because of disease or prior surgery), a surrogate woman may be contracted to carry the pregnancy to term for the infertile couple. The surrogate then legally relinquishes parental rights to the child after birth. In addition, a donor embryo may be implanted into an infertile woman. Technology offers many alternatives to natural conception, with resulting pregnancy rates equalling (if not better than) that of fertile couples. Pregnancies conceived by artificial reproduction technologies have a high risk (up to 35% of the time) of multiple births. It is estimated that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, about 1 percent of all births in the United States are the result of ART technology, and in other countries, such as Denmark, the rate is as high as 4 percent.

EFFECTS OF ATTITUDES ABOUT FERTILITY ON POPULATIONS

Though the fertility rate (a measure of the number of children born per woman) has generally been used as an indicator of population growth, it is becoming less reliable in many Asian countries such as China and India, which have very strong population control laws and offer incentives to control their exploding population growth. China's one-child policy limits each family to one offspring. Because of a cultural preference for boy children, there is a significant decrease in the number of girls born (because of selective abortion or infanticide). The practice of eliminating girl fetuses and babies is so widespread that it has created a lopsided gender ratio that threatens the social balance of Chinese society. The Chinese government is now trying to address the situation by proposing financial incentives to encourage couples to keep female children.

SEE ALSO *Contraception: I. Overview; Infertility; Reproduction (Procreation).*

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Diane Sue Saylor

FETUS CULT

SEE *Infanticide.*

FILM, GENDER AND EROTICISM

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I. HISTORY OF

A history of the representation of eroticism in cinema dates back to some of the earliest images in moving pictures and other popular culture genres. The first public screening of projected images, organized by the Lumière brothers, took place in France on December 28, 1895, and consisted of predominantly images from everyday life such as work, family, and games. Other moving image technologies, such as hand-cranked kinetoscopes (mid-1890s) and nickelodeons (early 1900s), although middle-brow entertainments in their heyday, were precursors to the "peep show."

EARLY CRITICAL WORKS

The first critical works that attempted to catalog eroticism in film were written by Ado Kyrou (1967) and Raymond Durgnat (1966). Durgnat defined eroticism as "often pornographic, and almost always aphrodisiac ... rarely engage[s] the personality exclusively at the point of sexual excitement. ... But nonetheless ... has a potent effect in attracting and pleasing audience" (Durgnat 1966, pp. 11, 16). Those two writers did not deal specifically with theoretical questions of gender or sexuality in erotic arts;

instead, they were concerned with classifying the nature of images that are considered erotic.

Durgnat's *Eros in the Cinema* (1966) identified visual pleasure by using wardrobe eroticism, music and dance numbers, and bodily expression as defining categories. Kyrou's *Amour-Érotisme au Cinéma* [Love and eroticism in the cinema] (1967) stressed orientalism and erotic horror fantasies. Both linked their scholarly pursuit to surrealism, an early twentieth-century European art movement that was known to champion popular culture. Both writers referred to erotic entertainment in international mainstream films, but Durgnat reserved a lengthy discussion for the visual pleasure elicited by stars' bodies and fashions, transvestism, homosexuality, and verbal double entendres in the pre-Code Hollywood film industry, stating that "the most lavish and exotic era of screen romance was the late 1920s" (Durgnat 1966, p. 77).

PRE-CODE CINEMA

Early filmmakers, relying on a preexisting popular repertory, put vaudeville skits, music hall and dance hall numbers, and melodramatic stories into the service of erotic entertainment. *The Moving Picture World*, an American magazine for cinema professionals, ran cryptic advertisements for the rental and purchase of erotic short film loops as early as 1907. The ads presented not explicitly heterosexual erotica but what the film historian David Robinson called "visual novelties" (Robinson 1996, p. 124).

Through the Keyhole (1901) by the French company Pathé and D. W. Griffith's *A Search for Evidence* (1903) offered spectators the voyeuristic pleasure of peering through a hole (created by a camera mask) to spy on goings-on in hotel rooms, often of an errant husband. The film scholar Sabine Hake argues that "the keyhole shot seems to lay down forever the sexual order in and of the cinema" (1992, p. 41) and that in early cinema the keyhole shot, complicating ideas of gender and spectatorship, suggests narrative control, even if the look may seem insignificant in comparison to the erotic display on the screen. Other films, advertised with the original German title as *Pikanter Herrenabend* (literally hot or spicy gentlemen's night or stag film), were produced by the Austrian Saturn production company between 1906 and 1910. Short films of dance hall numbers by the French magician and filmmaker Georges Méliès (1861–1938) often showed scantily clad high-kicking women and earned early French films a reputation for being erotically charged.

By the 1910s flesh barely hidden beneath a fine film of clothing was the signature costume of many popular female stars worldwide, including the two most famous "vamps": the French Musidora (Jeanne Roques) and the American Theda Bara. Musidora, best known in the role of "Irma Vep" (an anagram for *vampire*) in a skintight black hooded leotard in Louis Feuillade's *Les Vampires* films (1915–1916). Bara starred as the Vampire in the director Frank Powell's *A Fool There Was* (1915). Those films are considered the precursors to pre-Code 1930s erotic horror films that featured the male stars Bela Lugosi and Boris Karloff and the 1970s erotic horror fantasies of the French director Jean Rollin.

The suggestiveness and fetishistic qualities of the costumes and the ways in which actresses were lit, staged, and filmed became as important as the stars in defining erotic pleasure for men and women viewers. Two great screen stars who bridged the silent to talking film eras—Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo—epitomize the erotic body and its relationship to costume. The historian Gaylyn Studlar (1988) makes this case for many films starring Dietrich that were directed by Joseph Von Sternberg, such as *The Blue Angel* (1930), *Morocco* (1930), *Dishonored* (1931), *Shanghai Express* (1932), *Blonde Venus* (1932), and *The Scarlet Empress* (1934). Greta Garbo's on-screen persona and visual presentation as sculptural form, the film critic Lucy Fischer (2001) has suggested, are equated with the "erotic" category of Art Deco—"kinky, highly sophisticated women dressed in leather trouser suits, insolently smoking cigarettes" as defined by Victor Arwas (quoted. in Fischer 2001, p. 90)—in films such as *Flesh and the Devil* (directed by Clarence Brown, 1926), *Love* (directed by Edmund Goulding, 1927), *The Mysterious Lady* (directed by Fred Niblo, 1928), *A Woman of Affairs* (directed by Clarence Brown, 1928), *Wild Orchids* (directed by Sidney Franklin, 1928), *The Kiss* (directed by Jacques Feyder, 1929), *The Single Standard* (directed by John S. Robertson, 1929), and *Mata Hari* (directed by George Fitzmaurice, 1931). The theme of orientalism is especially evident in the erotic representation of Garbo in *Mata Hari*.

HAYS CODE

Will H. Hays, a former postmaster general, was hired by the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) to draft a self-regulatory code of ethics to standardize images of sex and sexuality, costumes and dance, violence and criminality, and obscenity and profanity because Hollywood wanted to show that American films could be "responsible for spiritual or moral progress, for higher types of social life, and for much correct thinking" (Hays Code 1934). Although some self-censorship of the industry had begun in 1922, the Hays Code regulated explicitly erotic imagery such as "scenes of passion," "excessive and lustful kissing," and "seduction" and banned any explicit representation of homosexuality or bisexuality, including the words *gay*, *homosexual*, and *bisexual*.

Theda Bara. *Actress Theda Bara in* A Fool There Was. FOX FILMS/THE KOBAL COLLECTION.

Formally introduced in March 1930, the Hays Code went into effect on July 1, 1934. Some explicitly erotic images and content still appeared in films in the 1930s through the 1950s, although they often were billed as morality films that were intended to educate the public about vices and showed nudist beaches, striptease dances, and even childbirth, among other "immoral" activities.

By the 1960s, filmmakers were pushing the limits of the Hays Code and pressure from civil liberties groups forced the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) to revise its codes. The sexual revolution of the 1960s in the United States, the advent of underground cinema by artists such as Andy Warhol, the ease of production with 16-millimeter cameras, and the availability of European "art house" cinema changed not only the erotic content of films being made in the United States but also the viewing habits of mainstream American audiences. Most important in the code changes was the lessening of restrictions on films' sexual themes and content. The Hays Code was abandoned in November 1968 for new MPAA categories that rated films in accordance with the suitability of a film for a viewer's age. Further changes were made in September 1990 to eliminate the X rating in favor of NC-17 (No Children under 17 Admitted).

SCHOLARLY WORK ON EROTICISM

The film scholar Eric Schaefer (2002) noted that sexploitation films and pornography influenced the mainstream industry and redefined erotic cinema in the 1960s and 1970s. The year 1972, the feminist film critic Linda Williams has argued, signals the "transition from illicit stag films to the legal, fictional narratives" with *Deep Throat* (1989, p. 98). In the same year Bernardo Bertolucci's *Last Tango in Paris* (1972) received an X rating for its erotic realist content even though it featured the commercial star Marlon Brando. In February 1973 the American journal *Film Comment* published a special issue titled "Cinema Sex" that focused on representations of sexuality and censorship in both commercial and soft-core pornography film industries.

With the elimination of government censorship in much of Europe by the mid-1970s, the erotic film industry

grew, with the French erotic narrative *Emmanuelle* (1974) heading the list with $600 million in profits worldwide. The year 1976 marked the beginning of the San Francisco Gay and Lesbian Film Festival. In addition, academic debates about the merits of high and low culture and a reassessment of aesthetics by art historians and film critics (Richard Dyer, Stefan Morawski) and particularly feminists in the 1970s and 1980s (Laura Mulvey, Linda Williams) made the study of erotic art and eroticism in film legitimate forms of academic pursuit.

Gina Marchetti's annotated bibliography on women and pornography published in *Jump Cut* in 1981 argued that by defining erotic expression, "Morawski sees erotic art as a cathartic, liberating aesthetic experience" (Marchetti 1981, p. 57). Laura Mulvey, influenced by both Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis and writing specifically about scopophilic pleasure (the love of looking), first defined a kind of male gaze of Hollywood cinema, which, she argued, objectified women by denying them subjectivity. She later revised her argument to reconsider the power dynamic of the look and addressed women's pleasure of looking in film. Linda Williams's 1989 work on the relationship between surrealism, popular culture, and commercial horror films and more recently on the dynamics of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and straight pornography in *Porn Studies* (2004) reopened the debate on erotic pleasure in watching commercial mainstream films.

SEE ALSO *Baker, Joséphine; Blaxploitation Films; Body, Depictions and Metaphors; Censorship; Dance; Dietrich, Marlene; Gaze; Gender Studies; Gender, Theories of; Monroe, Marilyn; West, Mae.*

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Carina Yervasi

II. ART AND AUTEUR CINEMA

Art films emphasize the artistry, innovations, edginess, and vision of cinema. Cinema began as a novelty, presenting lowbrow entertainment aimed at mass audiences although, even in its early years, filmmakers had aspirations towards the kinds of high art legitimacy that characterized cultural forms that were more traditional. As studio production developed in the United States and Europe in the early twentieth century, avant-garde experimentalists began working independently with film as a way to express different, less realist practices such as cubism, dada, and expressionism. Because of film's ability to combine image, abstraction, and perspective, it became the perfect medium through which independent artists could present alternative and experimental work. These films appealed to the more sophisticated audience who would understand and appreciate what the filmmaker was attempting, who appreciated a film's allusions to other films, and who could engage with the film's complex and often iconoclastic take on controversial material. Finally art films often, though not always, take more chances exploring sexual relations. This last attribute means that the term *art film* is sometimes a euphemism for the kinds of sexually explicit films shown at burlesque houses.

AN ALTERNATIVE TO HOLLYWOOD AND THE POWER OF THE STUDIOS

The art film is most often associated with independent filmmakers. This connection relates to the structure and workings of studio systems of filmmaking in Hollywood

and in Europe. Filmmakers working within the Hollywood system, no matter what the quality of their films, had to comply with the self-censoring rules that Hollywood had set for itself. Dealing mostly with issues of sexual explicitness and suggestion, these rules, called the Hayes Code, limited the kinds of images that a Hollywood film could present. Sexuality was represented more by innuendo than by depiction. Even the suggestion that married couples slept in the same bed was curtailed by requiring twin beds in their bedrooms. Because independent films did not usually cost as much as studio films to make and because they did not represent a venture focused primarily on turning a profit, such films did not need to appeal to mass audiences. The filmmakers could therefore take the kinds of chances in style and content necessary to their artistic expression.

Given the ascendancy of the Hollywood studio system in the United States, most art film made between the world wars came from Europe. Many art filmmakers worked in relation to avant-garde movements. Surrealists Salvador Dali and Luis Bunuel made *An Andalusian Dog* (1929); Jean Epstein made the expressionist *Fall of the House of Usher* (1928); painter Ferdinand Leger fashioned *Ballet mécanique* (1924); Carl Theodor Dreyer directed *The Passion of Joan of Arc* (1928); F.W. Murnau contrived the expressionist vampire film, *Nosferatu* (1922); and Fritz Lang made several expressionist films about Dr. Mabuse (*Dr. Mabuse, the Gambler* [1922]). Even films considered a part of mainstream cinema in Europe, such as films by Jean Renoir and Erich von Stroheim, became art film in America because their European provenance and languages rendered them less accessible to a U.S. audience.

GROWTH AND ACCEPTANCE

After World War II, with the exportation of Hollywood films to Europe and vice versa, increasing numbers of filmmakers saw film as art. Younger artists gained access to filmmaking equipment and began making short films with a more personal vision, which often included frank presentations of sexuality. Maya Deren and Kenneth Anger were art filmmakers of the 1940s and 1950s. Deren made *Meshes of the Afternoon* (1943), a short film strongly influenced by surrealism. Anger made impressionistic short films, including *Fireworks* (1947) and *Scorpio Rising* (1964), that explored issues of gay sexuality. Film pioneers such as Stan Brakhage and Frederick Wiseman worked in the 1960s and 1970s. Brakhage's films are often abstract and lyrical, and include explicit material about birth, sex, and death. In films such as *High School* (1968), Wiseman perfected the cinéma vérité style of documentary filmmaking in which the handheld camera captured real, unstaged events.

American art filmmakers were less adventurous, and although their films often addressed issues of sexuality and death, the more ambitious scope of European art films defined the category. In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, art film houses imported avant-garde films from French filmmakers such as Jean-Luc Godard, François Truffaut, and Alain Resnais, as well as a series of life/death explorations by Swedish director Ingmar Bergman and art films from Italy made by directors Federico Fellini, Pier Paolo Pasolini, and others. Often working with controversial subjects such as adultery, crime, the holocaust, war, homosexuality, and sexual passion, Godard's *Breathless* (1960), Truffaut's *Jules et Jim* (1962), Resnais' *Hiroshima Mon Amour* (1959), Bergman's *Cries and Whispers* (1972), Fellini's *Juliet of the Spirits* (1965) and *Satyricon* (1969), Michelangelo Antonioni's *Blow-Up* (1968), Pasolini's *Salò, or The 120 Days of Sodom* (1975), Peter Brooks' *Marat Sade* (1975), and Japanese director Hiroshi Teshigahara's *Woman in the Dunes* (1964) presented an alternative, often graphic, sometimes shocking, cinema that pushed U.S. directors to be more unique and explicit. As a result Robert Altman, for example, made political satires with mature themes such as *M*A*S*H* (1970), whereas Martin Scorsese directed *Taxi Driver* (1976).

These art films from the 1960s and 1970s were joined by films that were less artistic and more explicit, such as *Emmanuelle* (1974), which used the techniques of the art film to present soft-core pornography. Borrowing some tropes of art cinema, including long contemplative shots without conversation, an emphasis on atmosphere, and creative camera work, these soft-core art films substituted sexually explicit content for the art films' painful explorations of difficult topics.

Since the late 1980s, art films have acquired a more mainstream audience. Directors David Lynch (*Blue Velvet* [1986]), Jim Jarmusch (*Stranger Than Paradise* [1982]), Spike Lee (*She's Gotta Have It* [1986]), and Paul Thomas Anderson (*Boogie Nights* [1997] and *Magnolia* [1999]) join European filmmakers Chantal Akerman (*A Couch in New York* [1996]), Pedro Almodovar (*Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down* [1990] and *High Heels* [1991]), and Neil Jordan (*The Crying Game* [1992]) in producing edgy, thoughtful films that locate issues of gender and sexuality as a part of the human experience.

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Judith Roof

III. CULT AND MARGINAL CINEMA

Cult and marginal films hold an ambiguous status among the public, the critics, and film historians. Subject to any combination of attack, censorship, contempt, criticism, ostracism, rejection, and ridicule, they can paradoxically become the object of attention from critics and academics and adoration from a part of the public. At times subversive, at times crudely normative, cult films are often shunned from the company of serious filmmaking art, and are situated between the abject and the celebrated. They can range from auteur or independent film, to provocation, rehash, formulaic recipe, genre clone, and outright trash. Few films have exemplified so many of these categories at once as much as John Waters's (b. 1946) *Female Trouble* (1974)—avowedly shocking, mercilessly lacerating motherhood, childhood, the judicial system, sex, and more, all the while being laced throughout with cruelty, violence, and scatology—a work that can only be deemed brilliant by some and repulsive by others.

Although they seldom succeed at the box office, some cult movies receive awards at film festivals, such as Asia Argento's (b. 1975) *Scarlet Diva* (2000), a film regarded by many as being poorly made and acted—in spite of the cult diva status of the star filmmaker—that exploits the theme of the sexually victimized woman in a post-Sadean universe of degenerate, corrupt, male film industry moguls. Some cult films are both adopted by a community and experiment with groundbreaking filmmaking, such as Melvin Van Peebles's (b. 1932) *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), which became emblematic of a certain form of resistant African-American cinema.

The term *cult* originated in the United States and is historically associated with Tod Browning's (1880–1962) *Freaks* (1932). It designated films deemed purposefully bizarre, shocking, or exaggerated, and then B and Z series, low-budget productions, mostly from the horror or science-fiction genres. It has become a broader but fairly recognizable category, including subgenres such as gladiator and prison films or road movies, and tapping into other forms such as animation and martial arts. In the early twenty-first century, the term has become abusively applied to any commercial film that risks a dubious success at the box office, as if the label *cult* could offset that result.

In the United States, Hollywood's domination of viewing practices often results in relegating films from other countries to a cult or marginal status that only sometimes becomes auteur. This is especially true of films that comment oppositionally on the sex and gender order. Cult films are frequently willing vehicles for explicit, even brazen, representation of sexual situations and unconventional gender behaviors. Although bold sexual content is often decisive in ascribing cult status (for instance, with the Japanese film *In the Realm of the Senses* [1976]), a sharp critique of the gender order can result in permanent marginalization. The fate of countless films with artistic ambitions and a social or political message can be directly related to contentious treatment of gender issues, sexual orientation, or exposés of the status of women. Such films often garner critical acclaim, but lag behind in box office receipts.

Even critical success, in the end, may not suffice to counter this kind of marginalization. Deepa Mehta's (b. 1950) *Fire* and *Water* are of high artistic value, but their sharp contestation of traditional sex and gender norms in India provoked fierce opposition and obstacles to filming; in India, Hindu nationalist militants staged riots and fire-bombings of theaters. Her films thus acquired a subversive counter-fame in India in spite of opposition, whereas in the West, they remained known only to a small fraction of the public. David Lynch's (b. 1946) films are both cult and auteur—his *Blue Velvet* (1986) routinely figures in cult film lists and in fact incorporated a cultlike underworld in the plot. Yet *Mulholland Drive* (2001), one of his most ambitious works, was only a relative success, in part because of his complex treatment of Freudian concepts such as latency, dream transference, and tensions between the ego and the id, but also because of his direct and matter-of-fact treatment of lesbian passion.

When transferred to VHS and DVD, marginal films may have a second life that is more successful. Unknown films can become cult, and cult and marginal films can accede to a higher status. However, taglines and jackets often distort their content, usually by selling sex even if it is absent. Films are thus labeled as cheap erotic exploitation regardless of their aims. A defining U.S. cult movie, Jonathan Demme's (b. 1944) *Caged Heat* (1974), has thus been misconstrued as a sex exploitation action film with lesbian undertones, although it is much more of a female-bonding escape movie. Now metonymic of the cult subgenre of the women's prison movie associated with exploitative sex scenes, sadomasochistic display, and sexually charged violence, *Caged Heat* assumed its ambiguous cult status, reinforced by Demme's rise from

obscurity to fame, making his early work of interest to critics and film lovers.

An extreme case of marginalization is a low-budget French film made by two women, one of whom is a known porn star. *Baise-Moi* (2000) was intended to be provocative and shocking, with a nihilistic message about women as victims of violence turning into perpetrators of unbridled violence. But the filmmakers were outflanked by French regulators of the film industry and critics: in the midst of a heated controversy, the film was officially labeled pornography and forced out of mainstream venues into more disreputable movie theaters, all of which rapidly spelled its demise. The film never had a chance at even being cult, in contrast to Bertrand Blier's (b. 1939) *Les Valseuses* (Going Places) in 1974, which focused on two thugs who spend their time abusing and sexually assaulting women while committing murder and other crimes; yet despite the violent subject matter, the film is considered both auteur and mainstream. The message could not be clearer: committed and represented by men, violent crime is art, but women, especially those associated with the sex trade, cannot step behind the camera to show it without being condemned as deviant. As feminist film critics have pointed out, their role is to figure monstrosity itself, and their mutilated bodies to remain objects of scopic fantasy.

Because of its freedom with utter fantasy, unrealistic social situations, and outrageous narrative components and visual effects, cult cinema has the option to be in open rebellion against the sex and gender order. However, this potential seems overwhelmingly channeled in one direction, showing violence exercised by and against women, in a variety of subgenres. In contrast to women as victims, these films represent them as prone to violent excess. They frequently reaffirm the power of men as the unavoidable focus of desire, with women who are ready to kill for their man (such as in *Switchblade Sisters* [1975]). Animation, with its connection to childhood as well as the graphic license offered by the distancing of drawing two-dimensional figures, can go very far in juggling gender-transgressive images with very patriarchal codes. For instance, in an animated television series (*Gunslinger Girl*) from Japan, little girls with skirts, teddy bears, and patent leather shoes become gun-wielding trained assassins. Perhaps grim humor is intended, but the gender message that the girls are both ruthless and dependent is violent and conventional, and the display of children as wounded combatants is deeply disturbing.

Cult films regularly exploit the gender-bending and action potential of women exercising violence but often as an exotic, curious twist to normative plots. Such films on the one hand confront conservative representations of passive women by showing them as strong, brave, and lethally effective; on another level, they may normalize the visual impact of extreme violence directed at and weathered by women. In the best scenario, they expose the complex relationship of women to violence, as both resistant and embracing. In the worst cases, they nurture the cliché that women are unruly, disruptive social forces, eager to commit mayhem, and must thus be controlled or killed. They may also carry powerful psychoanalytical messages that reveal fluctuating identifications with sadism and masochism and their agonistic enactment. Thus *Heavy Metal* (1981), an overtly sexual animated film with strongly identified heterosexual norms, bills the destroyer of evil as the woman warrior—tough and effective yet dressed in a dominatrix outfit; but before she can show her warrior mettle her naked body has to endure torture and whipping.

Surveying the punishment horror movies mete out to female victims, especially in films of the "woman in danger" type, Linda Williams has argued that films of the 1980s increasingly "[escalated] the doses of violence and sex," showing titillating scenes of purported female desire, to punish the woman even more gruesomely for the expression of such desires (1984, p. 577). Other genres of cult cinema may attract viewers precisely by reversing this process. It may be assumed that the spectacle of female nudity and violence appeals first to male viewers, and primarily heterosexual ones. Yet such scenes and visual formulae need not be merely commanded by the dominance of that male gaze, which Laura Mulvey (1975) famously defined as hegemonic in cinema.

Other types of publics may find viewing pleasure in cult films: the homosocial bonding of women, in the quasi-complete absence of men except as villains or chumps, may appeal to a wide swath of the female public; the representation of strong female characters at once attracted to men and independent from them, might well enthrall heterosexual women; and the eroticism and gender-transgressive strength of female characters would not be lost on lesbian viewers. If, in the horror genre, the woman can be said to be looked at and "fail to look back, to return the gaze of the male who desires her," this is not necessarily the case in other types of cult movies (Williams 1984, p. 561). In strictly female environments (even when blown apart by full conflict, as in prison movies, where it is the independent sadism of the female warden that causes the crisis) male desire and the male gaze can be displaced or even vacated—by a violent act directed at males that silences them. Thus the vexed question of the existence of an autonomous female gaze remains at the center of competing readings of cult cinema and its meanings. Gaylyn Studlar, for instance, has argued for a counter-analysis, examining the "relationship of cinematic pleasure to masochism, sexual differentiation, processes of identification, the representation

of the female in film, and other issues" that might be an alternative to the ubiquitous Freudian model (1985, p. 775). Whatever model is proposed, cult cinema continues to provoke viewers and critics to probe the guilty pleasures they derive from it.

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

IV. LESBIAN, GAY, AND QUEER FILM

It is worth pointing out that eroticism is in the eye of the beholder. For the purposes of this entry, *eroticism* will primarily be found in representations that might elicit an erotic response in a substantial number of lesbian, gay, queer (henceforth lgq) viewers, mostly—but not exclusively—through images of lgq characters in erotic situations on screen. Although the term *lgq film* is profoundly unstable, the article will follow the leads of Vito Russo (1987) and more recent queer film scholars to consider onscreen moments through all of cinematic history that might be read as queer—or in this case, queerly erotic—by lgq spectators. In mainstream cinema the history of lgq eroticism in many ways parallels the history of lgq identity—cast in deep shadows; villainized; manipulated to affirm the values of viewers presumed straight. But whereas mainstream audiences have become increasingly accustomed to images of lgq identities onscreen since the 1980s, these same audiences continue to balk at open representations of lgq eroticism.

Hollywood cinema in the days before the now-infamous Motion Picture Production Code (in effect to varying degrees from 1930 to 1968) allowed the creative cinematic imagination some limited space for representations of the erotic and homoerotic, as in films such as Cecil B. DeMille's *Manslaughter* (1922) and *The Sign of the Cross* (1932) or lesbian director Alla Nazimova's *Salomé* (1922). At the same time, some early stag films, such as *Cast Ashore* (1924) or the animated *Everready Harton in Buried Treasure* (1925), anticipated the pornography of later decades. But by far the most prevalent queer representation in Hollywood through the 1940s was the stock comic effeminate man—the pansy or sissy whose gender-inverted persona was allowed precisely because of his apparent distance from anything seriously erotic.

Some lesbian spectators in the 1930s and 1940s might indeed have sensed something erotic in the powerful, gender-flaunting women played by Greta Garbo (1905–1990) and Marlene Dietrich (1902–1992). At the same time, lesbian eroticism was regularly employed to suggest sickness in human nature or human society. Mrs. Danver's creepy fetishism in Alfred Hitchcock's *Rebecca* (1940) thwarts *normal* heterosexual desire in marriage and thus—as with sodomites in the Middle Ages—must be destroyed by fire. The lesbian S/M Nazi Ingrid becomes the very emblem of fascist tyranny in

My Own Private Idaho. *Keanu Reeves (left) and River Phoenix in* My Own Private Idaho. **NEW LINE/THE KOBAL COLLECTION.**

Italian director Roberto Rossellini's neorealist classic *Rome: Open City* (1945). But the 1940s, in experimental films such as Kenneth Anger's *Fireworks* (1947) and Jean Genet's *Un chant d'amour* (1950), saw some attempt at a more honest approach to the homoerotic.

Despite the generally reactionary political climate of the decade, the 1950s witnessed a weakening of the Production Code, with female nudity in period burlesque films and nearly naked male bodies as objects of the erotic gaze in physique films, especially those by queer director Bob Mizer. Popular screwball comedies, apparently based on erotic tension between the sexes and featuring iconic sex symbols such as Marilyn Monroe (see *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, 1953, directed by Howard Hawks) and closeted heartthrob Rock Hudson (see *Pillow Talk*, 1959, directed by Michael Gordon), teased gay spectators in the know with sly homoerotic suggestion. Male beef-cake homoeroticism was flaunted in Biblical and period epics such as *The Ten Commandments* (1956, Cecil B. DeMille), *Ben Hur* (1959, William Wyler), and particularly *Spartacus* (1960, Stanley Kubrick).

The sexual revolution of the 1960s and the symbolic beginning of the lesbian and gay civil rights movement with the Stonewall Riots of June 1969 occasioned more explicit depictions of the erotic generally, including the homoerotic, through the 1970s and beyond. This was particularly evident in experimental and art film of the 1970s. Andy Warhol's reels featured explicit male nudes: his *Flesh* trilogy (all directed by Paul Morrissey: *Flesh*, 1968; *Trash*, 1970; *Heat*, 1972) put hunky Joe Dallesandro's body on shameless erotic display and launched him into cult stardom. John Waters's comic classics (*Pink Flamingos*, 1972; *Female Trouble*, 1974) were calculated as a send-up of—and affront to—conventional notions of the (homo)erotic. Queer Italian director Pier Paolo Pasolini's films (*Teorema*, 1968, or the 1971–1974 "Trilogy of Life") represented the (homo)erotic as idyllic working-class vitality that cut through the oppressions of modern consumer culture. European directors such as Derek Jarman (*Sebastiane*, 1976) or Rainer Werner Fassbinder (*Querelle*, 1982) used male homoeroticism to high-minded artistic ends, whereas Frank Ripploh's 1981 *Taxi Zum Klo* pictured various configurations of gay male sex with a bold realism apparently void of metaphorical conceit. Other, somewhat more popular, features about queer characters offered the naked male body as object of a (sometimes pathological) homoerotic

gaze: *Midnight Cowboy* (1969, John Schlesinger), *Myra Breckinridge* (1970, Michael Sarne), *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975, Jim Sharman), *Caligula* (1979, Tinto Brass), *Cruising* (1980, William Friedkin), *Making Love* (1982, Arthur Hiller), *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1986, Stephen Frears), *The Gold Rimmed Glasses* (1987, Giuliano Montaldo), and *Prick Up Your Ears* (1987, Stephen Frears).

Feminist directors Jan Oxenberg and Barbara Hammer emerged in the 1970s with a series of films that celebrated the lesbian body. Several other films—some widely distributed—showed sex between women: *The Killing of Sister George* (1968, Robert Aldrich), *Je, Tu, Il, Elle* (1974, Chantal Akerman), *Personal Best* (1982, Robert Towne), *The Hunger* (1983, Tony Scott), and *Desert Hearts* (1985, Donna Dietch). The 1970s and 1980s also saw the rise of gay male (and to a much lesser extent lesbian) pornography in film and then video—in terms of production and consumption, the most substantial display of queer eroticism in film history. But by the mid-1980s, the AIDS crisis mostly overwhelmed queer filmmaking and muted queer sex on screen.

In the 1990s, directors such as Derek Jarman (*Edward II*, 1991), Todd Haynes (*Poison*, 1991), Gus Van Sant (*My Own Private Idaho*, 1991) and Gregg Araki (*The Living End*, 1992 but see also his 2004 *Mysterious Skin*) portrayed frankly erotic scenes of sex among men in a group of films sometimes designated as the New Queer Cinema. In the 1990 documentary *Tongues Untied*, director Marlon Riggs explored the African-American gay male experience while probing the freighted social constructions of race, gender, desire, and the black male body. Although not explicitly erotic, Cheryl Dunye's 1996 *Watermelon Woman* also considered the complex dynamics of race, sex, and gender while in its way queerly eroticizing the stock black female servant character of the Hollywood golden era. Spanish director Pedro Almódovar served up an impressive array of queerly erotic characters and scenarios in enormously popular films such as *Tie Me Up! Tie Me Down!* (1990) and *All About My Mother* (1999).

The year 2005 witnessed the release of two films of note for queer erotic representation. *Transamerica* (directed by Duncan Tucker) followed the journey of a preop male-to-female transsexual and—though by no means erotic—focused the audience's attention on the realities of transgender bodies in significant ways. A love story between young cowpokes set in 1960s Wyoming, *Brokeback Mountain* (directed by Ang Lee) promised daring erotic candor but barely delivered. Tellingly, the men's sexual relationships with their wives of convenience enjoyed more relaxed and open representation, and the film's dishonest television marketing emphasized

these heterosexual relationships to the clear exclusion of the homoerotic, presumably to seduce straight viewers into seeing something they might otherwise find distasteful. Well past the turn of the millennium, then, filmmakers continue to struggle to make—and evade—queer eroticism palatable to a mass audience.

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Gary P. Cestaro

FISTING

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

FLIRTING

Flirting is a playful type of interpersonal social behavior that indicates interest in or attraction to another person and is often considered a sexual activity. It can be both verbal and nonverbal and is largely common to all cultures and genders. Because of globalization, cultural differences are decreasing as most cultures adapt to the more overt, Western style of flirting. Nevertheless, flirting is often context-specific and tends to be played out at the boundaries of acceptable social behavior. In sexually repressive cultures, flirting may be as simple as a woman showing her unveiled face, whereas in sexually permissive cultures it may be as overt as grabbing someone's buttocks. Casual flirting generally abounds in areas with warmer climates, such as Latin America and Italy (where men are notorious for overt flirtation), whereas colder areas, such as Canada and northern Europe, feature less public flirtation because people tend to make less eye contact with one another in such climates. In Japan, geishas and hostesses act as professional flirts and entertainers for men. While still part of the culture, these women were most common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Flirting ranges from simple friendly behavior to sexually charged conversations and activity. While some flirting is done as a social game that is fun in itself and has no clear goal, other flirting is clearly motivated. It can be seen as a precursor to sexual activity or dating, and

thus is often considered the first step of courtship, when the players discover if attraction is mutual. Flirting can also be social, intended to flatter another person and win their preference, if not their affections. Thus, people flirt with friends, employers, and others whom it may be important to keep happy for one's career or social status.

Although both men and women actively flirt, it is typically considered a female activity, and women are arguably more adept at subtle flirtation. Women's stereotyped flirtation can often be condemned as teasing, because woman are more likely than men to see flirting as non-goal-oriented behavior. This negative connotation is linked to the notion of the coquette, a woman who flirts or seduces in a teasing manner and who is often thought to use her sexual charms maliciously or to exploit men. While men may also be guilty of such behavior, they are less likely to be criticized for it. The twentieth-century books and movies based on the fictional British spy James Bond provide an excellent example of a man who uses sex appeal to achieve his many missions, getting more respect than disapproval for these actions.

While most research on flirting is focused on heterosexual activity (linking to courtship and marriage), gay men and lesbians flirt with each other in much the same way as heterosexuals. For these individuals, however, there is an added component: They first must ascertain whether the object of their interest is sexually attracted to the same sex, before moving on to see if the person is personally attracted to them.

NONVERBAL FLIRTING

In addition to playful conversation marked by banter and innuendo, flirtatious behavior includes many nonverbal cues. The first step of flirting is often making eye contact and may include winking or raising the eyebrows. Often, women who are flirting tilt their heads to the side and lower their eyes after maintaining eye contact for a few seconds. Flirtatious touching includes light brushing of the arm in conversation, hugging, kissing, hand holding, or engaging in other means of contact. In a field all its own, dancing is a prominent type of physical flirtation that allows partners to be close to each other and interact in a playful and responsive way, all under the guise of a socially acceptable tradition.

Flirtatious body posture includes leaning toward one's conversation partner, mirroring the other's body language, turning the palms out or up, and keeping the body open, not closed (as achieved by crossing arms and/or legs). Men tend to stand or sit tall, making themselves look bigger or more imposing. They often point their elbows away from their body to do so, often by putting their hands in their pockets or behind their heads. Women tend to diminish their physical size by drawing

their knees in when sitting; they also may emphasize their figures by swaying their hips when walking, tightening their stomachs, and pushing out their breasts. Other movements common to all include smiling, nodding the head, laughing, and speaking softly or more dynamically than usual.

HISTORICAL VARIATIONS OF FLIRTING

Beginning in the twentieth century, flirting started changing in some dramatic ways in response to cultural shifts. The success of feminist movements led to the questioning of traditional gender roles, so that women may be sexual instigators as easily as men; they are no longer expected to play the role of passive women waiting to be courted. Prior to the twentieth century, women of all cultures would subtly indicate their interest in a potential sexual partner by, for example, batting their eyelashes or dropping a handkerchief; men, on the other hand, were more assertive and overt in their intentions and spoke directly or touched the other's body. Beginning in the 1970s, women in European and North American cultures became more direct in their flirting, and this change has left both some men and some women in confusion about how to play the flirting game when both genders are equal. In areas that have maintained traditional gender roles, such as the southern United States and most African countries, flirting has continued as a chivalric interaction between polite men and appreciative women. Some people argue that in this situation, women in fact have more power to choose a mate than when both genders are in active pursuit of each other.

Following the technology boom of the 1990s, cyber-flirting and other high-tech means of flirtation have arisen. E-mail, instant messaging, and text messaging via cell phones or other handheld devices have become tools for exchanging flirtatious or suggestive messages. This trend is particularly prevalent in such tech-savvy countries as India, China, and the United States. In Saudi Arabia, where coed talking or socializing is a punishable offense, people use Bluetooth technologies in their cell phones or computers to send flirtatious messages to other nearby users.

SEE ALSO *Seduction.*

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FOLK BELIEFS AND RITUALS

The term *folk*, implying informality, lack of sophistication, and lack of skill, is, quite rightfully, contested by scholars sensitive to conventional constructions of the beliefs and practices of women and lower status men. The terms folk religion, common religion, popular religion, customary religion, practical religion, domestic religion, peasant religion, local religion, and the "little tradition" are all used, sometimes interchangeably, often ambiguously, by anthropologists and historians of religion. The literature suggests no consensus about who the folk of folk religion are. For example, William Christian stresses the agricultural identities of those who engage in folk religion; anthropologist George Foster defines folk religion as an urban phenomenon; and for fellow anthropologist Robert Redfield the folk of the little tradition are the unreflective masses. Nor is there consensus regarding the content of folk beliefs and practices. Anthropologist Edmund Leach, for example, stresses concern with the life here and now. Social scientists Michael Hornsby-Smith, Raymond Lee, and Peter Reilly describe the magical or superstitious nature of folk practices, and anthropologist Eric Wolf sees folk beliefs as utilitarian and moralistic but not ethical or questioning.

This profusion of terms and conceptualizations suggests that the label folk has a great deal to do with who is doing the labeling and in what context. For the purposes of this entry, folk beliefs and ritual practices are defined as the beliefs and practices of individuals, families, and communities as they are expressed and enacted in situations outside of the control of formal religious or political authorities. This does not mean, however, that folk practices and beliefs are never coercive. Quite to the contrary, formal authorities sometimes provide a means of escape for women or girls whose legal or sexual autonomy is constrained by folk practices such as genital mutilation or clitoridectomy.

Folk beliefs and ritual practices shape sex, sexuality, and gender in myriad ways in a multitude of cultural contexts. It is not possible to identify universal themes and patterns in this regard. In this entry, the presentation of examples of folk beliefs and ritual practices is organized around the axis of life cycle rituals not because this organizational paradigm is in any manner inherently a folk paradigm, but rather because life cycle rituals tend to be the occasions of particularly obvious opportunities for expressing and constructing gender, sex, and sexuality.

Folk beliefs and rituals are particularly potent shapers of gender and sexuality because they are understood or experienced as "authentic": traditional, timeless, organic, and heart-felt. Part of the power of folk practices is that they are not perceived as invented or imposed (even if actually they are). Thus, they tend not to be easily resisted or contested, but rather taken-for-granted as simply "our way of doing things."

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Folk practices at birth and during infancy generally aim at safeguarding the life and health of the newborn, clarifying the infant's gender identity, and constructing the infant as a socially appropriate member of the family and community.

An excellent example of these concerns is found in the beliefs and practices surrounding burial of the placenta in premodern Karelia (the area along the Finnish-Russian border). The placenta and cord blood were considered to be charged with supernatural power and thus were considered particularly effective in safeguarding the child against harmful influences and sicknesses. The afterbirth often was ritually treated in a gender specific manner. A baby girl's afterbirth was hung in the attic from the main supporting beam of the house while reciting: "As this home is renowned, the dwellers renowned, may this maiden be renowned, may she grow attractive …" For a boy the afterbirth typically was buried in the eastern corner of the cowshed while the following was chanted: "The Eastern Christ, nourisher, heavenly, give a good lot, health, brains, ability, honor to this suitor …" According to Marja-Liisa Keinänen, these rituals reflect and shape a girl's loose connection with her farmstead since she will move to her husband's house upon marriage. The incantation stresses that potential marriage partners will hear of the girl's attractiveness. For boys the placenta is rooted in the house where he will remain upon marriage, and the incantation emphasizes his intelligence and honor.

MENARCHE / PUBERTY / INITIATION

As children approach puberty, folk beliefs and practices often turn toward more firmly establishing the child's social gender and sexual identity.

Among the Navajo, women occupied a place of importance and respect: Descent was determined through the maternal line, and residence typically was matrilocal.

Reflecting these patterns, a young girl's first menstruation was a cause for rejoicing because it indicated that she was ready to bring forth new life; menarche was the fulfillment of the promise of the attainment of reproductive power. Physiological maturity alone, however, was not seen as sufficient for the fulfillment of this process. The girl must also be ritually transformed before she takes her place as a woman. During the four day ritual sequence known as *Kinaalda* (first menstruation), songs were sung linking the particular girl and her house with the primordial first woman and first house. The girl was dressed in ceremonial clothing and jewelry in order to make her over in the image of Changing Woman, a deity associated with primordial creation and reproduction. Older women known for their good character vigorously massaged the girl in order to mold her. Later on the girl greeted a series of visitors, ran a race toward the sun, and ground corn for an enormous sun-shaped ceremonial cake that is served on the last day of the ritual sequence. The latter ritual was part of an explicit desire to make her industrious in later life, but also serves to infuse profane work activity with sacredness. According to Bruce Lincoln, the identification of the initiand with the mythical Changing Woman is the most important theme of the *Kinaalda* sequence. Through dressing the girl in the garb of Changing Woman and other ritual acts, the community and the initiand come to understand that all fertility—of people and of crops—depends on her.

In contemporary American society, male initiation as a folk practice often takes place away from the watchful eyes of elders. Hazing rituals of various sorts are among the most common forms of male initiation. These rituals may take place in the context of younger boys joining high school or college sports teams, or young men joining college fraternities, during boot camp, and in prison. During these rituals, boys and young men may be dressed as women (made to wear a bra and panties), treated like women (forced to perform sexual acts on the older males), beaten or paddled while being commanded to keep quiet and refrain from expressing pain, and symbolically and ritually instructed in the gender hierarchy of the given institution.

It seems that the core beliefs underlying these practices are that male society is hierarchical, that subordinate men are female-like, that harsh physical treatment is necessary to turn boys into men, and that adult (initiated) men must be prepared to keep men's secrets and pass on gender expectations to the next crop of initiands.

MARRIAGE

Marriage practices continue the pattern of enforcing and reinforcing proper gender roles and sexual behavior both through instructing the bride and groom regarding social expectations (including the expectation to produce legitimate children) and through presenting the bride and groom to the wider community in their roles as appropriately gendered adults.

In modern Israel most of the Jewish wedding sequence is governed by the state (which registers marriages and can refuse to register *inappropriate* couples), the rabbinate (that has a monopoly on officiating at Jewish wedding ceremonies), and the fashion industry (that determines what sorts of dresses and other accoutrement are stylishly appropriate). Still there is one folk ritual sequence that continues to thrive, often in the face of opposition from the Rabbinate.

According to Jewish law brides must immerse in the ritual bath before the wedding in order to achieve a state of menstrual purity. In traditional Jewish North African societies it was customary for the bride to immerse in the ritual bath in the company of female relatives and friends, who then held a party for the bride. In Israel today this practice has disappeared among some communities but spread to other communities. At the parties after the bride immerses in the presence of a bath attendant, women sing, dance, perform skits (often poking fun at men), and eat sweets.

The various participants in this ritual sequence tend to interpret it rather differently. For the most part the bride has a passive role: Her body is supervised and prodded by the bath attendant and, often, the future mother-in-law. During the parties, guests and relatives make frequent comments—almost always favorable ones—regarding her physical appearance.

An elderly Moroccan rabbi in Jerusalem (Sered 1999) explained that the cakes and singing were a public acknowledgement that the groom's family was satisfied with the bride. The rabbi went on to explain the final part of this ceremonial sequence, application of henna dye to the hands of the bride:

> "HeNnaH stands for Hala (a ritual performed when baking bread), Niddah (laws of menstrual purity), Hadlaka (lighting Sabbath candles). These are the three (ritual acts) that are necessary for the bride (to know). I heard this from an official source. They teach the bride. They put on her hand the color so that she will look beautiful for the groom. The kind of color you buy at the pharmacy to cover gray hair. All of the female relatives. They put it on her hand as a stamp that she has entered the correct Jewish life. It means that you have entered the burden of keeping the commandments."

In this ritual sequence, proper gender and sexual roles and identity are symbolically stamped onto the body of the bride in the presence of an audience com-

prised of both her own family members and family members of her future husband.

DEATH

Death tends to be the least gendered ritual sequence, and folk beliefs regarding deaths and funeral practices tend to emphasize concerns other than gender and sexuality. In death gender roles and sexual behavior often recede in importance.

In rural Portuguese villages women follow the funeral procession and attend mass, while the public roles are performed by men. Close female relatives of the deceased may scream loudly when the coffin is lowered into the grave, while men are not expected to shout. More important than these specific acts, however, are beliefs and expectations that women keep closer ties to the dead both by caring for the sick and dying, and by performing a large number of rituals aimed at preserving the bonds between the living and the dead.

These kinds of expectations are common in much of the world, particularly in Mediterranean societies. While the practices do not generally have the kind of gender-constructive significance that other life cycle rituals have, it is not always the case that gender and sexuality disappear after death. Muslim folk beliefs, for example, elaborate upon a highly sexual and gendered paradise.

SEE ALSO *Folk Healers and Healing.*

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Susan Starr Sered

FOLK HEALERS AND HEALING

Illness, pain, misfortune, decay, and death are realities that people in all cultures confront, recognize, and interpret and manage in one way or another. Scholars use the term *healing* to describe the ways in which people cope with and try to alleviate suffering and the term *healers* to describe individuals who have expertise in alleviating suffering. The descriptor *folk* is used to indicate healing beliefs, practices, and experts not mandated by, affiliated with, certified by, trained by, or officially recognized by the dominant religious or medical institutions of their societies. In many societies the mainstream healers, such as priests and doctors, are men, whereas the folk healers may be men or women. Although priests and doctors typically have more prestige and receive better remuneration for their work, at the popular level folk healers may be seen as having better insight into human suffering, being more compassionate, and being more sensitive to local traditions.

FOLK TREATMENTS FOR ILLNESS AND SUFFERING

Folk healers rarely differentiate between illness and other types of suffering. For Korean shamans, for example, misfortune includes all sorts of bad luck, illness, and financial loss. In northern Thai cities female spirit mediums are consulted for matters such as arthritis, back problems, goiters, social difficulties, business problems, and care of children (Wijeyewardene 1986). In Okinawa the great majority of the people who consult *yuta* (shamans) do so for health problems. Among the roles of the *yuta*, however, are giving advice about plans, business, and wedding dates; interpreting unusual experiences such as dreams and accidents in religious terms (neglect of rituals, etc.); communicating with relatives after their death; leading exorcisms to guide lost spirits to the tomb; leading rituals of thanks to the house deity; and teaching traditional rituals (Lebra 1966).

Folk-healing repertoires often follow what Roger Bastide (1978) called the law of accumulation. That is,

rather than sticking with a set arsenal of cures, folk healing tends to embrace a variety of foods, herbs, baths, incantations, massage, pilgrimages, amulets, spirit possession, and other techniques in efforts to do whatever it takes to alleviate suffering. It is often the case that within a specific cultural setting, various healers specialize in particular techniques and those who are suffering consult with numerous healers to maximize their chances of successful healing. For example, Black Caribs understand a variety of reasons why people become ill: germs, sorcery, lack of practical caution (such as wearing insufficient clothing), angry ancestors who were not properly treated through rituals, and taboo behavior on the part of an individual's mother. Various causes of illness legitimate various solutions to illness: European and North American medicine, bush medicine, and ancestor rituals to cure disease. Women predominate as healers in the last two categories (Kerns 1983).

WOMEN AS FOLK HEALERS

Because the first line of healing response tends to take place in the home, mothers and grandmothers often predominate as folk healers. As primary providers of child care. women are likely to function informally as domestic healers. Often certain women, perhaps the oldest woman in a household or a particularly gifted or competent woman in a neighborhood or community, serve as informal domestic healing experts. This scenario is particularly prominent in African-American communities where poverty and racism as well as slavery and its legacy have led to difficult relationships between many African Americans and the white-dominated formal medical establishment (Mitchem 2005).

A second reason women may predominate as folk healers as well as those who consult folk healers is that in most societies, women have the primary culturally assigned responsibility for infertility and the physical consequences of pregnancy and childbirth. Matters of fertility and infertility are simultaneously part of the usual female life course and matters that tend to be unpredictable and not totally controllable as a result of biological or social causes. For these reasons women often turn to folk healers for help in managing the complexities of navigating a path of socially and personally acceptable fertility choices. Expert knowledge of fertility-related matters represents cultural power. Although in many cultures the dominant religious and medical institutions attempt to gain control over women's fertility and sexuality, folk healers often serve as women's advocates in those areas. As a result folk healers may risk stigma or persecution as witches, abortion providers, or sorceresses (Ehrenreich and English 1972).

A third reason women often predominate in the realm of folk healing involves institutionalized gender inequality. In contemporary North American society women are sick more often than men, visit physicians more often, and take more medicine; they also are more likely than men to evaluate their health as poor. Although there is some variation on the basis of race and country of origin, statistics generated by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention consistently show that women of all age groups have a variety of chronic illnesses at rates higher than those for men. Explanations for why women are sicker (especially when, as is the case in the United States, women outlive men) include the double load of paid work and housework; the feminization of poverty; relentless responsibilities of caring for sick children, aging parents, and other family members; cultural expectations that women are weaker than men; medicalization of women's bodies (especially in relation to menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and menopause); a tendency to treat women's bodies as *unique* or *exceptional* (in comparison with male bodies, which are treated as normative); repeated traumas of the threat and reality of sexual violence; harmful fashions such as high heels or extreme dieting; and the stress caused by systematic exclusion from the arenas where the economic, military, and political decisions that affect everyone's lives are made. This constellation of ongoing social factors is a poor fit for the dominant North American biomedical model, which typically identifies specific causes for specific pathologies and prescribes specific treatments regardless of the patient's worries, family situation, cultural beliefs, and so on (Sered 2000).

Women healers often describe a path to their ritual roles that begins with a personal history of chronic illness. For example in Brazil signs of incipient spirit *mediumship* (spiritual callings) include excessive crying, protracted illness, unexplained events, unsolvable problems, and unusual occurrences (Leacock and Leacock 1972). The path to becoming a spirit medium usually involves a stage of sickness or another type of misfortune that a ritual group leader interprets as being caused by undeveloped mediumship. The husbands of future mediums may object to or not believe in the *mediumidade* (mediumship) of their wives. Most women mediums and cult leaders believe that a married woman should have her husband's consent but that if he will not give it, the spiritual order should take precedence over his resistance.

In some societies women's healing has important communal expressions. In parts of Africa, for example, women and some men who have chronic or intractable illness may conclude that their suffering has been inflicted by *zār* spirits and that they need to join *zār* ritual spirit possession groups to bring the spirits under control. Janice Boddy (1988) describes the following steps likely to be taken by a sick person in such African societies: advice from family members, home remedies,

patent medicines, European or North American doctors, and *feki Islam* (male religious specialists) who perform divinations and provide charms. If spirits are found to be the cause of the distress, the *feki Islam* will perform an exorcism. However because the *zāiran* (*zār* spirits) are immune to Islamic ritual techniques, women patients may consult a female *zār* practitioner. Many women join these ritual spirit possession groups because of fertility and childbirth problems. (According to Boddy [1989], possessed women have been pregnant more times than have nonpossessed women and have lost more children than have women who are not possessed.)

THE SOCIAL POSITION OF FOLK HEALERS

As people who deal with aspects of life that are inherently uncontrollable (death and decay are inevitable for all living creatures), dirty (bodily effluvia are not aesthetically appealing), and emotionally charged, folk healers may occupy an interstitial position in their societies: Healers are necessary and helpful, but they also spend a lot of time dealing with parts of life that others prefer to avoid. This may explain why in some cultures transgendered people, who for reasons of their sex and gender status reside in a *betwixt and between* social position, are particularly active as healers.

Among the Mescalero Apache, multigendered adults "are usually presumed to be people of power. Because they have both maleness and femaleness totally entwined in one body, they are known to be able to 'see' with the eyes of both proper men and proper women. They are often called upon to be healers, or mediators, or interpreters of dreams, or expected to become singers or others whose lives are devoted to the welfare of the group. If they do extraordinary things in any aspect of life, it is assumed that they have the license and power to do so and, therefore, they are not questioned" (Farrer 1997, p. 249).

For similar reasons very old women (past childbearing age), people who experience dissociative psychological states, and other exceptional or marginal people may find an important social niche as folk healers. That niche, however, tends to be an ambiguous one because of the nature of healing and threats from the dominant medical and religious establishments.

SEE ALSO *Folk Beliefs and Rituals.*

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Susan Sered

FOLKLORE

The word *folklore* has a precise genesis, August 1846, when William Thoms, an English antiquary, used it as a substitute for the expression *popular antiquities*. In spite of the simplicity of the word's components—translating literally into the *lore of the folk*—it is difficult to find an accurate definition of folklore, because it refers both to a field of learning and to the whole subject matter of that field. Folklorists identify three main elements when they attempt to explain the nature of their work: They see folklore as a diversity of forms of expression, grounded in tradition, by means of which a community manifests its own identity.

DEFINING FOLKLORE

The "Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore," adopted on November 15, 1989, by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), offered the following definition of folklore: "Folklore (or traditional and popular culture) is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as

they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means." This definition manages to bring together the main key words—*tradition*, *community*, and *identity*—on which folklorists concur when they attempt to explain the nature of their discipline. Other elements of the UNESCO proposal, however, are open to debate or to questioning. The idea, for instance, that folklore is transmitted orally has been questioned by Alan Dundes (1989) and does not correspond to the present conception of folklore. In the early twenty-first century, folklore might include, for example, autograph or recipe books, and the domain of electronic communication taking place on the Internet and cellular phones. The quotation above tries to summarize the folk component of the word. When it comes to the lore element, the usual practice is to list the diversity of expressive forms: beliefs, customs, skills, and the broad range of verbal genres such as legends, personal stories, riddles, proverbs, and songs. Richard M. Dorson (1972) tries to regroup the matter in four sectors: verbal forms on the one hand and, on the other hand, the manifestations of folklife—material culture, social folk customs, and performance folk arts. It is precisely the diversity of the materials and their dissimilarity that challenges any attempt to define the discipline, according to Barre Toelken (1979), who offers, however, a brief definition that adds the two important notions of informality and dynamism. Folklore's substance consists of "tradition-based communicative units informally exchanged in dynamic variation through space and time" (p. 32).

TRADITION: A DYNAMIC PROCESS

An aura of nostalgia may still surround the notion of folkloric traditions, a legacy of the origins of the discipline in the nineteenth century. At that time, customs, beliefs, or expressions of simple folk, mainly peasants, were seen as survivals of ancient cultural systems. Folklorists from urban milieus thought that they could restore traditional rural cultures represented by the "backward" groups they were studying, groups who were supposed to have resisted to the so-called advanced industrial culture. Tradition is no longer viewed as something fixed in a past that folklorists should resurrect. Tradition gives meaning to the present and builds the future through making reference to the past; it entails change and creativity. The way the performer of a song builds upon preexisting models and repertoire leaves room for interpretive innovation and adjustment to new contexts. In order to remain within the boundaries of folklore, however, a balance must be kept between individual creativity and the respect for what a community considers its tradition. It is precisely through this common agreement on what constitutes its beliefs, customs, and verbal lore that a group defines its identity. Change and creativity within a sense of continuity are essential; otherwise, the group can become oppressive. A perverse manipulation of tradition may occur when the sense of a common heritage is invoked for nationalistic or racist motives. There is something paradoxical in this kind of fallacious recourse to traditions at a time when the world is experiencing the globalization of means of communication and the rapid changes brought about by this phenomenon.

COMMUNITIES AND THEIR FOLKLORES

Until the last two decades of the twentieth century, the general practice was to associate folklore with socially or geographically marginalized groups. This opposition between folkloric communities and those who studied them was a reflection of nationalism and of a romantic vision of the people. It has been replaced by a more inclusive and diversified notion of what constitutes a group expressing its own identity through a specific folklore. The term *folk* does not refer to a single homogeneous entity: Everyone belongs to a variety of groups "national, ethnic, linguistic, religious, occupational, familial—each with its set of identifying traditions." Sexual identity must also be added to this "onion-skin layering of multiple identities of each individual" (Dundes 1989, p. 16). One of the earliest categories to be socially recognized, sexual identity, generates a rich and elaborate repertoire of divination techniques, songs, proverbs, tales about gender roles, and crafts specific to men and women. Identity groups develop significant forms of expression and behavior that bring their members together and function as means of identification and cohesion. Even formal institutions such as academia, law, and government create their own peculiar folklore, made up of common ways of talking or behaving that are not the product of a specific training but built up and transmitted as a result of more or less codified interactions between their members. The "folk," according to Dundes (1965), refers to "any group of people whatsoever who share one or more common factors" (p. 3).

Identification with a group through a common set of traditions becomes a problematic issue in the context of multiple forms of diasporas that are the result of market forces, political upheavals, and mass communication. Original forms of folklore are emerging from new types of global communities that are building up through the Internet and the cellular phone. Such new forms coexist with the local elder who orally transmits old tales to the grandchildren of the community. The phenomenon of multicultural and diverse societies leads, on the one hand, to forms of hybridization or creolization, for example, to a process of cultural cross-fertilization; on the other hand, it may result in a sometimes intolerant promotion of a certain group's image. Ethnic slurs, what folklorists call

the *blason populaire*, have always been a way for a community to build its cohesion, to define itself vis-à-vis another group, which can belong to a different race, country, village, or soccer team. Another example is provided by the antifeminist slurs so evident in jokes, proverbs, and riddles. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which this type of folkloric tradition has contributed to the formation of deep-seated prejudices.

CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES

To some degree, folklore in a multicultural, globalized society still carries the elements of loss and nostalgia that were evident at the origin of the discipline in the nineteenth century, the time when the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and other collectors compiled customs and beliefs from rural areas or stories of oral traditions to prevent them from disappearing. The sense that heritage, which identifies a community, should be preserved, can be commercially or politically manipulated. Local traditions, crafts, or festivals become products that are sold to tourists and other consumers looking for images of authentic traditions. In 1950 Richard M. Dorson coined the word *fakelore* for this kind of manipulation, which began, in fact, at the origins of the discipline when the Scottish poet James Macpherson in the 1760s invented the legendary Gaelic bard Ossian. Fakelore, however, cannot simply be dismissed as inauthentic. It plays an important cultural role, especially in the elaboration of representations and myths that contribute to foster national or ethnic identity. One can mention the paraphernalia that accompanies the revival of Celtic culture or the many revival festivals with their parades of folkloric costumes, their dance performances, and their demonstrations of traditional crafts. These events try to keep alive traditions that are more or less accurately reconstructed, sometimes with the blessing of folklorists who work hand in hand with their promoters.

This connection between what one might call genuine research and the use of folkloric data for ideological or political ends has also been evident since the very beginning of the discipline. Its development during the nineteenth century was concomitant with the process of nation building in Europe. The best examples of this close relationship come from relatively small countries such as Finland, Hungary, and Ireland, known for their activity in collecting and studying folklore. This quest for the voice of one's people, for the soul of the folk that the German poet Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) found in folktales, songs, and national heroes, can be legitimate, especially among groups who feel a loss of identity because of oppression or colonization. During the 1930s, however, in a Germany demoralized after its defeat in World War I, the misuse of folklore, in con-

tinuity with the Herderian concept of the folk, contributed to the promotion of Nazi ideology. In the mass of folkloric literature produced at that time, fake anti-Semitic proverbs were published alongside genuine data. In the postnationalist multicultural societies of the twenty-first century, however, folklore can become a tool for the promotion of human rights. Working with groups of immigrants or grassroots movements, folklorists, both scholarly and amateur, have found ways to preserve these groups' identities, to give them voices and hence, political powers.

FOLKLORE AND WOMEN'S IDENTITIES

If one assumes that folklore is concerned with vernacular forms of culture, in the aesthetics of everyday life, women's traditions and the way they shape their identities should represent an important part of what is studied. Historically this has not been the case; men have been responsible for most of folklore's production and much of its content. Since Claire Farrer's collection of essays (1986 [1975]) and Francis A. de Caro's bibliographical survey (1983), women folklorists have raised this issue and have analyzed the relative absence of women's voices in the practice and study of their discipline. They refer to Herder and the founding fathers of Romantic nationalism as representing a worldview that has infiltrated folklore research. This worldview is based on the assumption that patriarchy reflects the inviolable natural order of the world and that the social organization of a nation is modeled on the nuclear family. Tradition, designed to preserve the social order, is seen as the expression of the forefathers' wisdom passing through the male line from father to son.

The result is that little attention has been paid to women's folkloric production in comparison to that of men; women were usually used as informants only when men were not available. When they have not been ignored, genres identified with women have been denigrated, as is evident from the expression *old wives' tale*. Even a cursory look at the forms of folkloric expression associated with women reveals their diversity and their importance for the communities in which they are produced. Some deal with issues that are specific to sexuality and family life. An important body of lore is related to women's reproductive functions from menstruation to menopause, including love magic, courtship and marriage customs, birth practices, and child care. Women act as healers and practitioners of folk medicine. Many of the traditional art forms created by women have often been neglected, regarded merely as aspects of their domestic activities, even if certain outstanding forms of needlework have attracted the interest of researchers—for example, quilts or folk costumes, a distinctive mark of

identification in traditional societies. In addition to multiple forms of needlework, women's crafts that are accompanied by folklore include cheese making, soapmaking, butter churning, and gardening. Beyond the domain of daily activities, the important field of historical and heroic female figures has gained attention, with work on the Amazons, saints, the Virgin Mary and her cult, and the controversial topic of ancient goddess worship, among others.

As does any other group, women define themselves by their identification with different communities, some of them including men, others specifically female, such as nuns, nannies, waitresses, and female prostitutes. With the redefinition of gender identities, other ways of self-identification—as lesbian, trans-or bisexual, for example—are being explored and folklores are developing.

As mentioned some explanation for a lack of attention to the voice of women in folklore can be found in the theoretical assumptions of the discipline's founding fathers. On the one hand the nationalist bias tended to see cultures as homogeneous gender-neutral ethnic entities. On the other hand a model of performance based on public or formalized areas favored forms of expression proper to men, whereas those practiced by women, such as recipes, lullabies, and songs, are mostly confined to the private domain.

Fieldwork practices, generally based on the contributions and concerns of male informants, tended to neglect female forms of expression. Nevertheless, in spite of these shortcomings, folklore may offer theoretical grounds for addressing gender issues, mainly because it recognizes that categories, among them gender, are cultural constructions of reality and that they reflect the diversity of forms of collective identifications. Its interest, since its origin, in vulnerable communities under threat from majority cultures, can easily shift—especially now that more women folklorists work in the field—to give increased attention to forms of expression in relation or opposition to patriarchy.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO FOLKLORE

In the nineteenth century the first question that was asked about legends, customs, and other forms of folklore concerned their origin. Did a tale, a song, or a legend appear at several places at the same time or in just one place from whence it was disseminated? Related to this concern was the belief that fragments of lore had to be identified and collected in rural areas because they constituted survivals of earlier rituals. As folklore was seen as relics of ancient mythologies, one of the goals of the folklorist was to reconstruct the myths of gods and heroes from these fragments.

This belief in the possibility of retrieving the original form of a folkloric item underlies the historical–

geographical approach, also known as the Finnish school of folklore. According to the premises of this method, a form, for instance a tale, originated at one time in a precise place and then spread from there. The folklorist then has to collect all the variants of this tale, find their common plot, and then, by comparing these variants, locate the place where the story appears in its purest form. This effort resulted in invaluable collections of folkloric items. In 1910 Antti Aarne published his catalogue of types of folktales, which was expanded by Stith Thompson, who also compiled and classified narrative units of stories in his *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*. The critics of this approach express doubts about the possibility of finding all the possible variants of a tale and remark that it reduces the tale to an abstract plot, lacking the aesthetic and human components that make it relevant to the performer and the audience.

The diffusionist theory, which is likewise concerned with the ways items of folklore travel, does not look for sources but studies how cultures borrow from one another. Psychoanalytical folklorists used myths and folktales to find Freudian symbols. Sticks, knives, pencils, and trees represent the male genitals, whereas the female organs are symbolized by caves, bottles, boxes, jewel cases, and gardens. Attention has also been given to the structures underlying myths, legends. and folktales. In his *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928), Vladimir Propp shows that folktales revolve around a recurrent series of thirty-one types of action—functions in his terminology—themselves organized in sequential arrangements. The structuralist theory is most prominently represented by the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966); he argues that similar invariant features can be found in myths around the world and that they can be related to the logical structure of the human mind.

In parallel to this work on the textual expressions of folklore, a number of folklorists in the second half of the twentieth century expressed less interest in genres and forms than in the role folklore plays in a given community. The functionalist theory looks at its role in educating the young, promoting values or censuring disapproved attitudes, fostering solidarity, or expressing protest. In this approach great importance is given to the environment in which a form takes on its meaning, with a shift from merely compiling collections of data to situating them in the cultural context of their performance. In this context, fieldwork and the development of ethical and honest relationships with informants become the cornerstones of the folklorist's work.

FIELDWORK AND ETHICAL ISSUES

It goes without saying that the first requirement for folklorists is to manifest a real appreciation for the traditions

they are studying; dismissing them as backward survivals or romanticizing them with nostalgia are equally disrespectful. The ethical problem resulting from the tension between the right to information and the legitimate restrictions a group may put on the dissemination of their lore is a crucial aspect of folklore research. Some aspects of a ceremony may be taboo for outsiders, and publishing them might be seen as a religious offense. Such cases are normally dealt with through ethical and policy regulations applying to research involving human participants. In a context of freely available information, a question remains: Is it possible to protect and copyright folk materials? In certain communities some performers are seen as owners of the stories or songs they perform. Even when this is not the case, should not the community itself be considered the owner of its tradition, not the folklorist, or those who want to patent healing plants, or pop singers who earn considerable revenues with folk songs without recognizing their origins? Since the 1960s, developing countries have tried to regulate the use of folklore traditions, and UNESCO has begun to address these complex and difficult issues under the umbrella of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO).

SEE ALSO *Anthropology; Blood; Boys, Construction of; Folk Beliefs and Rituals; Folk Healers and Healing; Food; Funerary Customs: I. Non-Western; Funerary Customs: II. Western; Gender Identity; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender Stereotype; Girls, Construction of; Legends and Myths; Maiden; Marriage Bed, Rituals of; Mermaid; Rough Music.*

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FOOD

Food and gender exemplify the *total social phenomenon* identified by the anthropologist Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) as those social practices so ingrained in our lives that we cannot imagine either ourselves or our social world without them. The range of meanings in gender and food makes generalization close to impossible, and only a multitude of perspectives can do them justice if we are to understand the implications of each for life as we know it.

Do such far-reaching social phenomena connect or divide? Do they sustain community or fortify individuality? Necessarily, they do both, and food, as with culture more generally, divides quite as much as it connects. The sociologist Georg Simmel (1858–1918) long ago pointed out the paradox of eating, an activity that equalizes individuals and distinguishes among them. For although

we all eat, we do not all eat the same foods, or eat them the same way, with the same utensils or with the same sorts of people. Nor do all of us invest food with the same meanings. It is only to be expected that some of the most striking connections and most dramatic divisions concern gender. In many societies, food practices remain highly gendered activities. Even so, or perhaps precisely because this gendering is so intrinsic to the ways in which we think about food and our relationships to it, gender divisions are often taken for granted. We see them as *naturalized* rather than historicized, an example of what the cultural commentator and semiologist Roland Barthes (1915–1980) identified as a *mythology*—that is, a narrative that explains and legitimates the comfort of the world as we know it. Meanwhile, the end of the twentieth century saw a veritable explosion in what has come to be known as *food studies*, prompting closer examination of the many ways in which food practices both divide and are divided by the particulars of periods, places, and peoples.

Among those particulars, gender orders food practices in many ways. But whether the effects are conspicuous or discreet, gender is central to three fundamental aspects of food: the *sensuality* that makes us desire food, the *work* that puts food before us, and the *commensality* that turns eating into a collective enterprise. Most discussions move readily across categories. Still, these rubrics help to clarify the gendering of foods and, in a larger sense, the *feeding* of gender; *doing food*, they show conclusively, entails *doing gender*.

SENSUALITY

The group, like the individual, requires food for sustenance, and the state of any society is commensurate with the well-being of its population. The distinctive consumption patterns of individuals and groups uphold a given food order or system. These patterns reveal principles that, in defining consumption, identify both self and community. On the most basic level, food is an insistently material product, and consumption is grounded in the primary sensual experience of physical change. This constitutive sensuality of food, what one eighteenth-century cookery book called its *terrestriality*, is responsible for an array of gender connections, all of which derive from the property of food to transform. Because the possibility, even necessity, of alteration triggers unease, anxiety attends every food decision. Consciously or not, every consumer weighs the hope of pleasure against the fear of pain.

In no domain is this power of food clearer than in corporeal consumption. Chefs and nutritionists, diners and legislators have long recognized that food has the potential to alter the collectivity no less than the individual—the

body politic along with the body. All uses of food assume the alteration of the consumer, whether the physiological changes consequent to the ingestion of nourishment or the attendant psychic and social modification of behavior. Because food so profoundly engages identity, the dynamics of eating are necessarily fraught with both the fear and the desire for change. Both what and how we eat, then, reveal a great deal about what we are and what we hope to be. *You are what you eat*, the adage tells us, and it is hardly surprising that notions of food should carry markedly gendered conceptions of self.

In many—perhaps most—cultures different foods and food practices at different times are related to men and to women. The consequent segregation of male and female spheres of activity tends to reinforce ideal, and often idealized, conceptions of masculinity and femininity. The belief that certain foods fortify has led societies across the globe and at all stages of development to require or at least enjoin men to consume certain foods before going into battle or onto a playing field. In a startling twist on this bond between the food consumed and the body constructed, Michel de Montaigne notes in his essay "On Cannibals" (dating from 1575 and first published in 1580) the conviction that consumption of the enemy's flesh constitutes the final subjugation of the enemy through the assimilation of his strength.

The projection onto particular foods of the manly virtues of strength and courage is commonly invoked to prohibit women from consuming or even touching certain foods. Mere contact is thought to contaminate the food with female physiology, which is taken to undermine the strengths ascribed to male physiology and required of men. Other foods, conversely, target female physiology, with the intent of promoting the fertility and nurturance that defines women. Still other foods, notably sweets in contemporary Europe and North America, have been deemed the domain and the delight of women, who have themselves customarily been charged with being, as the nursery rhyme goes, *sugar and spice and everything nice*.

Long considered a lesser sense because it allies humans with animals, taste (along with smell) has been ranked well below the *noble*, more intellectual senses of sight and hearing. Food, as a consequence, has been charged with seduction. The temptations of the table are seen to lead humans, most notably men, away from the path of higher virtue. Just as poison seems an appropriately passive female means of destruction—what true warrior ever stoops to such means?—food offers women a resource that inverts as it perverts their constitutive association with nourishment. Eve leads Adam astray with the forbidden fruit of the Garden of Eden (Genesis 1). Rebekah alters the order of succession in favor of Jacob, and she does so by preparing Isaac's favorite dish for a

disguised Jacob to present to his father in exchange for his blessing (Genesis 27). The overtly sexual seduction puts food on display as a promise of the woman herself. The magnified sensuality of eating signifies the erotic possession to come. Food proposes as it embodies the (female) Other; the equation holds in lesbian discourse as well as the heterosexual tradition.

As a vehicle of definition and self-definition, food has multiple and even contradictory uses. If you are what you eat, you are also not what you do not eat. The most striking pattern of gendered consumption involves the refusal to eat. Anorexia nervosa—that is, a pathological fear of gaining weight and attendant avoidance of food—overwhelming afflicts young middle-class women in North American and European societies. As perhaps the most prominent gendered eating disorder in modern industrial societies, anorexia (and its counterpart of binge eating followed by purging, bulimia nervosa) has attracted the attention of psychologists and nutritionists, sociologists and historians. (Although obesity is often construed as an eating disorder, it is less clearly gendered than is anorexia or bulimia.) A contrary view proposes this form of willed starvation as a means for the otherwise powerless woman to define her social situation. Historians who have scrutinized the writings and lives of medieval female saints advance complex arguments about the incidence and significance of eating—and in particular, fasting—for women. Rejection of food renounces this most basic of earthly pleasures in favor of the incomparably greater pleasure of the divine. At the same time, this renunciation regulates, and endeavors to control, the social relationships that define women's lives in a patriarchal society. Insofar as refusing nourishment at once rejects and reasserts the association of women and food, fasting reconfigures the prevailing social role and status of women. In a negative no less than in a positive mode, food is very much part of the gender equation.

WORK

The production of food operates under very different premises. Whereas consumption inexorably comes back to the body and corporeal ingestion of food, work points away from the body to the social sphere. Rather than predicaments of individual or group identity, work raises issues for the distribution of resources and access to the means of production and to the economic, political, and cultural spheres sustained and shaped by that production system.

Here it is worth reflecting on the factors that have kept conventional women's work from serious intellectual consideration. Neglect in this area explains why gender is so often equated with women: with women's concerns, values, and aesthetics; with the specific oppor-

tunities open to and the particular obstacles faced by women. Feminists in the 1960s and 1970s made this case, as they examined, reevaluated, and valorized women's work. Yet this promotion of women's work assumes that it remains a special category, a deviation from the norm. Is women's work an exception to the *universalist* rule identified with a social order that takes the masculine as the norm? Or is it a distinctive category in its own right? And what are the social implications of these positions? The debate is far from closed.

The overall disregard for women's work needs to be understood in light of the prevailing conception in social science of work as an activity that is publicly performed and formally remunerated. By this standard the largely private and unremunerated food work of women is essentially hidden. The focus of classical and Marxian economics alike on industrial production and commercial markets could not take the domestic contributions of women into account. Finally, the macrosocial processes by which social science understands contemporary society are not designed to consider attributes such as gender. Industrialization, urbanization, democratization, modernization, and globalization offer models of social change that largely disregard the particularities of gender as a force in such change. The question that must be addressed by every analysis concerns precisely this particularity: How different is women's work and what are the effects of that difference?

Although anthropologists have been alert to the significance of women's work in traditional or premodern societies, the impetus for recent scholarly and popular work on food has come with a focus on contemporary institutions and primarily in North America and Europe. In part because it is a highly visible, identifiably modern institution, born in response to the increasing social and geographical mobility of an expanding urban society, the restaurant has become a privileged location for such study. The restaurant is also a central site of the service economy. In this public space production and consumption join forces in a bounded setting amenable to investigation. Then too, the highly gendered nature of restaurant work, the conspicuous division of labor, and the clear gender hierarchy signals the restaurant as an important setting for the display of the gendered nature of both food production and consumption.

The starkest distinction in the restaurant appears among the workers. As the military origins of the model of the chef determined and justified, the male chef ran the restaurant just as he had run the kitchens of the aristocracy. Even in the twenty-first century, despite undeniable—even dramatic—changes, the closer the restaurant to a long-established, mostly French, model, the higher the proportion of men in the upper reaches of

A Traditional Family Dinner. © BURKE/TRIOLO
PRODUCTIONS/BRAND X/CORBIS.

food production. It was the male cooks who first professionalized as chefs, and it was the elite male consumer who became the culinary connoisseur known as the gastronome. The knowledgeable male consumer and the professional male chef formed the ideal gastronomic couple. In this closed culinary community, women had no place.

Women coped with other disadvantages. As either housewives or hired help, women were everyday cooks in a domestic setting, not chefs in a restaurant. By custom as well as by law they were excluded from public venues and professional associations. Moreover, the oral culture in which domestic cooking occurs hindered their broader social presence. In terms of prestige, women cooks might do well enough for small households, but claims to consequence demanded a *real*—that is, male—chef and his team of assistants (which the French language, continuing the military model, appropriately calls a *brigade*). The broader distinction between written and oral culture reinforced the polarity of male and female culinary domains. Not until women entered the public arena with cookery books did they and their cooking get out of the kitchen and into the culture at large. Through recipes, reporting, and other formalizations of practice, writing gives food a permanence that is denied to the material product that disappears upon consumption.

We should, however, guard against taking rules, regulations, ideological pronouncements, and literary glosses as faithful renditions of practice. Despite the formal exclusion of women from the most professionalized venues and masculinist (and even frankly misogynist) norms, contemporary research has pointed to how crucial women and women's cooking have been in setting the culinary order. The remarkable growth of the domestic culinary market gave women cookery-book writers a platform, and sales, that the elite chefs came to envy

(and emulate—even, in one case, resorting to a female pseudonym).

The gender dichotomy of female cooks versus male chefs persists because of reinforcement by other culinary binaries: elite versus popular cuisines, cafes and other informal eating venues versus restaurants, haute cuisine versus home cooking, special occasion feast versus everyday meal. The typical configuration would give us domestic women cooking popular or home-style dishes every day at home, and professional men operating in restaurants preparing special occasion or *fancy* cooking. In the worlds of real cooks and food, the boundaries are considerably more fluid, the categories more capacious and certainly more ambiguous. Thus in twenty-first-century Africa, women have a strong public presence as the primary vendors of street food. Cooking and *chefing* are the two sides of any culinary enterprise, roles dissociated from the status of cook and chef. Even so, the gender divisions outlined here will not soon disappear. Restrictive classifications are still in place, and they remain a useful, if inequitable, shorthand for characterizing, and judging, the food worlds that we encounter.

Many contemporary societies must deal with the tensions discernable in these foodways: the promotion of equality in the public sphere through equal access to professional status set against the appreciation of distinctiveness and difference. Are we concerned with women cooking or with an attitude toward food characteristic of a culinary product that could be identified as *women's cooking*? Although the significance ascribed to culinary difference is most striking with respect to *other* cuisines (national, regional, ethnic, foreign), gender often subtly defines the relationships of these kinds of cooking to the practices that dominate the culinary landscape.

Women writers have made much of the differences of women's conceptions and practices of food. A classic instance can be found in Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1927) where a great stew epitomizes the community created with great thought and skill at the dinner table by the hostess. In Mexican writer Laura Esquivel's novel *Like Water for Chocolate* (1989) (and in its film version), the preparation of food makes a fantastic declaration of love and offers amazing evidence of the transformative powers of food. These time-honored associations of women with nourishment and food preparation have also inspired numerous collections of recipes that celebrate cooking as the expression of a distinctive female universe centered around home, family, and intimate personal relationships.

COMMENSALITY

The meal controls consumption, and it does so by regulating the individual appetite. The formalization of the

meal integrates the individual into a social order. Social norms and custom temper the constitutive sensuality of food. By controlling pleasure and pain, the formally organized meal reduces the scope for individual initiative. In modern Europe and North America, the increasing attention to *proper* behavior at table, to the formal sequence of meals, to the specific utensil for each task, and to the proliferation of rules of etiquette has been linked to the domestication or *civilizing* of the military order and the promotion of a civility or polite society commonly associated with women. The dainty fork in the small hand of a woman picks up the morsel, instead of the knife wielded aggressively by a man (although not until the nineteenth century did the fork become a generally required implement).

Eating in company melds the social and the individual. Accordingly, commensality opens a window into the ways in which individuals as well as collectivities conceive of social life and practice their values. Even a rudimentary meal creates a community, however temporary it must be. The meal brings interpersonal tensions to the table, dramatizes social dynamics, and provides a setting for the performance of social relations. To the extent that it reproduces a common social order, commensality requires a certain, if momentary, equality. Whence the proliferation of mechanisms of exclusion and rules of inclusion that determine who may eat what with whom and on which occasions. Many of the dining rules or customs translate the differential positions occupied by men and women in society; that is, the gendered hierarchy of social roles. Many groups allow no or little gender-mixed commensality—men take precedence over women, who routinely eat separately from and after men. Or, as was almost invariably the case in clubs and fraternal orders of one kind and another, women had no dining privileges except on special occasions, and even then often were required to enter the establishment by a side entrance. Although these patterns of exclusion have been vehemently contested in many quarters, exclusionary bastions of male commensality continue to exist. By contrast, female commensality tends to informality, often in an extension of the domestic setting (the coffee klatch, the tea party), exclusionary of men more in fact than by intent. Though they were designed to attract women, the tearooms and lunchrooms opened by early department stores did not exclude men.

At the same time, the preparation of the meal, whether the family dinner or commemorative meals such as Passover and Thanksgiving, most often falls to women. They may eat apart, but, as the customary guardians of tradition, they have the responsibility of keeping the table and maintaining the community. Preparation of the meal gives women a place, albeit in absentia, at the men's table. Though formally discrete, the male and female spheres may actually overlap a good deal. As a significant extension of the

community beyond the kitchen, written recipes correspond to a *gentle nationalism* that identifies and promotes the national community through its culinary practices. Their collection and publication give women a not insignificant stake in the enterprise of nation building from which they are otherwise largely excluded.

An example will illustrate the high promise of commensality, a coming together that is dependent upon the sensuality of the food and the work that puts that food on the table. *Babette's Feast* by the Danish director Gabriel Axel (1987) is the quintessential cult food film, a dramatization of the transformative potential of every meal, of the food, of the cook, of the consumer. Even more than the novella by Isak Dinesen (1885–1962) on which it is based, the film questions even as it shows the ways in which gender associations inflect our understandings and practices of food.

The feast in question is the culinary creation of Babette, a French woman who fled civil war in Paris in 1871 and sought refuge with two middle-aged sisters in a remote corner of Denmark. For many years Babette cooks for them, preparing the familiar and very simple local fare. One day she wins the lottery and determines to use her winnings to make a *real French dinner* for the sisters and the other members of their austere Lutheran sect. The dinner is magnificent, a repast worthy of the greatest chef. The explanation comes when Babette reveals that she had been the head chef in one of the most celebrated restaurants in Paris.

From preparation to consumption, the sensuality of the meal illuminates the screen: gleaming copper pots, starched white table linen, gleaming silver, glowing red wine, sparkling champagne, a crackling fire, quail prepared with unctuous foie gras studded with black truffles, a mammoth round of blue cheese. This conspicuous sensuality scares the pious guests who have watched the procession of foodstuffs with increasing trepidation: a live tortoise on a cart and quail fluttering in a cage, a whole calf's head with its baleful stare. Fearing a *witches' Sabbath*, they resolve not to yield to their senses. "It will be as if we never had the sense of taste," vows one man. Yet so great is her artistry that Babette works magic even against their will. The seduction of food works its way, in a completely desexualized mode, its transcendent pleasures reinforced by the hymns that the group sings after dinner. The luscious goods of this earth turn into extraterrestrial phenomena as they prompt a higher felicity. As one guest declares, "In this beautiful world of ours, all things are possible." Babette is the *alma mater*, the nourishing mother who sacrifices herself to sustain others. The Frenchwoman will not return to France, having spent all her lottery winnings on the feast. She will remain in service to the sisters and return to the routine of their, and her, everyday life.

The transformation of the food transforms Babette herself. The cook whose work is rooted in the domestic crosses culinary gender lines to conquer the masculine realm of the chef. After many years spent preparing the uncomplicated and undemanding meals of everyday, Babette suddenly appears as a true chef, the chef as a veritable general directing complex strategic operations. With Babette's preparation of her feast, cooking moves out of the domestic arena into the public domain. That a high-profile professional woman chef such as Babette would have been an impossibility in nineteenth-century France only underscores the opposition of cook and chef that justified the exclusion of women from public venues in the first place. At the same time, Babette's chefing in the film points to the intimate and intrinsic bond between chefs and cooks. *Babette's Feast* deconstructs the conventional culinary duality by separating the culinary roles of cooking and chefing from the culinary statuses of cook and chef. Because they are so clearly social constructions, the gendered roles are shown as both arbitrary and powerful— all the more powerful for their grounding in society, its norms, its interdictions, and its injunctions.

Cook and chef, Babette converts the guests no less than the food. The camera pans around the table, showing the faces changing as the guests fearfully and then joyfully taste the mysterious dishes set before them. The sect that had fallen into squabbling and dissension becomes one again, as the women and men realize the original vision of love and harmony of the founder whose centennial they had gathered to celebrate. Babette expands the conventional female role from the family to the larger community. In the Parisian restaurant where she had cooked for an adoring public, her cooking gave her the opportunity to make that public hers. "I made them happy," she tells the sisters. With this feast, with commensals far removed from the connoisseurs whom she once served, she not only made the guests happy, she shapes a community.

Babette's Feast ratifies our own experiences with food. We know that food connects as it divides, and we know as well that gender is a powerful element in connection and division just as it is a crucial component of our food practices generally. Sensuality, work, commensality— these fundamental qualities of our food experiences insistently remind us of the many ways that food practices both *are* gendered and themselves *do* gender—total social phenomena that, in concert and in conflict, shape our world.

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Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson

FOOT BINDING

In China foot binding has had a diverse and often contentious history. Although the practice originated in the middle to late tenth century, over time, women's small feet came to symbolize many female-related qualities, including weakness, brokenness, passivity, delicacy, and sensuality. Writers throughout the history of China often contemplated the many dualistic qualities of bound feet: They were both animalistic (like a hoof) and a symbol of aristocratic refinement, domesticating and frivolous, erotic and virtuous, painful and beautiful. The primary symbol associated with bound feet is the lotus blossom. This further complicates interpretations of them because the lotus is both a sign of Buddhist piety and a poetic allusion to a range of sensual and erotic pleasures. Contemporary interest in foot binding shows that scholars continue to find the practice a useful entryway into various aspects of Chinese culture and its representations in literature.

HISTORY

The cultural preference for small feet and elegant walking in China can be traced back to the twenty-first century BCE, and there are many possible origins for the practice of foot binding. For example, the ruler of the Qi kingdom in 499–501 CE, Xiao Baojian, marveled when his consort stepped on golden leaves shaped into lotus blossoms: "Every step a lotus." There is also the story of Yexian, the Chinese Cinderella, first recorded in the ninth century CE: She drops a tiny shoe while returning from a banquet she attended in disguise, eventually
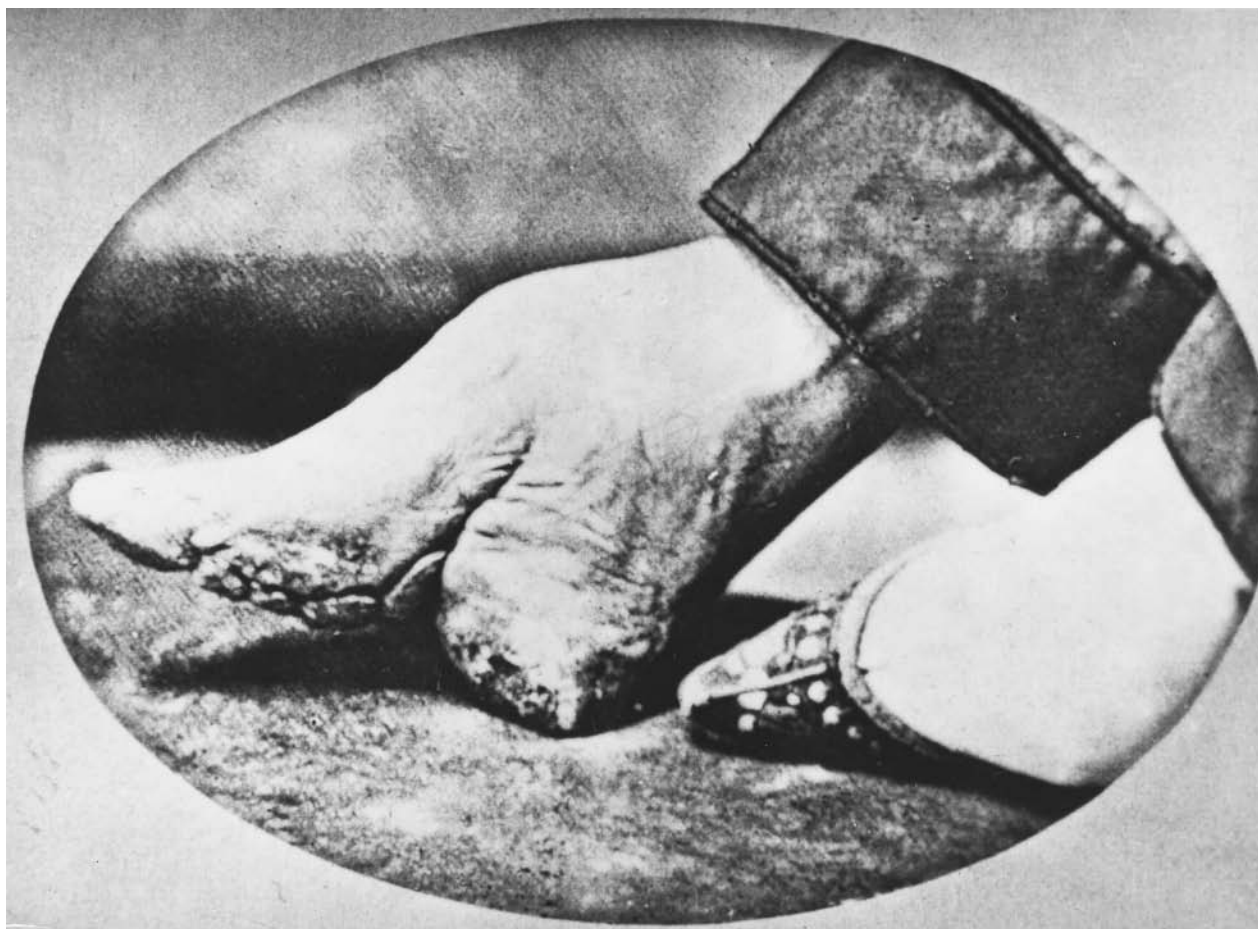
Feet Deformed from Binding. *The feet of an aristrocratic Chinese woman, deformed as a result of foot binding.* HULTON ARCHIVE/
GETTY IMAGES.

leading to a royal marriage. Poet Han Wo (844–c. 923) wrote "Ode to the Slippers," which compared women's feet to lotuses and praised feet precisely six inches long. During the Tang dynasty (618–907) dancers from outside China who bound their feet entertained the court, perhaps inspiring palace women to imitate them.

However, there is general scholarly agreement that foot binding began in the court of Li Yu (reigned 961–975) in the interval between the Tang and Northern Song (960–1127) dynasties. The legendary first foot binder was Yao Niang, Li's favorite concubine, who danced on a gilded stage in her socks. By the end of the tenth century the practice of foot binding had begun at court, and the literary image of bound feet, often referred to as lotus flowers, was firmly established in Chinese storytelling and poetry.

At the end of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) women aimed for four-inch-long feet. The Mongol rulers of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) loved bound feet, and

natural unbound feet became a source of shame. During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) the three-inch-long foot was the standard for courtly beauty, elegance, and femininity. Chinese peasant and servant women generally had unbound feet until the middle to late eighteenth century, when cotton production became widespread and women at all social levels were able to make binding and shoemaking cloth in large quantities.

Between 1860 and 1930 European and North American missionaries and Chinese reformers worked to end foot binding; photographers began taking pictures of women with nude bound feet, breaking a significant taboo against viewing them. The Chinese reformer Kang Youwei (1858–1927) founded the Do Not Bind Feet Society in 1883 and in 1898 drafted a letter asking the emperor of Guangxu province to end the practice. Reformers argued that foot binding was a symbol of national weakness and backwardness, whereas unbound feet symbolized national strength and modernity. As a result of the work of those reformers, the significant

increase in women doing factory instead of farm labor, the Japanese invasion, and World War II, the practice mostly had ended by the early 1940s. In 1949, the Communist Party banned foot binding, as the practice limited women's ability to perform agricultural labor. The last factory making lotus shoes ceased producing them in 1999.

FEET AND SHOES

Although the cultural meanings of foot binding were diverse, there was a standard process for creating small feet. Mothers would begin binding their daughters' feet when the girls were around seven years old. Women would sprinkle their feet with alum powder and then take a binding cloth two to four inches wide and ten to thirteen feet long and wind it tightly around the foot, repeatedly folding under four toes (leaving the big toe pointing upward), drawing the heel and toes as close together as possible, and sewing together the ends of the cloth. Foot binding had three effects: It shortened the length of the foot, reduced the width of the sole, and reshaped the foot to produce an arched bulge on the instep and a deep crevice under the arch. Foot binding re-formed the foot by bending and stretching its ligaments and tendons, but without breaking the bones.

The shoes women made for themselves and others contained rich imagery. Embroidery on the sides of the shoes would depict stories or symbols such as the lotus flower. Brides to be would make shoes for all their female in-laws. There were different shoes for weddings, sleeping, longevity (blue fabric), and mourning (white or cream fabric). Children's shoes often had the faces of their birth-year animals on the toes. The bindings and shoes never came off in front of men, and allowing men to touch or see nude feet was taboo, resulting in shame and loss of face. Men considered touching the shoes or covered feet of their wives or concubines erotic.

CONTEMPORARY DEBATE

Recent scholarship remains divided about how to understand foot binding in the history of Chinese literature and culture. Scholars differ over how to use one of the primary sources of foot binding oral history, photographs, poetry, and prose: the five volumes of *Caifeilu* (translated as *Records of Gathering Fragrance* or *Picking Radishes*). Those books were edited in the late 1930s by Yao Lingxi, who was a self-described *lotus addict* trying to preserve the remnants of a vanishing practice. Scholars such as Ping Wang and Dorothy Ko also disagree about the usefulness of various interpretive approaches for studying foot binding, such as psychoanalytic, feminist, gender, subaltern, and literary theories. As foot binding

allows for the study of interrelated aspects of Chinese culture such as gender relationships, sexuality, power, the body, labor, and clothing, there is no doubt that literature pertaining to and photographs of the practice, as well as exhibitions of shoes, will continue to draw audiences.

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Donna J. Drucker

FOPS

The fop was the Enlightenment (1600–1800) forerunner of the dandy, a man known for an attention to dress and fashion bordering on the absurd. The term originally meant fool, appearing in English as early as 1440; by the eighteenth century it signified a vain man who was foolishly devoted to his own appearance above all else. The stereotype of the fop involved extravagantly expensive clothes made of the finest materials, cut in the latest and most daring styles. Fops wore elaborate wigs, makeup, and shoes, and took every opportunity to display themselves.

Fops were real-life characters as well as theatrical and literary ones. They were associated with places of public display, such as courts and theaters, so much so that the center of the pit in opera houses was sometimes called Fop's alley. Fops were associated with fashion, manners, the aristocracy, and all things French; Molière's (1622–1673) play *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* [The would-be gentleman] (1670) is a fop stereotype, a middle-class social climber so eager to impress his aristocratic friends with his clothes, dancing, and money that he makes a spectacle of himself. His attention to dress is so exaggerated that even his own servants are unable to control the violent fits of laughter he inspires.

Part of the comedic effect of the fop is that he is a man with no sense of moderation or of his natural station. He is a bourgeois who thinks he can be an aristocrat, and is a man with a woman's attention to fashion and manners. Repudiating the sober virtues of middle-class masculinity, he violates boundaries of both class and gender. His mincing effeminacy parodies both the effeteness of the upper classes of his era and the stupidity of a merchant class that craves their approval; the moral lesson his stereotype teaches is that aping the values of the womanish upper classes emasculates bourgeois men and makes them foolish.

In the nineteenth century the fop became the dandy. As does the fop the dandy emulates the aristocracy. Unlike the fop the dandy affects nonchalance, reserve, and even cynicism so as to not appear to be trying quite so hard. The most famous dandy of all was George Bryan "Beau" Brummell (1778–1840), a friend of the British Prince Regent (George, Prince of Wales, who became King George IV [r. 1820–1830] after the 1829 demise of George III [r. 1760–1820]). Brummell, from the 1790s until his death, embodied the relentlessly immaculate stereotype of the well-dressed man. He may have discovered fashion as a method of social resistance when he and his cadre of fashionable friends abandoned the practice of wearing powdered wigs and hair in response to Prime Minister William Pitt's (1759–1806) 1795 tax on hair powder. Not only was wearing powder expensive, it was going out of fashion by the time Pitt introduced his tax; Brummell was then in the military and thus required by its dress code to powder his hair. No doubt this annoyed him, and he quit powder and the military in the same moment, adopting a style of disputably Roman haircuts that were all the rage in a gesture of fashionable resistance, thus resisting fashion's terms through fashion's means. This would be the beginning of a lifelong devotion to appearance that would come to define his identity and place in history.

Thus, Brummell was *so* well-turned out as to be a spectacle. There was nothing outlandish about his dress or his manner; in fact, he was known for his reticence. But a man dressed so carefully as to call attention to himself makes a theatrical event out of the everyday habit of men's dress, raising it to the level of sublime performance and even parody. Cultural critics see Brummell as the precursor of the decadents and aesthetes of the late nineteenth century and the mods and punks of the twentieth. His careful arrangement of his person was so proper as to constitute a rebuke. Such extreme attention rises to the level of the parodic and can be read paradoxically as both the highest emulation of aristocratic masculinity and a critique of its excess.

Later versions of the dandy, such as the mods and teddy boys, whose Carnaby Street frock coats and trousers revived Edwardian fashion in the United Kingdom in the 1960s, were similarly fanatical about perfect attire. Unlike Brummell, whose father left him a fortune to squander, most mods and teddy boys were working class, and their appropriation of men's styles critiqued the class assumptions that equated a tailored appearance with wealth, education, and other cultural advantages unavailable to most of them. As with Brummell their adherence to the dictates of fashion were so precise and so perfect as to be over the top. The *take* on culture signified by their clothes and attitude helped constitute a subcultural group of young men who could show their rejection of the terms of upward mobility by appropriating its terms for themselves.

Dandies have often been viewed as homosexual, in part because such extreme attention to appearance is often read as narcissistic, in part because a fixation on clothes appears fetishistic, and in part because one of the most famous homosexual of the early modern era, Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), was himself a dandy in his youth. His literary creation, Dorian Gray, is also a dandy, as is the friend who seduces Gray into a life of epicurean indulgences, Lord Henry Wotton. Dandyism does not have a fixed sexuality, although many modern dandies were also gay men, such as Noel Coward (1899–1973), Quentin Crisp (1980–1999), and Andy Warhol (1928–1987). Metrosexuals may be contemporary dandies, with their ambiguous sexualities and fine attention to male attire and masculine accessories. In an age increasingly dominated by dandyish Hollywood leading men, the parodic power of dandified dress may be on the wane. However, since his first appearance as a fop, the dandy has reinvented himself in every new fashion era and no doubt will do so again soon, on his own terms.

SEE ALSO *Effeminacy.*

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Jaime Hovey

FOREPLAY

Foreplay is most commonly defined as sexual or erotic stimulation preceding sexual intercourse. Foreplay can consist of a wide variety of activities, including massage, kissing, caressing, teasing, removal of clothing, manual or oral genital stimulation, verbal stimulation, stripteases, and fantasy role-play. Foreplay is also sometimes used to encompass activity leading up to a sexual encounter, such as flirting or romantic dates. Foreplay may also include activities such as bondage, discipline, humiliation, or erotic torture.

The activities that constitute foreplay are thus highly contingent, both on what individuals find erotic or stimulating and on how they define sexual intercourse. Wide-scale surveys of sexual practice, including those by Kinsey (1948, 1953), Hunt (1974), and Janus (1993), have tended to privilege heterosexual (and often married

heterosexual) practice and therefore define sexual intercourse as vaginal penetration by the penis. This definition of intercourse, however, excludes gay and lesbian experience completely and places homosexual sexual encounters entirely in the register of foreplay. Limiting the definition of intercourse to penetrative activities similarly excludes individuals whose sexual practice excludes penetration. Many gay men and lesbians, for example, prefer oral sex to anal or vaginal penetration; additionally, an increasing number of straight men and women consider oral sex to constitute sexual intercourse. The precise definition of foreplay is thus somewhat flexible and highly dependent on individual sexual preferences and beliefs.

Foreplay is generally considered to heighten sexual excitement and response, and is meant to ignite sexual desire and to prolong the tension that precedes orgasm. In men, for whom arousal and orgasm can often be attained faster than for women, foreplay is thought to intensify orgasm. For women, foreplay is often a crucial component of sexual satisfaction; for women with male partners, extended foreplay allows time for the woman to match her partner's level of arousal. Many women, moreover, report being unable to attain orgasm without sufficient foreplay. Foreplay is additionally used as mechanism for enhancing closeness and intimacy and thereby heightening the emotional connection experienced between partners during sex.

As the culture meanings of sex have changed and as the erogenous zones fetishized by society have changed, so too have the kinds of foreplay activities that couples have engaged in. In the nineteenth century, when many religious and social strictures limited appropriate sex to procreation, foreplay of any kind was often minimal. In Victorian society, which emphasized the control and regulation of sexuality, indulgence in foreplay for eroticism's sake was hardly encouraged. Some groups, however, began to challenge the primacy of marital sex and to experiment with other forms of sexual organization. In the case of the Oneidans, a commune of "free love" advocates in Oneida, New York, in the mid-nineteenth century, the re-visioning of sex and marriage had profound effects on foreplay. The community trained its men in the practice of coitus reservatus, in which the male partner refrains from ejaculating. This practice allowed the community to retain control over procreation, while freeing men and women for sexual exploration with less risk of unwanted pregnancies. The Oneidans adhered to nineteenth-century gender norms, construing men as active and controlling and women as passive and subordinate. However, they refigured the application of these roles in the arena of sexuality; men were to take on the responsibility of preventing ejaculation, which required significant control, while women

were to succumb to sexual desire. Men prided themselves on their ability to bring female partners to multiple orgasms, and extended foreplay was thus desired and widely used.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as sexual pleasure came to be seen as increasingly important to a happy marriage, extended foreplay became more important to sexual unions. In many cases, however, such foreplay was considered necessary strictly for the woman's sake. Male desire was thought to be quickly aroused and easily satisfied, and many men therefore opted for quick and efficient sexual intercourse. Sex manuals and researchers, however, increasingly encouraged men to engage in more prolonged foreplay so as to increase pleasure for their partners. By the 1920s and 1930s, sex writing emphasized sex as an expression of love, self, and togetherness, rather than as a matter of male control and efficacy, and sex manuals began providing detailed advice on how to extend foreplay so as to augment mutual satisfaction.

Though Kinsey's sex surveys (1948, 1953) restrict their most extensive detail regarding foreplay behavior to that of married heterosexual couples, the results are nonetheless revealing. Kinsey's discussion of sexual techniques includes data on the frequency of lip kissing, deep kissing, breast stimulation, manual genital stimulation, and oral genital stimulation. His findings reveal substantial variation based on educational levels: In those with no more than a high school level education, foreplay was most often perfunctory, involving little kissing and minimal bodily contact. Kinsey claimed that lower-educated men often regarded oral-genital contact, oral breast stimulation, and even deep kissing with some aversion or suspicion. Cunnilingus and fellatio were widely avoided and were practiced frequently by only a small minority of married couples. The prevalent attitude toward sex of men with some or no high school education was utilitarian: the goal was to achieve orgasm as quickly as possible after instigating sexual relations. Among college-educated men and women, foreplay tended to be much more extended, generally ranging between five and fifteen minutes. Those with higher education were far more likely to regularly utilize a variety a sexual techniques, including manual stimulation of the genitals, deep kissing, and breast stimulation. Though fellatio and cunnilingus were more likely to be practiced by college-educated couples, frequent usage was limited to a small minority.

Morton Hunt's 1974 follow-up on the Kinsey data finds much more practice of a wider range of sexual behaviors and a concomitant rise in the duration and variety of foreplay activities after the sexual revolution. Hunt finds an increase in the prevalence of most kinds of sexual behaviors, noting that the greatest increases correspond to the most taboo behaviors. Oral-genital contact,

then, had become a fairly widespread practice by the 1970s. Such contact, moreover, was comprising a greater proportion of the total time spent on foreplay, particularly among younger respondents, 60 percent of whom indicated that as much as half their foreplay time was devoted to fellatio or cunnilingus. Hunt also noted a greater usage of anal contact as part of foreplay. More than half the married respondents under age 35 reported experiencing manual stimulation of the anus, while more than 25 percent had engaged in oral-anal stimulation.

Hunt also remarks on an overall emphasis on the importance of foreplay among sexual partners, though, as with Kinsey, he focuses on heterosexual couples. Hunt finds that the variations in the prevalence of foreplay between high school and college-educated men had closed up by the 1970s, with both groups spending about fifteen minutes on foreplay. Single men and women under twenty-five also average about fifteen minutes on foreplay, while those between twenty-five and thirty-four years of age average about twenty minutes. Foreplay has become a consistent practice among both married and single couples. Taken as whole, married and single couples appeared to engage in roughly equivalent durations of foreplay; the most consistent statistical differences in the duration correlates to a group's age, with the youngest people spending the most time on foreplay.

Received wisdom about foreplay has often been that men want less while women want more. Early twentieth-century interest in foreplay was explicitly based on this belief, arguing that mutual sexual pleasure required the male to put off his own desire for orgasm in order to further arouse his female partner. However, researchers have increasingly found that partners of both sexes are genuinely concerned about their partner's pleasure. Janus (1993), for example, finds that a significant percentage of both men and women are more concerned with their partner's satisfaction than their own. Hunt implies a similar concern with mutual satisfaction in his analysis of Kinsey's foreplay data, when he suggests that educated men spend more time on foreplay because they have been made aware of its importance to female satisfaction. Hunt further believes that his own data, which mark an all-around increase in the duration and range of foreplay behaviors, reveal a growing pressure, in the age of sexual liberation, to be sexually expert. Kahn (1981) finds that men and women place similar value on foreplay, ranking nude petting fourth and third respectively in a list of sexual preferences.

SEE ALSO *Arousal.*

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Maureen Lauder

FORNICATION

Fornication refers to acts of sexual intercourse between two people who are not married to one another. It is different from adultery, which occurs if at least one of the two intercourse partners is married to someone else, though fornication and adultery are often associated as similar transgressions. The term *fornication* derives from the Latin *fornix*, which means archway; the vaulted arches of churches are called fornications. The term gained its sexual connotation because prostitutes in Rome often solicited business from the archways of buildings. In the early twenty-first century, fornication is a slightly obsolete, archaic term, connoting issues of sin and morality, and employed in the context of religious discussions of sexual behaviors.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

The category of fornication represents the intersection of religion and/or morality with criminal legislation enacted by governments. Prohibitions against fornication derive from cultures in which religious laws were the laws that governed the society, as in Judaism, Islam, and Christianity, at various times in history. In Old Testament law, fornication was a version of idolatry or adultery, both prohibitions listed in the Ten Commandments. Idolatry or worshiping another god was considered a form of fornication in so far as illicit intercourse served as an analogy for unfaithfulness. Extramarital intercourse represented a breach of marital vows. Although all extramarital sexual acts were serious infractions of both religious and civil laws, premarital sex was less serious than adulterous sex, although having premarital sex might produce a marriage under Jewish law. Islamic law followed the Old Testament prohibitions against pre- and extramarital sexual relations, classifying such behaviors as *zina*, or the most serious kind of transgression. Christianity, too, forbids fornication, based on both Old and New Testament proclamations. Asian religions also forbade fornication. The Hindu holy book, the Bhagavad Gita, prohibits adultery and premarital sex, and

Buddhism understands all sexual activity as a barrier to self-righteousness.

The rationale for prohibitions against pre- and extra-marital intercourse came from the societies' need to maintain familial integrity and identity, guarantee the legitimacy of children, and protect unmarried women from interference or their own premature desires. As postindustrial societies devised state-enforced criminal codes, transgressions such as fornication were most often codified along with other moral wrongs as defined by the dominant religion.

As Renaissance (1300–1699) and Enlightenment (1600–1799) governments began producing criminal laws, issues of morality such as fornication were defined as behaviors that were against the law. Criminal laws forbade premarital sex, extramarital sex, and adultery. The early North American colonies adopted antifornication laws. In 1642, for example, the Massachusetts colony enacted a law against fornication that stated "that if any man shall commit Fornication with any single woman, they shall be punished either by enjoining to Marriage, or Fine, or corporal punishment, or any or all of these as the Judges of the courts of Assistants shall appoint most agreeable to the word of God." Under the Napoleonic Penal Code of 1810, husbands could divorce wives who committed adultery, though the husbands' own behaviors were less restricted.

Modern governments still have antifornication laws, which criminalize nonmarital cohabitation, adultery, and prostitution. Any kind of extramarital intercourse is a crime in most Muslim countries, and the laws are often enforced, yielding harsh punishments for malefactors. In many countries with such laws, the woman is treated more harshly than the man, perpetuating sexist myths about the provocative powers of women. In European and North American countries, antifornication laws usually define *sex* as vaginal intercourse between two persons not married to one another and treat the partners as equally culpable. Antisodomy laws, or statutes making anal intercourse a crime even between married partners, are also considered to be antifornication laws. Although ten of the states in the United States still criminalize fornication, many states have begun to repeal such laws in light of the 2003 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Lawrence v. Texas*. In 1977, well before the *Lawrence* case, a New Jersey court struck down a New Jersey antifornication statute, stating that antifornication statutes involve "a fundamental personal choice" that people have the right to make without governmental interference. The court, in *New Jersey v. Saunders*, premised its declarations on a constitutional right to privacy that "secures conditions favorable to the pursuit of happiness." In 2005, in *Martin v. Ziherl*, the Supreme Court of Virginia found that state's antifornication statute

unconstitutional, declaring that because a majority views a behavior as immoral "is not a sufficient reason for upholding a law prohibiting the practice" and that individuals' decisions about their intimate lives are a "form of 'liberty' protected by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." Given these court decisions, some states repealed their antifornication laws, but others retain them. In almost every state such laws are rarely, if ever, enforced.

PLACE IN THE SOCIAL IMAGINATION

Despite the increasing separations between traditional morality and state criminal laws, the idea of fornication still has a powerful place in the social imagination. It has long provided a subject for literature and matter for censorship. William Shakespeare's play *Measure for Measure* (1604), for example, portrays a civic leader who insists on prosecuting fornicators. The duke is not envisaged as a sympathetic character, but as one who would destroy the joys of love. Such eighteenth-century novels as Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* and Pierre Choderlos de Laclos's *Dangerous Liaisons* portrayed the scandals of fornication as did nineteenth-century novels by Leo Tolstoy, Gustave Flaubert, and Émile Zola. In the twentieth century, literature depicting fornication and adultery, such as D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, were initially banned for their scandalous content.

In the early twenty-first century, the term fornication conveys an archaic notion of sin, especially in the face of more liberal beliefs about sexuality and personal freedom. The availability of birth control, the sexualization of culture, and the independence and mobility of individuals makes extramarital sexual activity both more possible and less risky in terms of possible pregnancies or, often, other familial ramifications. The number of children born out of wedlock or who live in nonpatriarchal nuclear families makes the constraints of fornication laws seem outdated and unnecessary. Nonetheless, government programs advising teen abstinence from sexual activity still depend upon the connotations of sin that the term fornication conveys, returning sex education to the realm of morality over considerations of health, choice, or safety.

SEE ALSO *Adultery; Canon Law; Erotic Art; Film, Gender and Eroticism: I. History of; Middle Ages; Pornography.*

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Judith Roof

FOTONOVELAS

A *fotonovela* (also known as photonovel or photonovella) is a series of captioned photographs that tell a story. Generally presenting tales of romance, the genre began in Italy and Spain and was imported to and transformed in Latin America. Because *fotonovelas* are relatively cheap and portable, readers share them widely. In many working-class neighborhoods *fotonovelas* are distributed by a local entrepreneur who sets up a rental library where for a few cents one can borrow a volume that is to be returned the next day. *Fotonovelas* are exchanged and traded among middle-class young people, constantly recycling a series of images and messages that are interpreted according to the experience of the reader despite the intentions of the writer or publisher (Hill and Browner 1982).

ORIGINS AND TYPES

The genre began after World War II in Italy and Spain as stills from films, such as the Italian classic *roman-photo Grand Hotel*, but soon emerged as a separate medium (Habert 1974). Spanish romantic novels were transformed to photographs. Latin American *fotonovela* production began in Cuba in the late 1940s. With the Cuban revolution of 1959, production shifted to Miami.

The formulaic plot of the early *rosa* ("pink"; sex is not mentioned) *fotonovela* featured a naive young woman of good breeding but reduced circumstances who unknowingly causes a wealthy man to fall in love with her, thus solving her financial and romantic problems. The female characters, although they tried to appear independent (and thus endear themselves to the spectacularly virile hero), ultimately were won by acknowledging their innate weakness and the man's superiority. The images of women were extremely traditional. Women should do what is best for men despite their talents and needs. Men solve problems. Women respond from the soul, not from the intellect.

In the 1970s entrepreneurs in Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico began to produce *fotonovelas suaves* ("soft"; sex is implied), whose characters were middle-class without upward mobility through romance for the heroine. Obstacles, including a woman's occupation, could keep the lovers apart for a while, but the stories inevitably ended happily with the lovers reunited. Career was subordinated to love and marriage. Male and female characteristics remained clearly differentiated. Women were weak and needed protection; men provided it.

The *fotonovela roja* ("red"; with explicit sexuality) produced in Mexico beginning in the 1970s represented a radical departure from the *fotonovela rosa* (Curiel 1980). Characters and settings were poor, but the villains, male and female, were upper-class. There were no happy endings. Women in the *fotonovela roja* were in charge of their own economic destiny despite the sex and violence that permeated all relations, romantic and contractual.

Single women in the *rojas* had two options: domestic service or prostitution. Both were problematic, subjecting women to the inevitable sexual predation of upper-class men. Death, the usual ending in a *fotonovela roja*, was presented as clearly preferable. True love was between a man and a woman of humble circumstances but pure hearts.

Fotonovela content is a function of production cost-effectiveness. Casts are small, and the sets are the homes and offices of the actors and producers. Scripts often are recycled with very minor variations, although readers often submit scripts. Original scripts are readjusted to the norm. An avid *fotonovela* reader, the Colombian union leader Ruth Correa sold a number of "scripts" to a Colombian producer. Union organizing was critical in her plots, requiring many people and access to the shop floor. In production the heroine lost her union roots, transformed from a factory worker to a secretary at her typewriter (a scene available in the office of the *fotonovela* producer).

ALTERNATIVE FOTONOVELAS

Only in alternative *fotonovelas*, usually produced by community or union organizers, do women organize (Flora 1984). Alternative *fotonovelas* treat themes such as birth control, the importance of women's education, and the need to engage in self-help. In these *fotonovelas*, which often are produced by feminists, men and women work together as equals to solve community problems.

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Cornelia Butler Flora

FOUCAULT, MICHEL
1926–1984

One of the late twentieth century's most important thinkers, Michel Foucault—classified variously as structuralist or poststructuralist, with neither label fitting comfortably—provides one starting point for several new lines of critical thought, including postcolonial theory, new historicism, and queer theory. Born in Poitiers, France, on June 15, 1926, Foucault studied at the École Normale Supérieure, working with such prominent philosophers as Louis Althusser (1918–1990) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961). Following the 1968 student protests in France, Foucault became politically active, especially on behalf of prisoners' rights. In 1969 Foucault gained election to the prestigious Collège de France, where he was professor of the History of Systems of Thought until his death in Paris on June 25, 1984, of AIDS-related causes. He lectured widely outside France and taught, in his last decade, at the University of California, Berkeley.

Beginning in the 1960s Foucault had a long-term, nonexclusive relationship with the sociologist Daniel Defert. Foucault's sexual life was the object of much speculation, especially after the publication of James Miller's 1993 biography, *The Passion of Michel Foucault,* and Hervé Guibert's 1991 novel, *To the Friend Who Did Not Save My Life,* which presented Foucault in sensationalized ways. Foucault was involved in gay sadomasochistic sexuality and in experiments with LSD, but Miller's claim that these provide a key to his thought has been controversial. David Halperin makes a strong rebuttal in *Saint Foucault* (1995).

Foucault's major works include *Madness and Civilization* (1965, English translation [1961, French publication]), which studies the emergence of modern ideas of mental illness; *The Birth of the Clinic* (1973 [1963]), a history of the development of clinical medicine; *The Order of Things* (1970 [1966]), which elaborates a broader critique of the human sciences; *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972 [1969]), a reflection on Foucault's archeological methodology, showing how different periods operate with different *epistemes* or *discursive formations*, systems by which what counts as valid knowledge is established; *Discipline*

Michel Foucault. AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (1977 [1975]), which examines the shift from a society in which power is centralized in a monarch and displayed in spectacular public torture and executions, to a modern *disciplinary* system of which the prison is an exemplary institution; and the three volumes of the *History of Sexuality*: *An Introduction* (1978 [1976]), *The Use of Pleasure* (1985 [1984]), and *The Care of the Self* (1986 [1984]). *Discipline and Punish* and the *History of Sexuality* are considered part of a turn in Foucault's work from archeology to genealogy, with the latter suggesting a reliance on Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche's (1844–1900) philosophy and an emphasis on the contingent (nonprogressive, nontranscendental) nature of historical change. Also important in Foucault's thinking about sexuality and gender are *Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth-Century French Hermaphrodite* (1980 [1978]); various essays and interviews, collected in the *Essential Works of Foucault*; and the 1975–1976 lectures, "Society Must Be Defended."

The first volume of the *History of Sexuality* develops a counterintuitive argument: Whereas, in what Foucault calls the *repressive hypothesis* the twentieth century came to understand sexuality as repressed and taboo, Foucault

argues instead that modern sexuality depends upon eliciting speech about sex, with a series of discourses emerging to identify the truth of one's self with a sexuality felt to be inborn and *natural* (but in fact *produced* by these very discourses). Foucault traces a set of historical processes—most intense in the nineteenth century but with roots as far back as medieval Christian confession—by which an *incitement to discourse* about the inner self and its sexual desires produces a European and North American *science of sex* involving medical, psychiatric, pedagogic, and political institutions. Four major figures, the hysterical woman, the masturbating child, the Malthusian couple, and the perverse adult, become the *privileged objects* of sexual knowledge, and new scientific disciplines—including the sexology of Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895), and Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), and ultimately psychoanalysis—develop to investigate such objects. Where individuals' sexual behavior had previously been a matter of (dis)allowed *acts*, modern sexuality wraps one's very *identity* up with the specification of a stable, essential sexual self. In Foucault's influential formulation, "The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species."

Foucault argues, further, that knowledge about sex/sexuality is intimately wrapped up with power in configurations of power/knowledge. For Foucault, power is not just exerted from above, but instead involves multiple, local force relations that always entail both exertions of power and resistances to it. The modern deployment of sexuality involves a change (like that described in *Discipline and Punish*) in the way power operates in European and North American societies: Where power was once centralized in a monarch who could put others to death, modern societies decentralize power, disciplining subjects and their bodies in part by investing them with a sexuality that subjects themselves are expected to observe, husband, control, and speak. Power, rather than operating simply through repression, *produces* the very kinds of sexualized subject that it can use most effectively. The king's *right of death* is replaced by *power over life*, or *bio-power*.

Though in Volume I of the *History* Foucault focuses on sexuality as a modern innovation, he turns in the next volumes to consider premodern constructions of the body, sex, and pleasure. The plan of the reconceived *History*, left incomplete at Foucault's death, would have examined how sexual acts and pleasures, thought by the ancient Greeks to be useful in leading an ethical life, began to be distrusted in ancient Rome, a development that continued and intensified within European Christianity. *The Use of Pleasure* and *The Care of the Self* develop Foucault's ideas about *technologies of the self*, ways in which the subject comes to recognize, care for,

discipline, and know itself, and moves Foucault's thought further into the realm of ethics than previously.

Foucault's work has been highly influential for scholarship on gender and sexuality. Though criticized by some feminists for his lack of attention to gender difference, Foucault has been important for others because of his antiessentialist take on sexuality, which echoes feminism's insistence that gender is a social construction. Teresa de Lauretis, for instance, takes Foucault's technologies of the self as one starting point for her *Technologies of Gender* (1987). Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) also follows Foucault in many respects, especially in showing gender (like Foucault's sexuality) to be not a cause but an effect, the production of discourses that deny their own productivity in an attempt to naturalize and essentialize gender.

It is not surprising that the feminists most attracted to Foucault's thinking have also often been those—like de Lauretis and Butler—closely associated with queer theory, which questions the stability of identity categories. Indeed, almost all the work associated with queer theory depends in significant ways on Foucault, especially (1) his insistence that sex and sexuality have a history; that they are not stable, innate givens, and hence might change in the future, (2) the corresponding recognition that an individual's sexuality is a construction, determined by discourse and power/knowledge (which is not to say that sexuality is not real and deeply felt), and (3) the elaboration of a theory that makes resistance integral to power, recognizing that as soon as a hegemonic discourse develops, resistant counter-discourses also emerge. Unlike lesbian/gay studies that take their starting point in the assumption of relatively stable gay and lesbian identities, Foucault's *History* and queer theory both emphasize the historical contingency of any identity, the ways in which subjectivity and sexuality are shaped differently at different points in time.

Foucault's work—particularly the argument that the figure of the homosexual emerges only in the nineteenth century—has been considered inaccurate by some historical specialists; thus, for instance, Rictor Norton (1945–) identifies a gay subculture in the eighteenth century. We should recognize, however, that—especially in Volume I of the *History*—Foucault is writing in broad strokes, outlining a field of inquiry that he hoped to study in more detail later; he also complicates his own history, emphasizing that several nonsynchronous changes contributed to the development of modern sexuality, and arguing against a supersessionist view that modern sexuality all at once replaced its predecessors. Foucault's work has, indeed, been enabling for many scholars working on premodern materials—classicists such as Halperin, John J. Winkler (1943–1990), Froma I. Zeitlin (1933–),

and Simon Goldhill; medievalists such as Carolyn Dinshaw and Karma Lochrie; and early modernists such as Jonathan Goldberg and Valerie Traub (1958–).

One final critique of Foucault that is important to acknowledge concerns the Eurocentrism of his work. Thus, Abdul JanMohamed, in an essay in Domna Stanton's *Discourses of Sexuality*, notes that Foucault does not go very far in analyzing racialized sexuality. Ann Laura Stoler, in *Race and the Education of Desire*, also recognizes that Foucault's *History* might benefit from a fuller engagement with the global (colonial/postcolonial) dynamics of race; she points out, however, Foucault's own concern with analyzing the development of European state racism in lectures (now published as *"Society Must Be Defended"*) contemporaneous with the *History*. Her own analysis of postcolonial situations where race and sexuality are constructed by and through each other then works to develop a complex, intriguing Foucaultian analysis of materials Foucault himself never considered.

SEE ALSO *Body, Theories of; Gender, Theories of; Queering, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Culture.*

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Steven F. Kruger

FRENCH KISSING

SEE *Kiss, Modern.*

FREUD, SIGMUND
1856–1939

Sigmund Freud was the founder of modern psychoanalysis. He is also the intellectual figure most responsible for bringing issues of sexuality to the center of European and North American consciousness. A medical doctor, Freud studied nervous conditions and other mental disorders, believing that some maladies arise from the repression of early thoughts and desires rather than as an effect of physical disease. He refined the talking cure, in which he discerned patients' anxieties from what they said as well as they ways in which they said it. He hypothesized that the repression of specifically sexual desires underlay most nervous symptoms. In his long career Freud showed that the unconscious—that of ourselves which we cannot know—operated according to specific rules. In his work he showed the effects of the unconscious on conscious behavior, established the presence and influence of infantile sexuality, increasingly believed that the innate disposition of human beings was bisexual, developed the idea of the Oedipus complex, and thought that even civilization itself could be analyzed. His work focused on hysterics (patients with nervous symptoms that had no physical cause), dreams, psychic development, the sexual causes of nervous conditions, and the dynamism of the human mind, which he thought worked according to Newtonian principles of conservation. His centering on sexuality and his understanding of the dynamic functioning of the human psyche changed the way Europeans and North Americans think about the complex mental processes by which they become individuals.

Sigismund Schlomo Freud was born in Freiberg, Moravia, on May 6, 1856. He was the first son of his father's third marriage. His mother, Amalia, was twenty years younger than his father, Jacob Freud, and Sigmund had half brothers who were older than his mother and a nephew who was a year older than himself. The Freuds were Jewish and not wealthy. Freud's father was a wool merchant who was not always successful, though circumstances improved as Freud grew older. In 1860 the Freuds moved to Vienna, where Sigmund was to live for almost the rest of his life. By 1866 Freud's mother had given birth to five more children: four girls and a boy. They lived in a modest six-room apartment, where the serious Sigmund occupied his own bedroom while the rest of the family shared the three others. Freud adored his mother and liked his father.

Freud attended the local gymnasium, or high school, and was first in his class for seven years. He read widely, liking in particular the work of German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and William Shakespeare (1564–1616). In 1873 Freud began studies in medicine at the University of Vienna. He worked as a research assistant in 1876 on a zoology project in Trieste, trying to determine if there were gonads in eels. When he returned from Trieste, he began working in the physiology laboratory of Ernst Brücke (1819–1892), investigating the nervous systems of fish and the physiology of human nerves. Freud learned most of his positivist, empiricist scientific assumptions from Brücke and the faculty of the University of Vienna, which meant that he believed there were physical mechanisms for phenomena, which could be discerned through careful scientific method and observation. Freud did not believe that there were any mystical or metaphysical causes for biological phenomena.

In 1879 and 1880 Freud served his time in the military as a medic, completing his medical degree in 1881. The following year he took a junior post at the General Hospital in Vienna, where he worked for three years gaining both clinical experience and more specialized experience in the psychiatric clinic, working with Theodor Meynert (1833–1898) and Hermann Nothnagel (1841–1905), who became two of Freud's supporters. He researched the effects of cocaine as a local anesthetic, and in 1885 was awarded a travel grant to work with the French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893) in Paris.

Charcot's work with hysterical patients began to move Freud from his studies of brain physiology to psychology. Charcot, who believed hysteria was a psychological disorder rather than a physical condition, treated his patients through hypnosis. Freud returned to Vienna convinced that mental diseases were less physical than psychological and that the same psychological laws applied to all people,

healthy or not. He also saw that the physiologists had done all they could and set out to help develop methods by which the neuroses—nervous ailments without physical cause—could be treated.

FREUD'S EARLY WORK

When he returned from Paris, Freud opened his own practice specializing in nervous diseases. He married, settled down, and also became friends with an otolaryngologist, Wilhelm Fliess (1887–1904), who for the next fifteen years served as Freud's specific audience, commenting on Freud's manuscripts and sharing ideas, especially Fliess's insight that humans were intrinsically bisexual in disposition.

In his medical practice Freud became unhappy with the modes of treatment and began to look for better ways to understand the causes and treatment of mental disorders. He translated the French psychiatrist Hippolyte Bernheim's (1840–1919) work on hypnosis, and worked with senior colleague Josef Breuer (1842–1925) on *Studies in Hysteria* (1895), a collection of studies on five hysterical patients. The most famous of these patients was Anna O., a patient whom both Breuer and Freud had treated in the 1880s. As a result of Anna's intelligence and own processing of her hysteria, Breuer began development of the talking cure, which replaced hypnosis. In the talking cure patients talk out their crises, finding in their own accounts the clues to their symptoms. In hearing their speech Freud also began to discern that the basis for his patients' nervous symptoms was often repressed sexual desires. He also found that the process of talking not only produced catharsis for the patient, it also proceeded through a much more difficult process. Patients inevitably were resistant, both consciously and unconsciously, to revealing material. Hence the physician needed to listen closely to what they said indirectly and inadvertently.

In studying hysterical patients Freud noticed that often the patients revealed an early sexual trauma, or seduction. At first Freud believed that his patients had literally been abused by relatives or caretakers and that abuse, repressed, formed the traumatic kernel around which hysterical symptoms later emerged. In the talking cure patients occasionally recalled such incidents. Freud first concluded that a great deal of sexual misconduct was occurring in middle-class households and that children were suffering at the hands of nannies and perhaps even male relatives. But Freud later revised this seduction theory, positing that patients' fantasies of such sexual contact were sufficient to produce a type of trauma as these guilty desires were repressed. Freud's recanting the idea of literal seduction has caused some to accuse him of

not listening to his patients' claims. But Freud could not believe that so many people suffered at the hands of late Victorian patriarchs.

The material—the dreams, fantasies, and anxieties—presented by his hysterical clients inadvertently provided hints about their unconscious desires and fears. Freud became interested in this unconscious, a concept that had existed for much of the nineteenth century. Freud determined that one of the most fruitful sites to explore the unconscious was dreams, and he began an ambitious study of dream work, published in 1900 as *The Interpretation of Dreams*. After reviewing all available theories about dreams, Freud suggested that dreams were essentially fulfilled wishes. More important he suggested that the material in the unconscious represented by the dream was organized by a combination of condensation, whereby many different figures were combined into one; and of displacement, in which ideas, wishes, or events from one time and place played out in another set of circumstances.

In addition to its insights about how the unconscious worked, *The Interpretation of Dreams* also presented a large measure of Freud's own self-analysis, in particular his discovery of what he called his Oedipal wishes. Freud saw in his early childhood self the desire to eliminate his father so he could have his mother all to himself, a wish thwarted by his father's power. Freud's formulation of the Oedipal wish contributed to his increasing understanding of the underlying sexual component that operated in the unconscious.

Between 1900 and 1905, Freud continued to write studies about the ways in which the unconscious is revealed, including *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1904) and *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (1905). The first was written for a more general audience and provided numerous examples of mistakes and inadvertent slips, which have come to be known as *Freudian slips* and which often reveal an unconscious wish or sexual desire. The second showed that jokes often have a sexual basis.

Freud's more important work of this time was *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905). In this collection, Freud set out two crucial ideas about sexuality. In the collection's first essay, he examined what are perceived as sexual deviations and perversions, such as homosexuality, fetishism, and voyeurism, arguing that these perversions are a normal part of human sexuality. Basing his analysis on the idea that human beings are innately bisexual, he suggested that the range of sexual desires and particular desires within that range are not pathological. Human beings, he said, have both a sexual aim—what it is they want to do, and a sexual object—with whom they want to accomplish their aim. A sexual aim might be heterosexual sexual intercourse or it could be voyeuristic—wanting to see sexual relations, or the aim could be oral stimulation of
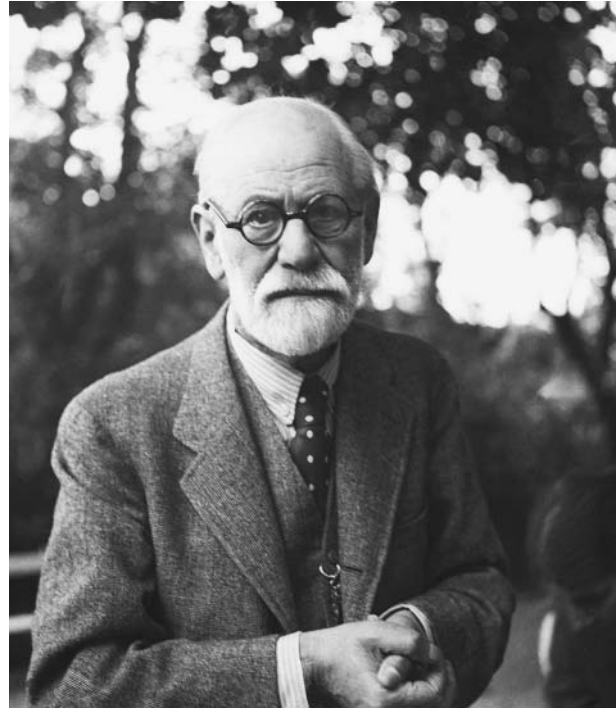
Sigmund Freud. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.

the genitals or the desire to be spanked. The sexual object could be male or female or even inanimate, as was sometimes the case with fetishists. If the sexual aim of a male was sexual intercourse and the sexual object was a female, then the result would be typical heterosexual sex. If the aim of a female was oral sex with another female, then the result would be female homosexuality. The point of Freud's first essay was that all of these permutations are a natural part of human sexual existence.

The second essay argued for the existence of sexual feelings in very young children. Freud showed the ways infants already have a sexuality fixed on erogenous zones, such as the mouth, the anus, and the genitals. Although, as he suggests, this sexuality goes underground until puberty, the nature of the infant's sexual pleasures tend to set the individual's preferences for life. In addition, sexual traumas and seductions, which Freud believed were also sexual in nature, often dated from this period in a child's life.

The third essay discussed the ramifications of puberty when sexuality reappeared and developed into its adult forms. Although Freud would later revise his idea that sexuality ever disappeared, this last essay was perhaps the least inflammatory of the collection. Public and even expert reception of Freud's *Three Essays* tended to reduce the work to an argument for perversion and libertinism. Freud was seen as immoral and advocating free love.

Although other physicians had noted evidence of sexuality in children, denials of this idea have persisted into the early twenty-first century.

In 1905 Freud also published a single case study of a hysterical patient in which he had tried to use the insights garnered from his work on dreams as a part of his analytic method. "Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria," or the Dora case, has become one of Freud's most notorious case studies, along with "Little Hans," the "Wolf Man," and the paranoid senate president Daniel Paul Schreber (1842–1911). Dora had come to Freud with nervous symptoms—a nervous cough, a hysterical whisper, migraines, and depression. Her situation, as Freud's novel-like case study recounts, involved a sick father unhappy with his wife, and another couple, Herr and Frau K. Dora told Freud that her father was having an affair with Frau K and had traded her to Herr K so he could be with Herr K's wife. Dora despised Herr K, whom she accused of having tried to kiss her. Dora also recounted two suggestive dreams to Freud, who read the case as an instance of repressed sexual desire. Dora, Freud decided, was reacting to her own desire instigated by feeling Herr K's erect penis against her when he tried to kiss her and had displaced her erotic feelings to her throat, which caused her symptoms. One of Dora's dreams about fingering a jewel case seemed to confirm Freud's analysis. Dora, however, did not agree and terminated the analysis before it was completed. Freud concluded that her termination had been revenge against him, but later Freud came to a different conclusion, one that involved an understanding of how transference worked in the analytical situation.

Transference is a necessary process in analysis. Transference occurs when the patient's unconscious ideas are displaced into and are expressed through other ideas, actions, and people. In the analytical situation the patient transfers unconscious thoughts onto the person of the analyst. In the Dora case Freud thought that Dora's treatment of him revealed Dora's transference onto him of her repressed erotic feelings for Herr K. Later, however, Freud realized that the analyst also transferred unconscious feelings onto the patient during analysis, a phenomenon called *countertransference*. Freud recognized that his belief in Dora's erotic attraction to Herr K had been an effect of his unconscious wish that Dora have erotic feelings for himself, a revision he acknowledged in footnotes appended to later editions of the text. He also indicated that he believed that Dora's hysterical symptoms came from her repression of an attraction to Frau K.

CASE STUDIES

In 1909 Freud, who had gained both recognition and notoriety for his work on sexuality, continued publishing case studies of patients whose symptoms and analysis provided instructive material to the developing field of psychoanalysis. Freud had begun hosting meeting for interested practitioners at his home and had thus begun to gather followers both in Vienna and internationally, including Karl Abraham (1877–1925) from Berlin, the Viennese Otto Rank (1844–1939), Ernest Jones (1879–1958) from Britain, Sándor Ferenczi (1873–1933) from Budapest, Carl G. Jung (1875–1961) from Switzerland, and Lou-Andreas Salomé (1861–1937) from Germany. Although Freud and Jung would soon part ways, during the first decade of the twentieth century, they were friends and allies working for the common cause of psychoanalysis—Freud the father figure, Jung the son.

During this period, Freud would report three case studies and a more prolonged study of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519). These case studies confirmed and extended Freud's ideas about the sexual cause of neuroses. The first case, known as "Little Hans," involved a young boy, the son of a friend, who was pathologically afraid of horses. Little Hans's father often reported his son's symptoms to Freud, who talked to the boy himself only occasionally. After gathering the boy's symptoms—a fear that horses would bite him, a fear that they would fall over—Freud concluded that the source of Little Hans's phobia was an ambivalence about his father. It was, in short, an Oedipal ambivalence. Little Hans both hated and loved his father, was afraid his father would castrate him because he adored his mother, and sometimes wished his father were dead. The boy had displaced anxieties about his father onto horses. His fear of their biting him was a fear of castration—that he would lose his penis. His fear of the horses falling over was a fear that his father would die. The boy ultimately resolved this love/hate feeling about his father by deciding that his father should marry his own mother so that Little Hans could marry his mother.

Freud's next case study was the "Rat Man," the case of a man plagued with obsessive thoughts of torture by rats. Freud traced this obsession, too, to sexual ambivalence. Freud's reaffirmations of the sexual cause for nervous disorders, however, finally caused the break between him and his disciple Jung. Jung, who had risen to be the first president of the International Psycho-Analytic Association, was not convinced that sexual anxieties were the cause of all neuroses or that all libido, or life energy and drive, was ultimately sexual in nature. In advancing the idea of a more universalized and less sexual libido, Jung broke openly with Freud and his supporters.

Freud, however, continued to demonstrate, through additional case studies, the centrality of sexuality not only to neuroses but to most human activities. In a long paper on da Vinci, undertaken to illustrate the use of psychoanalysis on broader cultural issues, Freud concluded that

da Vinci's talent and creative energy derived from his adoration of his mother and his sublimation of homoerotic feelings. The idea of sublimation—that one substitutes a more acceptable form of energy in place of less accepted desires such as homosexuality—became an important concept to ideas about art and science developing in the early twentieth century. Art and scientific research represented the sublimation of erotic energies into artistic energies.

For his study of da Vinci, Freud had used a painting and one of da Vinci's childhood memories as the texts he analyzed. In 1910 Freud became interested in the case of Schreber, a judge in Saxony's highest law court. After reading Schreber's memoirs, Freud wrote a study of Schreber's paranoia. Schreber heard voices, thought the world and God were in a conspiracy against him, and believed that he could save the world if he transformed into a woman. Freud interpreted Schreber's paranoia as love turned to hate and his desire for gender transformation as a way of defending himself against his wish to love a man. Again, repressed sexual wishes constituted the core of the mental disorder.

Freud's final case study of this period, "Wolf Man," emphasized one of Freud's other key points: that the sexual repression that produced neurosis was a product of infancy. The Wolf Man, a wealthy Russian nobleman, was almost debilitated by neurosis and liked sexual activity only with servants and in a position in which intercourse was accomplished from the rear. Like Dora, the Wolf Man told Freud a dream, this one about a window suddenly opening and him seeing five white wolves sitting in a tree. Freud, who had explored the patient's background of early sexual play with an older sister and threats of castration from his nanny, interpreted the dream as the expression of his trauma at seeing what Freud called *the primal scene*—the scene of his parents having sexual intercourse. The Wolf Man had developed a castration anxiety that had turned into sadism and the masochistic desire to be punished by his father. By the end of the four-year treatment, the Wolf Man was engaged to marry.

SEXUAL DIFFERENCE

During World War I Freud continued to refine his ideas about psychoanalytic technique, infantile sexuality, and the structure of the psyche. He wrote a brief paper published in 1915 on the origins of fetishism, a sexual preference in which individuals are aroused by objects such as shows or lingerie, or body parts such as the nose or feet. Freud's theory of fetishism was a part of his developing theory about the relations between the body and the psyche, especially around issues of sexual difference. According to Freud, fetishists tend to be males

because fetishism arises at the moment the little boy realizes that all people do not have penises, usually when seeing his mother undressed. If all people do not have penises, then he may also lose his. Upon recognizing this the young child imports a substitute penis, or fetish, for that which is missing from his mother, usually an item closely associated with her. The fetish becomes an ambivalent object. On the one hand it supplies a substitute penis that allays the child's fear of castration. On the other hand, the presence of the substitute signals the absence of a penis. With the fetish, individuals can disavow castration, meaning that they can know that some people are without penises, but all the same, they still have penises by means of the fetish.

Freud further developed his ideas about the libido and the sexual instinct—the drive to sexual pleasure, copulation, and reproduction—in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920). In this short study Freud explained the dualistic system by which he believed the psyche operates. If individuals are generally governed by what Freud called the pleasure principle, meaning they seek a state of low energy and little tension, why did they repeat traumatic scenes? Using the example of his grandson, Freud saw the child's play with a spool of thread as a mastering of his mother's absence. The repetition of the game of throwing the spool away and then reeling it back in while repeating *fort* (there) and *da* (here), was a repetition of an attempt to master what the boy found unpleasant. Through this observation Freud saw the psyche as a dynamic system of conflicting forces—the urge for low energy, or the pleasure principle; the sexual instinct, or Eros; and the death drive, or the desire to die. Sexuality and libido are still central forces in psychic existence, but contend with other equally basic drives.

Freud also continued to refine his ideas about sexual development first treated in *Three Essays*. Having declared libido as masculine in that earlier work, as well as having developed his idea of the Oedipus complex around issues of threatened castration, Freud needed to account for the psychic development of females. He saw the early development of individuals as still the same, but at a certain point, the moment when a small boy might realize that all people do not have penises, girls recognize the same thing and see their own lack of penis as a problem. This results in *penis envy*. If human development is premised on the visibility of literal organs, and if the penis is the privileged organ because it is visible, then the male becomes the model and the female becomes merely a failed man.

Clearly, however, females develop sexually and psychically in their own ways, and in the last decade of his life, Freud tried to formulate how those developments occurred. Thinking of women as less clearly defined than

men, Freud referred to feminine sexuality as a *dark continent* and never satisfactorily explained female sexual development, though he published two later essays on women: "Female Sexuality" (1931) and "Femininity" (1933). What he did offer was the idea that early female sexuality, focused on the clitoris, is masculine, and that girls switched both their affections and the erogenous cravings from their mother to their fathers and from the clitoris to the vagina. Their lack of penis was replaced by a craving for a child.

Freud and his family were forced to flee Vienna by the arrival of the Nazis in 1938. Relocating in London, Freud lived little more than a year, continuing to write and suffering from oral cancer brought on by his addiction to cigars. He died on September 23, 1939. His life's work ranged from attempts to understand what he called the *preoedipal*, that period of early life before speech, to working through cultural prehistories in such studies as *Totem and Taboo* (1913), *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930), and the final *Moses and Monotheism* (1939). Throughout his career he saw psychoanalysis as a kind of archaeology, a digging through layers to earliest memories, a practice aptly symbolized by his collection of ancient figurines. His establishment of the importance of sexuality to the human psyche changed European and North American culture, helping to accomplish the transition from Victorian repression to the freer expressions that took root in the late twentieth century. His ideas about the unconscious and the interpretation of dreams and symptoms form the basis of most of the North American and European modes of interpretation in the early twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO *Bonaparte, Marie; Childhood Sexuality.*

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Judith Roof

FRIENDSHIPS, PASSIONATE

The exploration of friendship as a historical site for same-sex love can be traced to Edward Carpenter (1844–1929), who, in *Ioläus: An Anthology of Friendship* (1902), examines famous examples of same-sex friendship from ancient Greece, through medieval Persia and Europe, to his own times. Ioläus was the supposed beloved of Hercules, at whose tomb male lovers were said to have pledged fidelity to each other. Carpenter's anthology includes Sappho (c. 600 BCE), Princess Anne of Great Britain (1950–), Lady Sarah Churchill (1921–2000), and the Ladies of Llangollen (Eleanor Butler [1739–1829] and Sarah Ponsonby [c. 1755–1831], who eloped in 1778 and lived together for fifty years). Carpenter drew on earlier work by Walter Pater (183–1894), Oscar Wilde (1845–1900), and the painter Simeon Solomon (1824–1862), all homosexual men who celebrated famous passionate same-sex friends, both male and female (Vanita 1996).

Lesbian and gay studies have always paid close attention to the institution of friendship—from pioneering excavations of female romantic friendship, such as those by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Lillian Faderman, and Janice Raymond, to later studies, such as those by Alan Bray, Martha Nell Smith, and Martha Vicinus. Even scholars such as John Boswell and Bernadette Brooten, who are interested in historical formulations of sexual categories, nevertheless also focus on friendship as a site for desire (as in Boswell's work on adoptive kinship and on medieval Christian paradigms of friendship, such as those developed by Aelred of Rievaulx [1109–1167]).

Some scholars object to the study of friendship as a site for homoeroticism, claiming that friendship is by definition nonsexual, so unless documentary evidence exists of genital intercourse, a friendship may be considered homosocial but not homoerotic. This argument ignores several facts. First, friendship and love often overlap and are inextricably intertwined in many societies' understanding of love. Thus Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–40 BCE) points out that *amicitia*, the word for friendship, is derived from *amor*, the word for love. While Plato (c. 427–348 BCE) argues that male-male friendship can be either sexual or nonsexual, Aristotle (384–322 BCE) insists on the rareness and exclusivity of true friendship and calls a friend a second self. He considers male–female marriage a type of friendship and male–male friendship the most excellent type of friendship. Later, Michel Eyquem de Montaigne (1533–1592) argues that ideals of same-sex friendship have influenced those of marriage, thus the idea that spouses should share all possessions is modeled on the classical ideal of friends sharing everything.

Second, ideas of what constitutes sexual relations and eroticism vary widely across time and place and even at the same time and place. For example scholars have demonstrated that in seventeenth-century England, *sodomy* was narrowly defined as anal or oral intercourse, hence many men probably considered other types of intimacy, such as kissing, embracing, mutual manual sex, or even intercrural sex (sex between the thighs), permissible (Bray 1982). Third, documentary evidence of genital relations rarely exists, even within male–female marriage, except insofar as childbirth may be read as evidence.

The heterosexist assumption that male–female desire is more normal and natural than same-sex desire is responsible for conventional scholarship's establishment of a higher standard of proof for eroticism between same-sex friends than between cross-sex friends. That a particular same-sex friendship was more than what Aristotle terms a friendly relation based on convenience or utility is sufficiently indicated by cumulative evidence of intense intimacy and/or the desire for such intimacy, including embraces, kisses, the writing of passionate letters or poems, choosing to share a bed over time when not constrained to do so, and, most important, living together or spending long periods of time together for many years. Whether or not or how often genital intercourse took place is ultimately much less important than the primacy, intensity, and continuity of an intimate relationship—same-sex or cross-sex.

Ancient Hindu texts posit friendship as the most sacred and highest of all relationships. Marriage is conceived of as a subset of friendship—the final vow of seven in the ancient Vedic wedding ritual of *Saptapadi*, still central to Hindu weddings in the early twenty-first century, is a vow of friendship, and the formulation of friendship in this vow is the same as the conventional formulation of same-sex friendship (seven steps taken together and seven words spoken together constitute friendship) in ancient texts. The eleventh-century Sanskrit story cycle, the *Kathasaritsagara*, recounts several stories of same-sex friends, both male and female, who are spontaneously and strongly attracted to one another, an attraction attributed to their connection in a previous birth. Such friends vow fidelity to one another, live together, and often die together. Each views the other as a second self, and they are termed *swayamvara* (self-chosen) friends; the word *Swayamvara* is also commonly used for the ceremony in which a girl chooses her own groom. The ancient epic, the *Ramayana*, describes a friendship ceremony in which two men walk around a fire, and exchange vows of mutual fidelity. These rituals are also part of the wedding ceremony. Such overlapping tropes, rituals, and terms indicate that friendship was viewed as a type of marriage and marriage as a type of friendship. The fourth-century sacred text, the *Kama Sutra*, describing oral sex performed on men by men of the *third nature* (those men who have a predilection to desire other men), also notes that two male friends who trust one another completely can enter into a union that is sexual and marriage-like (Vanita 2005).

In later texts these formulations of passionate same-sex friendship are imbricated with other models of union. For example, some fourteenth-century Sanskrit and Bengali devotional texts tell the story of two co-wives who enter a divinely blessed sexual union that results in one of them becoming pregnant and giving birth to a heroic child. In another vein a nineteenth-century genre of poetry in Urdu depicts clandestine sexual relationships between female relatives and friends as well as private rituals of union between women, which establish them as lovers and even spouses. In these poems and the glossaries attached to them, specific terms are used to refer to a woman's female lover; here, friendship functions simultaneously as a dimension of amorous relations, as a cover for those relations, and as an alliance among groups of women inclined to same-sex relations (Vanita 2005).

In premodern Hindu texts, an explicitly sexual same-sex relationship may sometimes be acknowledged as positive and virtuous, but in Christian texts, same-sex friendships, in real life or in literature, have historically been celebrated only as long as they were not acknowledged as fully sexual. This is because same-sex sexual relations had come to be viewed as sinful, and those engaging in them were often persecuted and sometimes executed. Hence, even when a relationship was sexual, like that of Anne Lister (1791–1840) with Anne Walker, the public celebration of the union could not include an acknowledgment of its sexual component (Bray 2003). When friends are aware of the need to carefully conceal the sexual aspect of their relationship, friendship has at least two dimensions—it is a felt and lived reality for the partners, but it is also a cover or front, intended to play into observers' assumption that friendship is always nonsexual. Possibly as an effect of colonization and the importation into India of a new, Christianity-based homophobia, nationalists and other European-educated Indians begin to scrutinize and denounce same-sex desire, with the result that friendship increasingly began to function as a façade.

Following the rise of industrialization, urbanization, and individual mobility, the male–female married couple is increasingly expected to fulfill all of each of the individual's needs and desires, and friendship is gradually demoted to a secondary position. At the turn of the twenty-first century, this unit takes primacy over all other relations, familial and friendly. However, through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe and North America, same-sex friendship continued to be seen

as a crucial component of the good life. Romantic same-sex friendship sometimes functioned as complementary to and sometimes as an alternative to romantic cross-sex love. The tropes, language, and conventions deployed in writing about romantic friendship both influence and are influenced by writing about cross-sex romantic love. Both male and female writers, such as Katherine Philips (1632–1664), Thomas Gray (1716–1771), Lord Byron (1788–1824), Emily Dickinson (1830–1886), Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862), and Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892), wrote passionate poems, including epithalamia and elegies, to and about same-sex friends.

Women writing about women friends also develop particular codes—Paula Bennett has uncovered Emily Dickinson's use of the clitoral imagery of jewels and flowers in her poems to and about women friends. Some writers construct a literary ancestry for themselves by using the trope of friendship to simultaneously reveal and conceal same-sex passion. Thus, Katherine Bradley (1846–1914) and Edith Cooper (1862–1913), lovers and aestheticists, who wrote together under the pen name Michael Field, frequently invoked Sappho, Plato, and Shakespeare (1564–1616) to frame their celebrations of their own loving friendship.

Women activists and educationists through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often invested intellectual, emotional, and physical energies in passionate friendships with one another, and drew their primary support from such relationships (Faderman 1999). An underresearched type of friendship is that between homosexually inclined men and women, a relation simultaneously erotic and nonsexual (Castle 1996, Vanita 1996).

By the twentieth century, friendship becomes almost completely subordinated to family; this reversal is clear in the linguistic shift from the eighteenth-century use of the word friends as inclusive of kin to the modern description of friends as *like family*. With the development of sexual identities such as gay and homosexual, friendship increasingly functions as a way for lovers to pass as or be read as *just friends*. For instance, Virginia Woolf (1882–1941) and Vita Sackville-West (1892–1962) were long viewed as just friends until the publication of their letters and diaries established that they were lovers as well. Lesbian and gay studies scholars are building awareness of the erotic component of friendship and the friendly component of eroticism and are also exorcising excessive anxiety around same-sex desire. This is helping break down binary constructions of *heterosexual* and *homosexual*, so that we may acknowledge the rich, messy complexity of human relationships that often escape categorization.

SEE ALSO *Homoaffectivity, Concept; Homosexuality, Male, History of; Lesbianism; Middle Ages.*

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Ruth Vanita

FRIGIDITY

Frigidity, also known as inhibited sexual desire (ISD), sexual apathy, or hypoactive sexual desire, is characterized by a decreased or nonexistent interest in sexual activity, lack of sexual fulfillment or satisfaction, difficulty reaching orgasm, insufficient lubrication in women, and inability to achieve or sustain erection in men. In European and North American medicine, ISD is considered a common sexual disorder. The most common causes are stress (and its associated problems, such as insomnia and digestive disorders), physical fatigue, and relationship problems wherein one partner does not feel emotionally supported by the other partner. Frigidity has also been known to be caused by, or associated with, a very restrictive upbringing concerning sex and religion, negative attitudes toward sex,

or negative and traumatic sexual experiences, such as rape, incest, or childhood sexual abuse.

DEFINTION AND CAUSES

ISD may be a primary condition (where the individual, male or female, has never felt much sexual desire or interest) or secondary (where the individual at one time felt sexual desire but no longer has interest). In monogamous relationships, the situation also varies from partner to partner: An individual may have interest in other people sexually, but not toward the primary sexual partner. In men, impotence or erectile dysfunction can lead to sexual disinterest but are rarely defined as frigidity. In women the inability to attain orgasm during sexual activity is more commonly and historically known as frigidity. The term has more often been used to describe a woman's lack of sexual response to heterosexual, vaginal intercourse. According to Suzanne Laba Cataldi (1999), "the term *frigidity* covers a wide range of meanings—including lack in ardor or warmth; a marked aversion or abnormal indifference to sexuality; and a physical inability to attain orgasm. The word is, or was, usually applied to women" (p. 70).

HISTORY

In the 1950s and 1960s, especially in response to the 1953 publication of Alfred Kinsey and colleagues' *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, physicians turned closer attention to the sexual health of heterosexual marriages, and based that health, on *normal* female sexual behavior. The notion of the vaginal orgasm was instituted as a barometer for the sexual health of the female, as well as that of the married couple. Carolyn Herbst Lewis, in a 2005 study of premarital medical practices in post–World War II America, points out that physicians "asserted that just as a vaginal orgasm was integral to a woman's psychosexual health, the performance of a healthy heterosexual gender and sexual role—as evidenced by a satisfying sexual relationship—was crucial to the establishment and maintenance of a stable marriage" (p. 87). Lewis cites the rising rates of venereal disease and the increasing sexual permissiveness of the nation's youth as reasons for this concern about women's sexual health. Physicians and psychiatrists, following predominantly male studies of female health, instituted the *premarital pelvic exam* as a means by which to monitor and guide a woman's sexual *growth* away from the clitoral and toward the vaginal orgasm.

Influenced by psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud's (1856–1939) theories of psychosexual development, physicians defined "healthy female sexuality by such factors as passive acceptance of male sexual direction, a soft and submissive femininity, and a self-sacrificial drive to motherhood. The vagina formed the epicenter of this

heterosexuality" (Lewis 2005, p. 90). This emphasis on the vaginal orgasm, along with the primacy of "male sexual direction," inevitably created problems for women who were unable to have vaginal orgasms. These women were labeled frigid by their husbands, as well as by the medical field—even though they may have been able to have a clitoral orgasm.

The reason for this, according to Freudian theory, is that the clitoris was "the primary organ of sexual pleasure during childhood, but in puberty, and particularly with the approach of marriage, a healthy, mature woman transferred her focus to the vagina [as receiver for the penis]" (Lewis 2005, p. 90). If a woman was psychologically unable to make this transfer, then she was *diagnosed* as frigid. In the mid twentieth century, frigidity did not define only the absence of sexual desire; it defined *inappropriate* sexual desire, or sexual desire that did not depend on the penis. Lewis also point out that this

> inappropriate sexual outlet was [linked to] inappropriate gender role behavior. In addition to her improper sexual performance, a frigid woman would display improper gender identifications as well. ... This reflects the physicians' assumption that lesbians, as psychosexually maladjusted women, would rely on clitoral stimulation rather than vaginal penetration in their lovemaking.
>
> *(pp. 90, 96–97)*

Cataldi's analysis of frigidity, also focusing on the mid twentieth century, is specific to her research on the work of Simone de Beauvoir, the twentieth-century feminist novelist who published *The Second Sex* (1949), a groundbreaking analysis that expresses Beauvoir's views on female eroticism and socially prescribed roles in European and American culture. Cataldi's analysis reveals that Beauvoir viewed frigidity as a "symbolic use that women may make of their bodies" (1999, p. 70). As a powerful bodily statement, female frigidity could, according to Beauvoir, be caused by "shame of bodily appearance ... resentment of male power and privilege ... fear of pregnancy ... repugnance at the idea of treating, or having one's body treated, as a thing ... the 'humiliation of lying beneath a man' ... hygienic procedure [such as the pelvic exam]" (p. 71). Cataldi supports Beauvoir's argument that women, as an oppressed group, have few options other than to use their bodies as weapons or places of refuge.

Physicians saw the premarital pelvic exam of the 1950s and 1960s as a way for women to deal with their fear of penetration. Upon such an invasion to the body, under such pretenses, it would be understandable, according to Cataldi's argument, for a woman to experience an absence of sexual desire. In fact, "resentment over patriarchal injustices and constraints is the most common

source of frigidity in women, according to Beauvoir" (p. 71). In order not to be accused of being frigid, because the word connotes such strongly negative qualities—coldness, death, stiffness, lifelessness—some women resort to faking orgasm. Faking it also allows a woman to *get it over with*, although at the same time it silences any dialogue she might have about the myth of the vaginal orgasm. It also forces her to subvert and distance herself from what may be her true sexual epicenter, the clitoral orgasm, which has been feared and decried by the male medical community. Cataldi contends that "Beauvoir contributes to the literature on this topic a social and historical approach lacking in the clinician's vision" (p. 80).

At the end of the twentieth century, studies based on classifications in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV* showed sexual dysfunction as being more prevalent for women (43%) than for men (31%). Studies done since the 1950s and 1960s address this issue (no longer so commonly referred to as frigidity) as a problem that has many possible causes and cures for both men and women, in hetero- as well as homosexual relationships.

SEE ALSO *Anorgasmic; Orgasm.*

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Amy Nolan

FROTTAGE

The term *frottage*, from the French verb *frotter* (to rub), refers to sex that involves rubbing the genitals on different parts of another person's body, usually with the partners situated face to face. The practice is referred to colloquially as dry-humping.

The *frotteur*, a figure that populates sexological literature about sexual deviance, originally was characterized as a usually male paraphiliac (a person that exclusively relies on one atypical or extreme activity for sexual arousal and gratification) who enjoys rubbing covered or bared genitals against strangers in public places. Much of the literature, including the first appearance of the term *frotteurism* in the German sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886), places the *frotteur* in crowded public places where he furtively attempts to rub himself against unknowing females. Thus, the *frotteur*, like many sexual deviants, functions as a figure of modernity that haunts the urban landscape and, in that sense, bears a resemblance to the twentieth-century figure of the gay male cruiser who seeks anonymous sexual activity in public spaces such as parks, alleys, and subways.

However, in its more common and contemporary sense the act of frottage is articulated most deliberately in the realm of consensual male-male sex. Frottage, or frotting, can be a sex act in itself or can be a form of foreplay. To its participants this practice may represent a safe-sex alternative to anal penetration and oral sex and explicitly refers to genital-genital rubbing or the rubbing of a penis between the thighs, in the armpits, or on the chest of a partner.

Gay male slang offers a long list of synonyms for the activity that points to the range of meaning frottage can take on in a sexual encounter or in gay male sexual culture. Also known, especially in personal ads or online, as "cock2cock," "dick2dick," and "bone2bone," frottage highlights the significance of the phallus in male-male sex. The colloquial *frot*, a noun that refers to the act used in frottage-centered gay male scenes, is meant to celebrate frottage as a superlative form of gay male sexual activity that emphasizes mutuality, symmetry, equality, and normative masculinity. Other slang terms, such as the metaphoric "sword fighting," "penis fencing," and "cock knocking," lend a more playful edge to the act. Additional nicknames are a gesture to homosocial spaces that may hint at tongue-in-cheek speculation about the origins of the activity, such as the "Princeton rub," the "Ivy League rub," and "Oxford style." With the references to upper-class sport and the interweaving of nostalgia for an aristocratic pre-gay world, those epithets speak to the "buddy-buddy" nuances and notions of "manly" sophistication or sexual supremacy that some

men who have sex with other men may employ in their understanding of gay sex. Related sexual activities include sex wrestling, in which men engage in naked wrestling and rubbing, and cock combat, in which partners "bump dicks" to see who can make the other ejaculate first.

With regard to female-female sex, frottage more frequently is called tribadism, a term appropriated from the ancient Greek world that has come to be used to describe this specific sexual practice but also refers to lesbian sexuality in general. In medieval Islam the Arabic term for rubbing became synonymous with lesbianism.

SEE ALSO *Cruising; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview; Tribadism, Modern.*

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Emma Crandall

FUNDAMENTALISM

The multiplicity of religious fundamentalisms makes a generic application of the term *fundamentalism* difficult. The word has been applied to minority movements in nearly every global religious tradition, although it originated within American Protestantism as a category of theological self-designation. Modern scholarship suggests that continued use of the term overly simplifies the international array of religious movements to which it has been applied and that the category should be deleted from the academic lexicon. However, eschewal of the word among academics would do little to alter its popularity in public media as a religious designation. For journalists the term denotes a reactionary and conservative theology.

DEFINITION AND USE OF THE TERM

This general usage requires detailed analysis. What does it mean to be reactionary? What defines a conservative theology? In this entry fundamentalism is evaluated in such general terms, and then a focus on individual religious

traditions provides an opportunity to see where fundamentalisms have been found in particular sects. Throughout this analysis it is important to keep in mind that fundamentalism originated in a particularly Christian and solely American context. It has been applied in other areas by scholars eager to explain a broad swath of subsequent religious revivals even though none of those movements are linked historically. Fundamentalism is a comparative category, binding traditions and people otherwise unconnected by geography, genealogy, or practice. As with all comparative categories, fundamentalism obscures as much as it reveals, reducing some complexities and highlighting certain commonalities.

At the most general level fundamentalism emerged in European and North American scholarship as a shorthand referent for any movement in which beleaguered believers attempt to preserve their distinctive identity as faithful adherents through articulate opposition to modernity. Fundamentalism is thus a rhetorical act of corporate self-preservation. In this vein the American sociologists Jeffrey Hadden and Anson Shupe designate fundamentalism as "a proclamation of reclaimed authority over a sacred tradition which is to be reinstated as an antidote for a society that has strayed from its cultural moorings" (Hadden and Shupe 1989, p. 110). Inevitably, then, fundamentalisms emerge at moments of perceived economic or political instability.

Fundamentalism therefore includes an elaborately described, encroaching enemy. Sometimes the enemy is the perceived secularization of an increasingly decadent society; at other times it is the expanding involvement of women in the public sphere. Regardless of the specific object of antagonism, a necessary component of a fundamentalist discourse is the perception of societal transition from bad to worse, from a romanticized remembrance of order to a nearly apocalyptic designation of disorder. This explains why fundamentalisms have been identified in highly industrialized as well as developing nations. The prerequisite for fundamentalism is thus not a certain level of modernity but a certain psychology of chaos. In a purported maelstrom of economics, shifting gender relationships, and political upheaval, fundamentalism is a language of clarity, a reclamation of reinstated order after an imagined or real destabilization.

Fundamentalist language is oppositional and dualistic, ordering the world against instability with a sharply defined morality. The source of that reification is a particular scriptural text or set of scriptural interpretations advocated vociferously as the primary fortification against the imagined enemy. Islamic studies scholar Bruce Lawrence focused on this scholastic side of fundamentalism in his definition of fundamentalism as "the affirmation of religious authority as holistic and absolute, admitting of neither criticism nor reduction" (Lawrence

1989, p. 27). This religious authority is determined by a cohort of designated leaders, almost always male, that offers a closed interpretation of Scripture. Although many fundamentalisms experience success as populist movements, they always begin from authoritarian scholasticism accompanying an identifiable sacred text, not from a popular groundswell. For there to be a fundamentalism, there must be a scholarly designation of *the fundamentals*. Those fundamentals are described as eternal, unchanging, and located in divinely inspired Scriptures.

SEPARATION FROM MODERNITY

From that scholastic genesis fundamentalist ideas become fundamentalist movements as groups of self-styled true believers cohere around and deploy the language of fundamentals. Religious studies scholars have argued that the fortification of this recast religious community is the primary practice of fundamentalists. Separation from encroaching modernity forces fundamentalists into an enclave. In that narrowed epistemic and social world, protecting uniformity of belief and maintaining the purity of practice become driving principles. Committed practitioners participate in a vast subculture of activities that are meant to provide viable alternatives to existing modern institutions, including retail centers, educational venues, and militant outfits designed to maintain the sovereignty of the enclave.

Because of their isolationism and discursive antagonism to the dominant culture, fundamentalists often have been described as antimodern. Newer scholarship has countered that profile by emphasizing the consistent use of popular media, new technologies, and academic platforms to propagate and refine fundamentalisms. Fundamentalism cannot be wholly antimodern if it incorporates the newest devices to televise and disseminate the fundamentals. In addition to the antimodern designation, fundamentalism has been conflated with reactionary cultural nativism. Again, such a perspective fails to acknowledge the racial diversity and political variety under the auspices of self-proclaimed fundamentalist movements.

Perhaps the only accurate criticism directed toward fundamentalists is that of being misogynist. Across cultures, fundamentalists have divided the genders by machismo and motherhood, with women primarily assigned to the latter occupation. An idealized family unit propagates the fundamentalist enclave, with each member of the family fulfilling a position determined by nostalgia and unhistorical remembrance. As a result the reproductive and economic status of women has dominated the political agenda of fundamentalists. One scholar labeled this *gender inerrancy*, referring to the non-negotiable designation of gender roles and performance standards inscribed by fundamentalist theology. This inerrancy is not without interpretive latitude, however;

the gender messages are practiced more messily than such a dichotomous view suggests. For many fundamentalist women the limits imposed by inerrancy offer liberating pathways within a suffocating postfeminist topography.

CROSS-CULTURAL ATTRIBUTES

Fundamentalism remains a generic category only insofar as it possesses interpretive mobility. In this description three definitive cross-cultural attributes have been posited: scriptural reclamation, social isolationism, and gender chauvinism. Emphasis has been placed on the diversity of economic, political, and historical structures that may surround emergent fundamentalisms. The only constants in fundamentalism are the transportable discourse of sacred texts, the fear of an external threat to a predetermined social cohort, and a didactic definition of gendered occupation. Beyond those linguistic determinants, fundamentalisms are not fundamentalisms. For example, many journalists collapse religious revivals, revitalization movements, and fundamentalism into a single form of fundamentalism. However, fundamentalism should be distinguishable by the particular rhetorical tones that are emphasized here. Within specific traditions, however, even further specificity can be brought to the category of fundamentalism.

PROTESTANTISM

Historians of religion point to the first decades of the American twentieth century when looking for an initiating incident in the history of fundamentalism. Three events pressed this category into the American imagination: the publication of *The Fundamentals* (1910–1915), a series of denominational splinterings, and the 1925 Tennessee trial of John Scopes, a young high school science teacher, for teaching evolution.

The publication of *The Fundamentals* codified the scholastic position. Biblical criticism that was supported by archaeological evidence worried many Christians. They believed that the rise of secular academic knowledge might erode the epistemological sway of the Scriptures. As a comprehensive response to that intellectual threat, *The Fundamentals* was the brainchild of Lyman Stewart (1840–1923), founder of the Union Oil Company of California. Stewart designed *The Fundamentals* as a series of ninety articles by sixty-four authors reinscribing *the fundamentals of the Christian faith*. Moderate in tone, the articles avoided political topics, focusing on a grounded defense of the Scriptures through careful rebuttals of contemporary scholarship. Approximately a third of the essays guarded the Bible against the new criticism, arguing that the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament were without inconsistency. Another third of the essays discussed foundational theological questions such as the meaning of the Trinity and the role of sin. The

remaining pamphlets were diverse, addressing everything from the modern *heresies* (such as Christian Science, Roman Catholicism in the United States, and Mormonism) to missionary ambitions. Any definition of fundamentalism that relies on *The Fundamentals* would emphasize the scholastic bent of the movement, a scrupulous scholarly effort to reconcile Christianity with the new criticism.

Alongside the publication of *The Fundamentals*, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) adopted *five fundamentals* in 1910. Those fundamentals included an affirmation of scriptural inerrancy, the deity and virgin birth of Jesus, and the atonement, physical resurrection, and miraculous powers of Christ. Subsequent to that Presbyterian announcement, several denominations, including the Presbyterians (both North and South), the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions, and the Disciples of Christ, would splinter into *modernist* and *fundamentalist* camps.

The majority of Protestant adherents could accept the biblical orthodoxy of *The Fundamentals* but found the pessimistic separatism of fundamentalism too divisive. The more militant fundamentalists broke from their home denominations, founding either new congregations or inter-denominational fundamentalist organizations. Thus, rather than being an intellectual subset within American Protestantism as a whole, fundamentalists quickly became defined by their belligerent separatism. Significant to those disputes was the explicit deployment of the descriptor *fundamentalist* by Curtis Lee Laws (1868–1946), the editor of the Baptist *Watchman-Examiner*. In a 1920 article Laws argued that the fundamentalist was a Christian prepared to "do battle royal for the Fundamentals" (Marty and Appleby 1991, p. 2). Militancy had become a determining metaphor for Protestant fundamentalism.

Conservative discourse climaxed in the 1920s when fundamentalism simultaneously reached the peak of its public presence and the denouement of its denominational sway. The Scopes trial offered a national advertisement for fundamentalist anti-intellectualism rather than a showcase for the scholarly prowess of *The Fundamentals*. Moreover, it created a battleground for fundamentalists eager to translate military metaphors into an entrenched reaction to modernist intellectual arrogance.

The stakes of the case were simple: Between 1923 and 1925 four southern states tried to ban the teaching of evolution in public schools. In 1925 Tennessee joined that effort by passing the Butler Act, which made it illegal "to teach any theory that denies the Story of Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animal" (Tenn. HB 185, 1925). Many prominent Tennesseans were uncomfortable with that antievolution position. A Dayton druggist met with Scopes to discuss tactics of resistance to the Butler Act. They knew that the American Civil Liberties Union had offered to support any Tennessee teacher willing to defy the statute. Together, Scopes and the druggist decided to challenge the constitutionality of the law.

After the arrest was carried out, the prominent defense attorney Clarence Darrow (1857–1938) took Scopes's case, with William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925), a leading Presbyterian layman and three-time presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket, serving as the prosecutor. Although Bryan was an articulate expositor of scholastic fundamentalism, the town embodied many of the worst caricatures of American rural anti-intellectualism. That spirit, rather than Bryan's elegant condemnations of social Darwinism, became the public face of fundamentalism. Despite Bryan's successful prosecution of Scopes, the acerbic and mocking indictments of journalists such as H. L. Mencken (1880–1956) defined fundamentalism in American culture for decades to come.

After those sectarian splits and debates over creationism, Protestant fundamentalists retrenched. Some left the movement, forming a conservative wing of American evangelicalism. Others, such as Bob Jones (1883–1968) and J. Frank Norris (1877–1952), adopted an increasingly sectarian stance and established educational institutions to propagate their theological outlook. After the internationally renowned evangelist Billy Graham (b. 1918) accepted the sponsorship of the ecumenical Protestant Council in 1957, the majority of Protestants focused on collaborative rather than separatist efforts.

That continued to be the trend until the public return of separatist fundamentalism in the late 1970s under the auspices of Jerry Falwell's (b. 1933) Moral Majority. That manifestation of Protestant belief focused on the failures of American culture and national policy, casting American culture in the role of the enemy. Instead of Scripture, ministers such as Falwell appealed to romanticized visions of the American past in which patriotism, Christian commitment, and family stability purportedly were assured. Although the Moral Majority never represented a statistical majority within American Christianity, its political consequences were far reaching. Through the subsequent decades Falwell's dedication to Christian conservatism in American politics could be discerned in vitriolic public disputes over family planning, scientific research, and public morality.

Falwell's version of conservative Protestantism has been the public face of U.S. fundamentalism. However, within evangelical enclaves other versions of political participation and self-identity have been popularized. For example, in the Women's Aglow Fellowship, Pentecostal women challenge simple generalizations about fundamentalist gender dynamics. The largest women's evangelical organ-

Anti-Evolution League Book Sale. *An Anti-Evolution League holds a books sales at the opening of the Scopes "Monkey" Trial in which biology teacher John T. Scopes is being prosecuted for teaching evolution in his class.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

ization in the world, Women's Aglow is an international interdenominational group of women who meet outside the formal church structure for prayer, communal worship, and therapeutic testimony. Rather than imagining fundamentalist politics as misogynist activism, the work of Women's Aglow shows how the theological language of conservative Protestantism offers women intimate, productive relationships with God. Cast within the separate spheres mentality of fundamentalist gender relations, such organizations show the feminist discursive possibilities provided by a literalist reading of Scripture.

ISLAM

In Protestantism the history of fundamentalism can be seen as a line of descent, with a genealogy from *The Fundamentals* to Falwell. Abroad, among other religious traditions, the emergence of fundamentalisms cannot be described that

clearly. Islamic fundamentalisms have emerged in Egypt, Nigeria, Iraq, and the West Bank, among many other places. The range of catalysts is as diverse as the landscapes that have produced those movements, including the experience of colonialism and its aftermath as well as opposition to emergent forms of global governance and economic imperialism.

Again and again Islamic fundamentalism movements (often described as Islamist movements or Islamism) mirror the themes described at the beginning of this entry. In particular, Islamism includes the anointing of a new intellectual class that replaces the traditional religious leaders, or *ulama*. When local leaders responded ineptly to the deterioration of public services in Upper Egypt and overcrowding in Cairo, that paved the way for the Muslim Brotherhood to ascend to national prominence in theological and political circles. Similarly, the unsuccessful secular management of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) led the resident refugee population to cohere around

Hamas, an Islamic movement that defines itself as the righteous inheritor of Palestinian leadership. In the Egyptian and Palestinian instances as well as others, the established Islamic authorities are replaced by a more strident voice that advocates theological clarity over and above reformist caution.

Islamist ideology therefore is defined by two *fundamentals*: the conviction that Islamic law, or *sharia*, is the only valid system for regulating human life, and the idea that a true and faithful Muslim society can be achieved only through an Islamic state. The emphasis on nation-state formation separates Islamism from the formulation of fundamentalism described above. For Islamists political formation is an extension of the enclave culture embedded within fundamentalist discourse. Pan-Islamic unity has always been elusive, however, and so Islamisms compete with one another for members. Fluidity of membership between specific national cohorts is definitive, particularly because the pool of participants is, as in the American example, quite homogeneous. Radical Islamist groups are populated largely by young male, urban, educated, lower-class to middle-class Muslims, men longing for membership in a society directed toward a purposeful response to a modernity that is imagined to be increasingly secular and disturbingly decadent. Whereas in Protestant fundamentalism that political aspiration has been sequestered by a milder conservatism, the definitive attribute of Islamism has been the creation of enclaves bent on remaking their worlds, not merely escaping from them.

Those remade worlds are dictated by strict interpretations of *sharia*. Many Muslim countries differentiate between women and men on issues of property ownership, marriage rights, dress, and educational opportunities. Muslim fundamentalist movements base those differentiating legal codes on the belief that the laws of *sharia* demonstrate divine differentiation between the sexes. Because the majority of *sharia* was encoded before the modern period, those laws represent cultural restrictions that dominated pre-Islamic Arabia. From honor killings to the wearing of veils, women in more traditional Islamic cultures often are prescribed roles that make them subservient to their husbands, brothers, and sons. However, for many Muslim women, dressing modestly and participating in separate spheres of influence are a source of power offered to them by God through a strict reading of Scripture.

JUDAISM

Observers of Judaism have been hesitant to deploy the term fundamentalism. One historian has noted that fundamentalism normally is associated with a total rejection of pluralism and some form of textual inerrancy. In principle both themes are disputed within any practice of Judaism. However, the term fundamentalism has been used to describe contemporary ultra-Orthodox descendants from the Hasidic communities of Eastern Europe as well as Israelis who oppose the return of occupied territory on biblical grounds. Included in the latter cohort are Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful) and others referred to as the *haredim leumiyium* (nationalist Orthodox) who redefined Jewish national renewal in strictly religious rather than economic or political terms. Between those two cadres—the ultra-Orthodox and the nationalist Orthodox—one can see two contrasting forms of fundamentalist enclave building: one is characterized by a privatized enclave culture and the other by a publicly militarized fundamentalist expression.

The overarching goal of any Jewish fundamentalism, as with the Muslim and Protestant fundamentalisms described above, is to offer an articulate alternative to a threatening, dominant cultural paradigm. For Jewish advocates of conservative renewal, the threat is articulated largely in terms of Jewish compromise and assimilation, not as a secular decadence or a scholastic critique. Protestant fundamentalists illustrate academic anxiety, and Islamists are emblematic of postcolonial nation-state formation; Jewish fundamentalists differ from those groups in their construction of an assimilative ethnic identity as the primary enemy.

For Protestants and Islamists the enemy is outside the fold; for Jews the enemy is within Judaism. For example, many Israeli settlements have arisen not from anxiety about Palestinian encroachment but from fear of Israeli compromise. This was the case with the formation of Rachelim, a settlement on the West Bank founded by women mourning the death of Rachel Drouk, a settler and Gush Emunim member who was killed in a Palestinian attack in 1991. Drouk died en route to protest the beginning of peace negotiations in Madrid under a banner that read "You don't sell out your mother" (Brink and Mencher 1997). The intonation of Drouk's plotted protest (don't compromise your mother's sacrifice) and the subsequent act of mourning that created a new settlement focused on a fear of Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, of Jewish assimilation to secular political compromise. Rachelim was a militarist response to predicted acquiescence.

The emergence of Rachelim points to an additional complexity offered by Jewish fundamentalisms: a militarist role for women. That position also is provided within parallel Islamic movements that allow women to participate in the sacrificial acts of holy war, or *jihad*. Rachelim is one symbolic instance of the ways women complicate the subordinate domesticity inscribed by Orthodox renewal. Using scriptural interpretations of female mourning rituals, the women responding to Drouk's

death applied *the fundamentals* to a new social order that included their organizational ascent while still cohering to scriptural prescriptions. Although the dominating discourse of fundamentalism is gender chauvinism, emphasis on textual inerrancy offers rhetorical space for insurrectionist interpretations that seek power within the verses.

HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

Hinduism and Buddhism are neither monotheistic nor condoned by singular sacred texts. As a result their conscription into fundamentalist ranks is discursively difficult. Nevertheless, scholars have discerned in both predominantly Buddhist and predominantly Hindu societies family resemblances that match the conclusions of the Fundamentalism Project directed and edited by Martin E. Marty and Scott Appleby and operated out of the University of Chicago from 1988 to 1995. That research concluded that fundamentalists understand truth to be revealed and unified, envision themselves as a part of a cosmic struggle, demonize their opposition, are led disproportionately by males, and seek to overturn the accepted distribution of power.

Therefore, fundamentalisms may be found even in religious cultures that lack a redacted scriptural source. Whether this system of *family resemblance* will survive the next decades of scholarship is problematic; some question the utility of the term fundamentalism in traditions such as Hinduism and Buddhism, which resist theological reduction. Those critics advocate "revitalization movements" as a more accurate descriptor of the inchoate conservatisms that emerge from non-Christian religious bodies (Smith 1996, pp. 402–403).

On the Indian subcontinent, for instance, Hindu nationalism (referred to as *Hindutva*, or Hinduness) often is termed a *revival* of Hinduism because it promotes a nationalist identity that is based on a redacted description of the ideal Hindu. The central belief of Hindutva is that a Hindu is anyone who considers India to be his or her spiritual and political homeland and that a renewed commitment to that identity is necessary if India is to salvage itself from regional, sectarian, and caste divisions. As with Protestant and Islamic fundamentalisms, Hindutva includes massive gatherings where people meet on open ground to share an enclave worship experience. Unlike the Protestant fundamentalist paradigm, Hindutva always has been paired with an explicit political purpose, and for a ten year period (1988–1998) mass campaigns and electoral victories brought Hindu revivalist leaders to media attention worldwide.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) form the organizational triumvirate of Hindu fundamentalism commonly known as the *sangh parivar*. Throughout RSS and BJP literature women are made analogous to Hindu goddesses, defined and celebrated as dutiful and self-sacrificing, the *matri shakti*. An example of how this played out in public politics is the expulsion of Uma Bharati (b. 1959) from the BJP in 2004. A high-profile member of parliament, Bharati was alleged to have had a romantic relationship with another BJP member. Media energy focused entirely on the quest for proof of Bharati's chastity rather than on the lasciviousness of the man with whom she had the affair. Thus, Bharati's involvement in politics and *sangh parivar* suggests the liberating options for women within Hindutva; however, women can participate only so long as they cohere to *matri shakti*. It is women, not men, who must be chaste and pure and who must, like the goddess Sita, go to great lengths to prove their purity.

Theravada Buddhism also has produced strands of religious nationalism with complex gender consequences. Uneven economic development, an authoritarian drift in governance, and the ascendance of a *dharmishta* society (a state of chauvinist justice premised on Buddhist principles) have combined to encourage militant groups with intensely nationalist foci in countries in southern Asia. In his analysis of Sri Lankan fundamentalist culture, Donald Swearer (b. 1934) explains the theological shift that has occurred: "In the classical tradition, Buddhist values informed the traditional Sinhalese culture through the retelling of moral legends and fables ... in Buddhist fundamentalism, the subtleties and nuanced variations are lost" (Marty and Appleby 1991, p. 649).

A matter of particular dispute in Sri Lanka is whether women can commit to monastic orders, whether they can be fully ordained *Bhikkhuni*. In the Theravada tradition many believe that this monastic lineage became extinct in the eleventh century. Although other countries have reopened such female orders, the success of Buddhist fundamentalism in Sri Lanka has led to an affirmation of that extinction and an exclusion of women from institutional Buddhist involvement. Buddhist fundamentalisms therefore mirror other global fundamentalisms in their homogenization of a movement to a core scholastic interpretation around which a separatist identity can be designated.

If the Buddhist and Hindu examples are so well assimilated into preexistent fundamentalist theory, new definitions of religion may have to emerge to explain how those previously inchoate movements achieve nearly monotheistic clarity in response to the multiple economic, political, and social transitions of the modern period.

SEE ALSO *Buddhism; Hinduism; Islam; Judaism; Protestantism.*

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Kathryn Lofton

FUNERARY CUSTOMS, NON-WESTERN

It is often taken as a truism that sex and death are everywhere connected. The ethnographic record does not bear this out. In all the amazing variety of funerary customs worldwide, there are some that emphasize themes of sexuality and renewed fecundity and others that do not. As an example of the latter, the practice among the hunting and gathering San of the Kalahari Desert in Botswana is, or was, to simply abandon a campsite immediately after someone died. Male or female, the corpse was simply left where it lay. Before it had time to decompose it was usually consumed by predators. It is difficult in this ritual—if ritual it may be called—to detect any trace of gender differentiation.

At the other extreme there are complex, extended rites in which sex is associated with death in ways that are difficult for a Westerner to grasp. A missionary working among the Bestsileo of Madagascar in the early twentieth century was shocked to find that the funerals he witnessed were little more than orgies, climaxing in the moment of horror when, he was told, a man might copulate with his own mother. It should be noted that his informants did not say that men actually did copulate with their mothers; rather, they wanted to emphasize the riotous nature of sexuality on these occasions, such that everyday social roles were pushed aside. Among the neighboring Bara people, the sexes are segregated during the days of a funeral. In one house women wail over the corpse, while in another the kinsmen formally receive the condolences of visitors. At night, however, men and women interact in ways normally considered scandalous. They join in energetic and provocative dances, with couples dropping out frequently to go off together into the savannah. Bara say that these rites generate *faha*, or vitality, without which it would be impossible to contain the ravages of death or to reproduce new lives. Months or years later a second festival, requiring lavish supplies of food and rum to entertain guests from far and wide, culminates in the rehousing of the dry bones of the deceased among those of his or her ancestors. At this event the proper relationship between the living and the dead is restored, and consequently there is no call for unusual sexual activity.

By contrast, Chinese funerals do not emphasize revitalization through the union of male and female but, rather, the removal of pollution by their separation. A heavily patriarchal ideology associates the decomposition of corpses with a female yin element, which must be shed in order to release the yang element symbolized by ancestral bones. These bones are stored in temples celebrating the continuity of patrilineal descent groups. The role of women in absorbing pollution is revealed in many ritual details, such as sweeping their unbound hair along the coffin. Their reward for this service is that they are consigned in the afterlife to a lake of blood until released by offerings made by their sons. It has been argued that this understanding of death, made explicit in written texts, coexists with a subversive alternative that reflects women's experiences with their own bodies and with the biological processes of birth and death, but there has so far been little research on this issue.

Another configuration of male and female in funerary rites emphasizes the relationships between groups rather than genders. Among the Bororo of Brazil, for example, it is not possible for a man to be buried without the assistance of his wife's kinsmen. Villages are laid out in a circle comprising several descent groups. Marriage within groups

is prohibited, and people look for their spouses among the groups on the opposite side of the central dancing ground. Clearly, no group can reproduce itself without the cooperation of their marriage partners, and every major ritual expresses a mutual interdependence that goes far beyond biology. For instance, a child's name comes not from his father but from his mother's brother. Again, no one can impersonate the spirits that belong to his or her own group in the most solemn rites; instead, he or she must find a friend across the village, and there is no greater honor than to be asked to perform this function. In these circumstances it is easy to see why death rites are every bit as much an intergroup affair as is marriage. Moreover, gender becomes ritually contextualized. When a group acts as wife takers, they all take on a male aspect, regardless of gender. But on the next occasion they may be wife givers, and then they just as readily adopt, en masse, a female role.

Marriage alliances do not everywhere produce such harmony, however. On the island of Dobu, off the eastern tip of New Guinea, deaths are attributed to witchcraft. Each small village lives in fear of magical attack by evildoers in nearby villages, but it is into just these villages that men marry. Couples must move back and forth between the villages of husband and wife in alternate years, and each is received with deep distrust by their in-laws. If either dies the other will immediately be accused of sorcery. Only the close kin of the deceased are allowed at the funeral, and after suffering isolation and privation; the surviving spouse is sent home, never to return.

These examples give some idea of the variety of ways in which sex and gender figure in mortuary rites and show that no generalization about them is universally valid. They are chosen from the vast archive assembled by a century of ethnographic research, particularly on religions that stood apart from the handful of world religions. But even when peoples share formal doctrines concerning the significance of death, their funerary customs may vary widely. This finding serves to demonstrate that such rites are usually more concerned with relations among the living than the fate of the dead.

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Peter Metcalf

FUNERARY CUSTOMS, WESTERN

Insofar as the West was historically coterminous with Christendom, the iconography of death is apparent. The female part in it is that of Mary, mourning at the foot of the cross. For centuries women played no other role than mourning in funerals, and all the ritual specialists involved were male. It is only recently that there have been women priests or ministers, and still only in Protestant churches. Even as late as 2007, undertakers in the United States are invariably male, even though their premises have been domesticated as funeral parlors and their role medicalized as grief councilors. The male management of death is consistent with the premise, self-evident to Westerners, that death is the polar opposite of birth. This goes some way in explaining why themes of sexuality and regeneration are so alien to funerary customs in the West as opposed to other parts of the world. Life is given and taken away by God, and no human activity can evade his will. If sexual mores were relaxed in the face of death, as had occurred during epidemics in medieval Europe, this could only be taken as a sign of despair by those anticipating divine judgment.

In the nineteenth century changes occurred in funerary customs and eschatologies that had been stable for centuries as a correlate of broader religious transformations. Several factors were involved. First, the place of priests and ministers at the center of communal life was undermined by urban migration and industrialization. This was most pronounced in the United States, where the absence of an established church left clerics without secure positions. The reaction was an intensification of moral rhetoric at events such as tent revival meetings. Preachers emphasized Christian values of meekness and reverence, comforting to those displaced and disempowered by rapid economic change.

Second, what has been described as the feminization of religion was also evident in the increased participation of middle-class women, who were losing their status as productive members of the households. Many turned their energies toward causes such as temperance and missions to the poor. Faced with congregations largely made up of women, ministers increasingly emphasized the values of family life and the civilizing influence of homemakers. Finally, these trends produced an outpouring of inspirational books and leaflets appealing to sentiment rather than dogma.

So-called consolation literature was a major genre in this outpouring, and it created a novel eschatology. Best sellers such as *Our Children in Heaven* (1868), *Angel Whispers* (1870), and *Beyond the Gates* (1883) described in striking detail an afterlife that was a more comfortable continuation of life on earth. Accounts covered menus, pastimes, courtship, and even child care. Images of dead infants became fashionable icons of innocence, and as

photography became more widely accessible, parents who had never thought to have pictures taken of their children alive traveled long distances to do so if and when they died. Queen Victoria (1819–1901) had a sort of shrine lined with photographs of dead infants, which would not have seemed odd at a time when the empire was ruled by a matriarch permanently in widow's weeds. For those who could afford them, funerals became ever more grand, with elaborate glass-sided hearses trailing black damask and accompanied by solemn attendants in black suits and top hats. The same era saw the rise of the rural cemetery movement, which replaced crowded graveyards beside parish churches with acres of carefully tended lawns dotted with mausoleums in architectural styles from mock Egyptian to Gothic.

In Europe this romantic era was swept away by the horrors of World War I (1914–1918), which produced cemeteries of a very different kind: row upon row of identical crosses marching across the landscape of northern France. Nothing could console a whole generation of mourners, and the monuments they created—the Cenotaph in Whitehall and the grave of the unknown warrior in Westminster Abbey—recorded only emptiness and loss. In the United States the Civil War (1861–1865) had resulted in similar segregated, all-male cemeteries, but the result in terms of funerary customs was a technological innovation. Freelance undertakers collected corpses from the battlefields and embalmed them by draining arteries and refilling them with formalin. When relatives arrived weeks or months later, they could recover the corpse for burial on payment of a fee. The body of assassinated President Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) was also embalmed, and it was viewed by thousands of reverent northerners as it traveled in stages back to his birthplace by train. Postcards showing the deceased president served as a focus of mourning in many homes. Subsequently, the practice of embalming became general, allowing an increasingly mobile population time to assemble for family funerals and to view the corpse before burial. It also brought into existence what is often referred to as the funeral industry, with its exclusively male professionals.

Surprisingly, there is little variation in funerary customs across the United States between different ethnic or even different religious backgrounds. Consequently, the procedures of embalming and viewing must be regarded as a specifically American culture trait, an example of what has been called the civil religion. In part this uniformity may be attributed to the lobbying and marketing techniques of the funeral directors' associations, but it also reflects American concepts of the proper life. The carefully restored corpse provides an icon of health and vigor, preserved to the very moment of death. In contrast to other things American, embalming has not spread across the Atlantic. Instead, European deathways have become ever more simple, especially in contrast to the pomp of Victorian times. No doubt this reflects an increasingly secular society but also a more skeptical view of the chances of a life without suffering.

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Peter Metcalf

FURRIES

The word *furries* is an identity-based term that is embraced by people who enjoy anthropomorphic (animals endowed with human traits) art, online animal role-playing, and/ or dressing up in cartoon animal costumes. The furry subculture is a well-organized and wide-ranging phenomenon that cohered in the early 1980s in the United States. All furries have an interest in anthropomorphics which may manifest itself as a hobby or as a central aspect of lifestyle and identity. For instance, some furries simply may have a strong interest in cartoon animals and comics, whereas others integrate their animal-focused interests into their erotic life.

Furries have their own animal-focused art, conferences, and language. Sometimes called Furspeak, the vocabulary is a mixture of technological terms, puns, and onomatopoeic words that classify furry activities, feelings, and personalities. "Fursuiters" are furries who don full-body animal costumes that reflect an individual's "inner animal" or speak more broadly to the spiritual bond a furry shares with a specific animal. Foxes, bears, lions, cats, and tigers are popular personal "totems" adopted by furries. "Scritching" is an act of scratching or cuddling between furries that shows affection but also may function as a "mating call" or provide evidence that a furry is feeling "yiffy," or ready for sex. "Furverts" are people who are sexually attracted to mascots and others dressed up in furry costumes. Online activity takes place in furry MUCKs (multi-user chat kingdoms) where fur-

ries invent characters ("fursonas") and live out their sexual and anthropomorphic fantasies in virtual space. "Plushophiles," or "plushies," are furries who feel an erotic attraction to stuffed animals and may engage in sexual activity with their collections.

The furry subculture is a descendant of science fiction, fantasy, and comic fandom, and the term is said to have been coined at a 1970s science fiction conference to describe an anthropomorphic strand of fantasy art. Because much of the organizing and interaction that takes place among furries occurs in virtual environments or at regional and international conferences, furries have been compared to Trekkies: fans involved in the subculture surrounding the *Star Trek* television series and films. Like Trekkies, furries identify with one another through mutual interest—their shared fandom—and thus represent an identity category founded on likes or taste rather than on supposedly intrinsic qualities. Although a large number of furries are gay or bisexual men, as a basis for sexual identification the term *furry* complicates understandings of sexual orientation that are based on a gendered object choice.

Many, if not most, furries are connected to the world of technology. They may work as "techs" or be computer or comics "geeks" who have considerable knowledge about anthropomorphism in world mythology, animated *Disney* films, or Japanese *kemono*, a traditional method of character design that has been used widely in video games and anime. Some furries identify so strongly with their animal totems that they reportedly feel body, or species, dysmorphia (a furry term used to describe a psychological condition of chronic revulsion to one's body or body image caused by feeling more animal than human). Some affluent furries have elected to have cosmetic surgery to alter their bodies and faces so that they resemble those inner selves more closely.

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Emma Crandall

G

G.I. JOE

G.I. Joe is a fictional military character that has become the basis for a series of comic books and action figure toys targeted at young boys, primarily in the United States. The overt masculinity of the figures, coupled with their military theme, has made them acceptable male analogs to girls' dolls, and they were the first action figure-type toy successfully marketed. The name originally referred to a comic strip created by David Breger in 1942, which was published in military newspapers. In this incarnation, it was a generic term used to indicate an average soldier, rather than a name of a specific character. The term was quickly adopted for general use, even becoming the title of a 1945 Oscar-nominated film about the military journalist Ernie Pyle, who covered World War II on the front lines.

In 1964, the Hasbro toy company issued its first series of G.I. Joe action figures. The figures were twelve inches in height, making them smaller than traditional dolls for girls, and were capable of more fully articulated movement. The original series included members of the various branches of the U.S. armed services with individual names, but in later versions a single G.I. Joe was manufactured, making the name apply to both a line of toys as well as the primary figure in that line. G.I. Joe was initially successful, but quickly fell victim to the growing anti-Vietnam sentiment in the United States, making military toys less popular overall. In 1969 the line was rebranded "G.I. Joe Adventurer" and included various action-themed professions (e.g., Adventurer, Aquaman, Astronaut) in place of the older armed services branches. This line also included an African-American G.I. Joe. The first non-Caucasian figure had been produced in 1965, but used the same Caucasian-featured mold as the regular figure in darker plastic.

The toys were articulated at most of their major joints, accomplished through elastic threads connected to an inner frame that held the various limbs together. They were marketed (along the lines of Mattel's Barbie line for girls) with a variety of accessories and vehicles that could be purchased along with the dolls. Unlike Barbie, the variety of alternate clothing choices were never that great; some clothing could be added or changed, but the primary customization was expected to be weaponry or tools. Nonetheless, G.I. Joe's clothing could be removed, and the lack of representative genitalia became an unexpected focus of fascination.

In 1982, the G.I. Joe line was revived in its military profession under the name "G.I. Joe: A Real American Hero." This line was reduced in scale to the 3.75 inch-size popularized in the 1970s by the original Star Wars® action figures. This format was much less articulated, making for less realistic movement, and the clothing was usually molded onto the figure. There were also fewer possibilities for accessories; the business model had moved from using a basic figure with accessories to encouraging children to buy multiple pre-dressed and accessorized figures. The model was successful, and G.I. Joe became even more popular than in its earlier format.

The G.I. Joe line has since branched out beyond action figures to include comic books, animated television shows, and other formats. The figures originated as moderately lifelike representations of actual military persons, but over time have become less realistic and more fantastical, transforming into something closer to fictional superheroes. At

A G.I. Joe Toy. AP IMAGES.

the same time, their strict version of masculinity has become hyperbolic. The toys have always reflected the attitude toward the military current in the United States, but their attitude toward representative masculinity has become increasingly stylized.

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Brian D. Holcomb

GALEN
129–199

Galen, the most prolific ancient writer on medicine, studied at Pergamum, Smyrna, Corinth, and Alexandria. He first practiced in Smyrna as a physician to gladiators and later went to Rome, where he gave public lectures on medicine. He left Rome after four years and returned to Pergamum but soon became physician to Commodus, the son of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and traveled in imperial circles for much of the rest of his life.
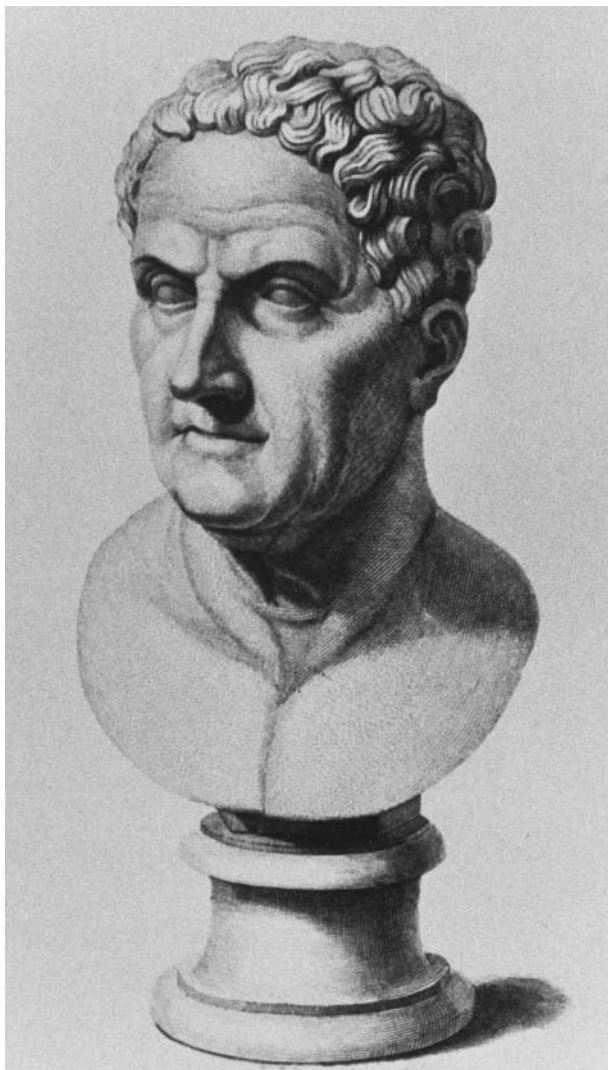
GALEN'S WORKS

Galen was a prolific author who never quit writing or dictating. It is estimated that he wrote about four hundred works, although many of them have been lost. Remaining in Latin are eighty-three books that can be attributed to him, nineteen of doubtful attribution, and fifteen commentaries on Hippocratic texts. Many other texts have survived in Arabic translations. Nevertheless, much of Galen's work has been lost, though many of the treatises attributed to Galen were not written by him and some of those works appeared during his lifetime. He was a brilliant diagnostician but was not particularly good at prognosis. He wrote not only on medicine but also on philosophy and on philology and grammar.

The enormous range of Galen's works made him the dominant medical figure in late antiquity and in the medieval period. He wrote in Greek, but translations into Latin were made during his lifetime. His works were also was translated into Syriac and Arabic. An open challenge to many of his ideas took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when his anatomy was shown to be erroneous, along with much of his physiology, which held that the liver is the starting point of blood.

THEORY OF DISEASE AND TREATMENT

Galen distinguished two fundamental kinds of diseases. The first category was diseases that are simple or elementary, such as inflammation and abnormal composition of the blood considered in relation to the tissues involved. The second type was organic disease, that is, conditions classified according to diseases of different organs and susceptible to changes in position, intensity, and duration. Some of the errors Galen made, such as his support of the theory that the right kind of pus is essential to healing, were accepted until the nineteenth century. He also believed in *contraria contrariis,* or the treatment of opposites; for example, heat should be applied to diseases caused by cold and vice versa. His medicine was founded on a localistic pathology rather than a general one, and his treatments were analytic and were systematized in rigid forms. His ideas on treatment are based more on a theory of structure and form (morphology) and biological syntheses than on detailed case studies. As a result his theory of medicine is filled with hypotheses. He had a somewhat inflated view of himself, claiming that he did as much for medicine as the emperor Trajan had done for

menstrual blood) needed for the growth of the embryo. The male is the active force, whereas the female is passive, merely supplying material for the semen to work on.

Galen taught that the womb wishes to be pregnant and that problems will result if a woman is not regularly pregnant. This is the case because women have a secretion similar to male semen that is produced in the uterus, and retention of this substance leads to the spoiling and corruption of the blood, which in turn leads to a cooling of the body and eventually to an irritation of the nerves, producing hysteria. Galen felt the solution for women who were unable to conceive or have regular intercourse was masturbation. To do this, a woman was advised to apply warm substances to her pudenda and then use digital manipulation:

> Following the warmth of the remedies and arising from the touch of the genital organs required by the treatment there followed twitching accompanied at the same time by pain and pleasure after which she emitted turbid and abundant sperm. Thus it seem to me that the retention of sperm impregnated with evil essences had—in causing damage throughout the body—a much greater power than that of the retention of the menses.
>
> *(Cresbron 1909, p. 44)*

Galen also recognized that a similar danger existed in males and that the retention of sperm had a much more noxious influence on the male than did the retention of the menses on the female. However, he did not mention male masturbation as a solution, probably because he believed there was no need to do so as it was practiced so widely.

GALEN IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Many of the treatments Galen advocated have been abandoned. Still, he had great influence on the development of medicine. Currently the only complete edition of Galen's work is a Greek text with a Latin translation (Kühn 1964–1965). There is no complete translation of the works in a modern language, although some individual works have been translated into English and other languages (Nutton 1979). Despite his often erroneous assumptions, for many generations Galen was regarded as all-knowing. His position in medicine is similar to that of Aristotle in philosophy.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Ancient Rome; Aristotle; Body, Theories of; Hippocrates; Medicine, Ancient.*

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Galen. *A bust of Galen.* COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

the Roman Empire and that he alone had pointed out the true method of treating diseases.

GALEN ON SEX AND GENDER

In dealing with issues of sex and gender, Galen, following Hippocrates, believed in the bicornate uterus (with two hornlike projections), holding that male babies are formed on the right side and females on the left side. This meant that males are superior and females are inferior. He also subscribed to the two-seed doctrine, holding that although both the male and female seeds have coagulative power and receptive capacity for coagulation, one is stronger in the male and the other in the female. Like Aristotle, he thought that the semen supplies the form, whereas the female supplies the substance (i.e.,

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Vern L. Bullough

GANG RAPE

SEE *Rape.*

GANYMEDE

Ancient authors from Homer to Virgil and Ovid recount the myth of Ganymede, an adolescent Trojan prince so handsome that Jupiter descended as an eagle, swept him up to Olympus, and made him his cupbearer and (implicitly or explicitly) bedfellow. As the sole male among the god's amours and the only one honored with immortality, Ganymede offered a justification of pederasty, which was widely evoked in literature and art well into modern times. But early writers developed two opposing interpretations: For Theognis the abduction was motivated by physical desire, whereas Xenophon refined sexual union into spiritual allegory, signifying the uplifting rapture of divine love. Plato acknowledged both associations, and they persisted, in dynamic tension, through dramatic variations in the myth's popularity, interpretation, and representation, which correlated with shifting attitudes toward homoeroticism.

Among the Greeks, who encouraged adults' educational love for youths, myth valorized custom: Ganymede's abduction was depicted in the temple of Olympian Zeus and painted on pottery as courting gifts for boys. The less public-spirited Romans depicted him in bawdy epigrams and brothel frescoes, but also on sarcophagi, symbolizing the soul borne heavenward after death. When Christianity, which proscribed homosexuality, inherited both traditions, it translated Ganymede's heavenly aspect into Christian language, while condemning his erotic dimension in those same terms. Didactic texts such as the fourteenth-century *Moralized Ovid* denounce Jupiter's passion as unnatural lust, and a twelfth-century Romanesque carving at Vézelay, France, depicts it as a warning against clerical abuse of boys. But at least for those who could read Latin, the positive erotic aspect was never lost: Twelfth-century clergy celebrated their Ganymedes in poems from humorous to exalted, and in misogynistic debates over which sex makes better lovers.

The Renaissance, heir to both medieval and ancient traditions, continued to treat the myth across the same range of conflicting modes. Neoplatonist philosophers, aiming to reconcile paganism and Christianity, read Ganymede as an allegory of divine love: Humanists such as Angelo Ambrogini (known as Politian; 1454–1494), himself homosexual, cited the youth in similarly elevated terms, in a catalog of ideal classical male couples, and his pupil Michelangelo drew the mythic pair to confess his own chaste love for a younger man. But to more earthy or satirical observers, from the sculptor Benvenuto Cellini to moral propagandists, the name alluded unfavorably to widespread contemporary sodomy.

Though the subject succumbed to Counter-Reformation strictures, it briefly regained popularity in eighteenth-century Neoclassicism. Johann Winckelmann (1717–1768) spearheaded this movement partly in pursuit of historical precedents for his own male desire; as a practical joke, friends forged a pseudo-antique fresco of Jupiter kissing Ganymede for him to "unearth." Mythic subjects again declined throughout the nineteenth century, but Ganymede's sexual meaning was generally understood as late as 1907, in a German press cartoon lampooning a government scandal. Although gay subcultures of the later twentieth century gained freedom to address male desire, antiquity had lost its venerable exemplarity and pederasty no longer mirrored contemporary sexual patterns, limiting the myth to sporadic media illustrations and popular novels.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Ancient Rome.*

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James M. Saslow

GARLAND, JUDY
1922–1969

Judy Garland, born Frances Ethel Gumm on June 10, 1922, in Grand Rapids, Minnesota, was a child movie star who later gained fame as an adult actress and singer. She died of a drug overdose at the age of forty-seven in London, England, on June 22, 1969, and is buried in New York. She had a devoted fan base and was, at times,

the most popular entertainer in the United States. Whereas critics have argued over whether she had great technical skill as a singer, she is recognized as one of the premiere musical stylists of the twentieth century, with a voice, emotional quality, and musical phrasing that are unique. Her life was quite troubled, both professionally and romantically, in contrast to her usually polished performances. Her ability to persevere professionally while dealing with a turbulent life in a public manner made her seem fallible and familiar. This contrasts with other stars who cultivated an image of perfection, making them admirable and loved but not accessible in the same way that Garland was.

Garland was born into a vaudeville family, and performed on stage as a child before the family moved to California for possible film work. In 1935 she signed with Metro-Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) and was asked to sing the popular song "You Made Me Love You" to Clark Gable (1901–1960) at a birthday event. The effect of the pubescent Garland singing a love song to one of Hollywood's biggest male stars was a hit, and it was later filmed (with Garland singing to a photograph) for 1937's *Broadway Melody of 1938*. She was very popular but was in competition with Deanna Durbin (b. 1921), a singer of the same age also under contract with MGM. Whereas Durbin had a classically trained soprano voice, Garland sang in a more casual, popular style and had a lower range. Durbin was also more traditionally beautiful, whereas Garland tended towards plumpness and was considered cute rather than beautiful. Her appeal would often be based upon the undeniable sexiness of her nontraditional voice and appearance. The way that she embodied the appeal of the nonnormative is often cited as the basis for her devoted homosexual fan base.

In 1937 and 1938 Garland had minor roles in many films, and also starred in *Love Finds Andy Hardy* and *Babes in Arms* with Mickey Rooney (b. 1920). Rooney was an established star and the pairing of the two made for some of the most memorable and successful films of the era. Although the two were sometimes cast as a romantic couple, the Andy Hardy series saw Garland as his best friend, leaving Rooney to chase after starlets like Lana Turner (1920–1995). Garland would rise to romantic female lead roles, but always had a girl-next-door appeal instead of the raw sexuality of some of her colleagues.

Garland's first major hit was 1939's *The Wizard of Oz*, in which she played Dorothy Gale and sang "Over the Rainbow," one of the most popular Hollywood songs of all time. It was the first time that she had carried a film on her own, and the studio originally tried to get Shirley Temple (b. 1928) for the role out of concern that Garland was not up to the task. Garland performed

Judy Garland. ERIC CARPENTER/JOHN KOBAL FOUNDATION/ GETTY IMAGES.

expertly and the film was a huge success, even earning Garland her only Academy Award, a miniature statuette for Outstanding Performance by a Juvenile (given the year before to Durbin). While this was a major professional success for Garland, this was also the period that saw Garland's personal life in decline. Her father had died in 1935 leaving her to be raised by an overbearing mother and a movie studio. To keep Garland at peak performance ability, she was prescribed a series of amphetamines, as well as depressants to allow her to counter their effects. This combination, along with weight control drugs, led to her lifelong struggle with drug addiction.

At the age of nineteen, Garland married songwriter David Rose, twelve years her senior. Many biographers assert that she did love Rose but was most interested in minimizing her mother's influence in her life. The studio was furious that she had married, afraid she would tarnish her virginal image. Records indicate that she may have had an abortion during this short marriage at the insistence of her mother and the film studio. Rose and Garland divorced in 1945, the year she married director Vincente Minnelli (1903–1986). The two met while working on the 1944 musical film *Meet Me in St. Louis*, in which Garland sang "The Trolley Song" and "Have Yourself a Merry Little Christmas." The film was

a huge success and marked Garland's move into roles suited to her actual age rather than her usual child roles. Garland and Minnelli were married until 1951 and had one daughter, singer and actress Liza Minnelli, in 1946. Vincente Minnelli was a known bisexual and the first of Garland's many relationships with bisexual or homosexual men.

Garland's drug use took a toll on her work and her health, leading to a nervous breakdown and a suicide attempt in 1947. She was eventually fired from MGM in 1950 during the filming of *Annie Get Your Gun* and replaced by actress Betty Hutton (1921–2007). In 1952 Garland married Sid Luft (1959–2005), who became her manager and engineered her return to fame. He arranged for her to perform at the legendary vaudeville venue Palace Theater in New York, betting that she could transfer her on-screen likeability into live performance. She set a box office record, playing for nineteen sold-out weeks. Based on this success Luft convinced Warner Brothers to finance her 1954 film *A Star Is Born*, a popular and critical success that brought Garland an Academy Award nomination as Best Actress. Disputes with the studio over editing and distribution of the film precluded any further film deals until 1961, and Garland made only a few films between then and her death. Garland and Luft had two children, performer Lorna Luft (b. 1952) and photographer Joey Luft (b. 1955).

Garland continued to perform in concert and in television specials throughout the 1950s and 1960s, these appearances producing the bulk of her income. Her finances were badly mishandled by Luft, and when they separated in 1964, he left her almost penniless. Her greatest success during this period of her life was *The Judy Garland Show*, a weekly program in 1963–1964 that paired Garland with other singers of the day, including Lena Horne (b. 1917), Frank Sinatra (1915–1998), Dean Martin (1917–1995), Ethel Merman (1908–1984), and a very young Barbra Streisand (b. 1942). The show was a popular and critical success but was canceled after only one season. The most famous moment from the series was her rendition of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" in tribute to her friend, President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963), following his assassination in November of 1963. The final years of her life were spent in concert tours, including an engagement at the London Palladium with her teenage daughter Liza, and as a personality on talk shows hosted by other stars. Her health was in serious decline, as were her finances, and she made a series of poor relationship choices in an effort to find stability. From 1965–1966 she was married to Mark Herron (1928–1996), although her divorce from Luft was not yet final, and she married Mickey Deans (1934–2003) in 1969, just three months before her death. Herron was a homosexual and some sources have claimed the same of Deans.

When Garland died in June 1969, there was an immediate reaction from her fans, including thousands of people who clogged the streets of New York during her funeral as they tried to catch a glimpse of the service. More than 22,000 people attended her funeral, and it is estimated that half were gay men. Her popularity with homosexual men had been noted publicly as early as the 1950s, and a large part of the audiences at her concerts were gay men. The specific reason for her emergence as a gay icon is not known, but it was clear even during her life that her life and career were especially valued among the homosexual community. The date of her funeral, June 27, 1969, was the day before the beginning of the Stonewall Riots, usually thought of as the start of the gay rights movement. Although no specific connection between the two events is known, legend holds that drag queens at the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Greenwich Village, rebelled against the usual police raids that day out of grief over Garland's death. Garland's connection with drag queens was also unusually close; impersonation of Garland is a standard feature of many drag performances. In homage to her *Wizard of Oz* character, gay men are sometimes referred to as *friends of Dorothy*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

GAY

What does the term *gay* designate? Is it an identity, an orientation, a preference, a lifestyle? Some scientists, as well as many people who self-identify as gay, insist that there must be a genetic component to sexual orientation. But what are those who claim to have discovered a "gay" gene—or brain—measuring, and how do they determine who "counts" as gay?

THE ORIGINS OF GAY IDENTITY

Most historians of sexuality argue that what people call gay identity is a relatively recent phenomenon. Although people have engaged in homosexual behavior for all of known history, the category of the homosexual is a modern one that initially was specific to nineteenth-century Western culture. In Michel Foucault's (1988) widely discussed formulation, before the nineteenth century the sodomite was a "temporary aberration" in that, on the one hand, any human being potentially could engage in the "sin" of homosexuality and on the other hand, sodomy was a hopelessly confused collection of forbidden acts. The sodomite was thus neither a specific category of person with a distinct identity nor someone who engaged in specific sexual behaviors.

In the late nineteenth century, however, a number of institutions in the West—the law, medicine, the church, and even literature—produced congruent ways of conceptualizing the relationship between sexuality and the self that made possible the "birth" of homosexual and heterosexual identities. Sexuality became a privileged register of human experience, the locus of the "truth" of the subject. Rather than being an activity, sexuality was transposed into an identity that shaped every aspect of a person, including moral character, sensibility, personality, and anatomy.

The new science of sexuality produced various categories of sexual subjects, some defined by their sexual aim and others by their choice of a sexual object. Object choice, however, became the chief means by which people were assigned sexual identities. In the case of homosexuality in particular, there was what Foucault termed a "transposition" of sodomy "onto a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphrodism of the soul" (Foucault 1988, p. 43). Gender "inversion" thus was tied to homosexuality to such an extent that even today, in some contexts, cross-gender identification is equated with a homosexual object choice.

As Foucault insists, the creation of this homosexual personage made possible not only "a strong advance of social controls into this area of 'perversity'" but also "a 'reverse discourse'" by which homosexuality "began to speak on its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or 'naturality' be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified" (Foucault 1988, p. 101). Having become subjects of discourses of homosexuality, homosexual subjects began to recognize themselves as the product of those discourses, which provided them with a means of making sense of their "illicit" desires.

By the middle of the twentieth century, however, many self-identified homosexuals were rejecting this identity in favor of a new term: *gay*. Free of the pathological connotations of sexological discourse, that term placed less emphasis on the purely sexual aspects of homosexual identity. Referring to both men and women, its use accompanied changes in the way some people conceived of sexuality and its relationship to politics. According to Steven Seidman, new thinking about homosexual identity that was produced in the wake of the 1969 Stonewall riots "contested the notion of homosexuality as a segment of humanity; repudiated the idea of homosexuality as symptomatic of psychic or social inferiority; and rejected a politics of assimilation" (Seidman 1993, p. 111). The Stonewall riots were a series of confrontations between New York City police and patrons of a Greenwich Village bar that has come to symbolize the struggle for contemporary lesbian, gay, and transgender rights. "The new "gay" thinking argued that sexual desire was much more fluid and mobile than the idea of a separate, distinct, and stable homosexual identity that was defined primarily by object choice allowed. In light of the myriad ways in which people experience sexual desire and its relationship to gender, the term *homosexual* seemed to falsify the lived reality of sex.

As more and more subjects began to identify themselves as gay, however, the most visible and vocal proponents of that new identity category retained only the second position of the three outlined by Seidman. In light of the ways in which sexuality continued to be conceptualized by the dominant culture as an identity, many gay people were convinced that in fact they did constitute a separate segment of humanity, one defined primarily by a homosexual object choice. Although they recognized this identity as "unique," they saw it as legitimate and deserving of state protection.

Sexual orientation thus began to be conceptualized along the lines of an ethnic identity. Like their counterparts in civil rights struggles, gay people organized politically around that identity, demanding the same rights and privileges as heterosexuals, adopting a logic of "we're just like everyone else—except that we're gay—and so we should be free of discrimination in housing and employment, free to marry, free to join the military." How did this happen? Was it simply a ruse of history or the result of the economic and social organization of Western culture?

CAPITALISM AND GAY IDENTITY

The relationship of capitalism to gay identity is complicated and contradictory. According to John D'Emilio (1992), the capitalist wage labor system increasingly has allowed some subjects in the West "to call themselves gay, to see themselves as part of a community of similar men and women, and to organize politically on the basis of that identity" (D'Emilio 1992, p. 5). Specifically, the

expansion of capital and the spread of wage labor in the nineteenth century drew men and women out of self-sufficient household economies and into wage work.

Accompanying that expansion of the institution of wage labor was an alteration of the meaning of sexuality. Freed by wage labor from the obligations of procreation, sexuality became "a means of establishing intimacy, promoting happiness, and experiencing pleasure" (D'Emilio 1992, p. 7). No longer tied to the family as an economic unit and able to imagine sexuality outside the demands of procreation, an increasing number of nineteenth-century subjects were able to "organize a personal life around their erotic/emotional attraction to their own sex" (D'Emilio 1992, p. 7). The increase in jobs in urban areas in particular made it possible for communities of like-minded individuals to coalesce around those emerging identities. Those individuals developed shared forms of style in dress, behavior, and language that strengthened their sense of being unique and made it possible for them to locate one another in a cultural and social environment that still was largely hostile to overt homosexuality.

Although capitalism weakened the family unit as a self-sufficient economic entity, it continued—and continues—to rely on families to reproduce the next generation of laborers. Capitalism continues to invest in the family as the chief site of emotional fulfillment, ensuring that sexuality does not remain an end in itself. (The desire of gay couples to have children, for example, thus needs to be historicized as at least in some respects an attempt by capitalism to make a productive use of gay sexuality.)

Like D'Emilio, Rosemary Hennessy (2000) offers an analysis of the relationship of gay identity to capitalism. Hennessy, however, ties the emergence of separate and distinct heterosexual and homosexual identities in the late nineteenth century to a factor not discussed by D'Emilio: the capitalist recruiting of women as desiring subjects. According to Hennessy, the appeal of capitalism to women as consumers—the result of historical changes in the relations of production, including the spread of wage labor and technological developments that increased production and opened up new consumer markets—was at odds with Victorian gender hierarchies and their conception of men as "active sexual agents" and women as "passive or passionless sexual recipients" (Hennessy 2000, p. 99). For women to recognize themselves as desiring subjects, a paradigmatic shift in the construction of sexuality had to occur: the shift "to sexual object choice as the defining feature of identity" (Hennessy 2000, p. 101). Faced with the contradictory pressures of producing women as consumers and maintaining a gendered division of labor, capitalism instituted a heteronormativity that posited "a 'natural' equation between sex (male and female) and gender (masculine and feminine)" (Hennessy 2000, p. 100) at the same time that it instituted both heterosexual and homosexual identities, with the latter being simply the perverse other of the former. According to Hennessy, the category of the homosexual was an attempt by science to "explain and to tame disruptions of the gender system (Hennessy 2000, p. 100): disruptions potentially unleashed by the uncoupling of sex and gender that the production of females as desiring subjects threatened.

Like gender and racial/ethnic identity, gay identity is exploited by capitalism to produce workers whose labor is valued differently. Although gender is the primary way in which labor is differentiated under capitalism (women's biology allegedly renders their labor less free and of less value than men's), as processes of commodification have accelerated and spread around the world, the demand has arisen for an even more finely hierarchized division of labor.

This does not imply that there is always an exact fit between, say, one's sexual identity and one's place in the division of labor. The qualitative differentiation of labor value must be flexible enough to allow for fluctuations in the labor market. The ideology of meritocracy assures that at least some members of cultural minorities will find themselves in privileged positions both as "buffers" between the rulers and the ruled (managers of the workforce) and as token examples of success that help prevent wholesale rebellion. Nonetheless, it is a historical fact that "certain areas of work, e.g. gender typed 'feminine' and/ or service work, less free and lower paid, are more accessible to and tolerant of sexual minorities" (Evans 1993, p. 40). Also pertinent here is the fact that capitalism attempts to justify its coding of people into the division of labor through recourse to a naïve biologism that exaggerates physiological differences between individuals of different status groups to maintain a hierarchy. For this reason alone, one should be suspicious of attempts to locate the origin of homosexuality in human biology.

COMMODIFICATION AND GAY IDENTITY

Civil rights struggles such as gay liberation both acknowledge and attempt to redress this production of the gay subject's labor as devalued, for rights-based struggles assume that all labor is of equal value and that all subjects should be able to rely on the state to guarantee them equal citizenship. There is a contradiction at the heart of civil rights struggles, for the fact that identity categories exist ensures their continued use as markers of a person's position in a hierarchized division of labor. To organize around an identity, it is necessarily to reinscribe the validity of that identity.

As David T. Evans has argued, sexual difference does not work in quite the same way as gender or ethnicity in that "it is not overt but has to be declared or exposed, but mainstream market pressures supported by legal judgments discourage revelation and exposure in both production and consumption relations" (Evans 1993, p. 40). These comments, as well as Hennessy's, indicate that gay people in so-called First World economies in particular are not only producers but consumers as well. Gay identity increasingly is experienced as a commodity for consumption. The freeing of sexuality from the obligations of procreation has made it increasingly available for commodification. One of the forms this commodification of sexuality has taken is the marketing of gay identity. The transition from homosexual to gay may be figured as occurring in precisely the historical period in which sexual subjects increasingly were perceiving themselves as consumers rather than producers, a result of the shift in the First World from industrial manufacturing to service-based economies.

As Evans argues, " As consumers we are [according to capitalist ideology] unique individuals with needs, identities, and lifestyles which we express through our purchase of appropriate commodities. If therefore our sexual identities are our imperative, inescapable and the deepest reality with which it is our duty to come to terms, then we must come to terms with sexuality … as commodities" (Evans 1993, p. 45). As a result, gay subjects who purchase goods marketed to them as gay consumers are likely to feel "more" gay than their non-purchasing brothers and sisters. Similarly, they are likely to feel that they are acting against their own political interests if they do not purchase appropriately gay-ed commodities owing to the fact that there is a naïve tendency in the United States in particular to equate increased visibility in the market with increased political equality and power.

INTERNATIONAL GAY IDENTITY

As capitalism has extended its reach over the globe, so has gay identity. Western ways of organizing the relationship of the self to sex and gender have spread to non-Western nations, where they have been adopted, adapted, creolized, and transformed. Although some non-Western political regimes have instituted harshly repressive responses to public manifestations of gay identity, those regimes often are located in cultures that have a long history of tolerating homoeroticism. In analyzing this situation, one must keep in mind that the rejection of gay identity cannot be disentangled easily from the fact that any public display of overt sexuality is frowned upon in some non-Western cultures as immodest and the ways in which, in rejecting

gay identity, such regimes sometimes are attempting to resist Western influence in general.

This is not to apologize for the brutal conditions under which some sexual subjects live. With the spread of capitalism comes the spread of Western epistemologies, and so non-Western subjects are coming to recognize themselves as gay and to experience as gay subjects the mental, emotional, and physical repression of their desires. However, in attempting to understand and combat the violations of human rights that occur as a result of government-sanctioned homophobia, it is important to recall that the stigmatizing of gay identity and/or homosexuality per se is often part of a larger strategy of resistance to globalization.

FROM GAY TO QUEER

Starting in the late twentieth century there has been an increasing rejection of gay identity among some subjects in favor of the term *queer*—ironically, for some of the same reasons that the term *homosexual* was rejected some thirty years earlier. That is, the term *gay* is thought to be too likely to reinscribe an absolute binary division between homo- and heterosexualities and to be accommodating to a politics of assimilation. *Queer* also is thought to be inclusive of women in a way that *gay* has proved historically not to have been and to be more open to the violating of gender norms. (In an effort to free itself of the pathologizing stigma of earlier sexological discourse, first homosexual culture and then gay culture sometimes stigmatized "effeminate" men and "butch" women as victims of false consciousness.)

Additionally, the term *queer* represents an attempt to name a variety of resistances to regimes of the normal, not only the binary organization of sexuality and gender. There is also some concern that gay identity as it has been commodified under capitalism increasingly has reflected the economic and political interests of white middle-class subjects. Like the term *gay* before it, however and, ironically, for some of the same reasons, the term *queer* has proved to be available for commodification to the extent that, in the media in particular, it often simply designates a hipper version of gay.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Defined; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview; Queer.*

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John Champagne

GAY BATHS

SEE *Baths, Public: III. West, Middle Ages–Present.*

GAY MARRIAGE

SEE *Marriage.*

GAZE

The gaze or gazing has several different meanings, all associated with the sets of gendered and sexualized relationships often implicit in scenes of viewing. Gazing may be a simple intellectual exercise of the senses, a form of entertainment, the central activity in sexual scenarios, a constituent of psychical formation, or a mode of control and discipline. Gazing may produce sexual pleasure through seeing, being seen, or producing discipline and control. Gazing requires and also produces sets of relationships between the one who looks and the image or object being seen, which themselves have become inscribed in art, especially as fine art has historically become more personal and commercial. Gazing as a form of surveillance represents sets of power relationships between those being scrutinized and those who watch. The relations linked to gazing have also become a part of the psychological mechanisms for self-realization, identification, and presentation.

PRACTICES, VENUES, AND MEANINGS

To gaze is to look at something, often with concentration, curiosity, or pleasure. Simply gazing is more a practice of contemplation or fascination than it is either a manifestation of voyeurism (looking for the purposes of sexual pleasure) or a practice of surveillance or control associated with various forms of punishment. Gazing constitutes a large portion of cultural activity in modern societies. Theater, film, and television all offer themselves as spectacles to be seen, and form themselves in relation

to viewers' predilections. Other venues for gazing include sports, zoos, casinos, travel and sightseeing, and even computer games. As viewers find pleasure in these entertainments, they rarely think about either how the displayed activities are actually arranged to be seen or what power relations there are between the display and the viewer. Viewers often feel they have a choice in how and what they watch, though they are equally powerless to change or often even participate in what they see. Computer games bring a measure of control to the gazer.

To gaze may well muster curiosity, sexual pleasure, and issues of power. Sexualized control scenarios tend to gender this power, especially in so far as gazing is associated with active volition, whereas the image or object to be looked at is associated with passivity and sometimes victimhood. In its connections to the activity and phallic character of looking, gazing is often associated with masculinity and looking with sexual aggressiveness. The image or object to be looked at is associated with femininity and passive objecthood. Thus, in its most extreme forms, gazing is linked both to gender stereotypes and to less traditional sexual satisfactions such as scopophilia, or pleasure in watching, and the passive/active dynamics of sadomasochism.

Voyeurism and scopophilia are most often practiced by males, sometimes in public spaces such as strip shows and pornographic films, sometimes privately as with pornographic magazines and Internet sites, and sometimes illegally and covertly as peeping toms. Often voyeuristic activities are restricted to certain areas and to adult consumers; sometimes voyeurism is a crime. Exhibitionism, or setting out one's sexual organs to be seen, is practiced by both males and females, often, though not always, as a component of sexual arousal. Males constitute the majority of those who expose their genitals to strangers; doing so constitutes the crime of indecent exposure. Sigmund Freud theorized that those who enjoy exhibitionism also wish to look, while those who look also wish to be seen.

Gazing also reflects and effects a complex distribution of power that in its sexualized form constitutes sadomasochism, or sexual pleasure derived from taking or relinquishing power. To be constrained as the object of someone else's gaze is to be in the watcher's power. The viewer may wield sadistic power in humiliating what he or she watches. At the same time, the one who offers her- or himself up to the gaze might exert a certain power in commanding the gaze as well as in delaying or withholding full view. The one who watches may be constrained from doing more than watching, experiencing a type of bondage produced by the rules of viewing. Most often what is offered for view is presented in costumes designed to constrain movement, limit access, and signal the distribution of power via leather, chains, harnesses, and masks.

POWER RELATIONS IN FINE ART AND CINEMA

Though much less obvious, similar power relations exist in fine art, where paintings and sculpture not only present an object to be viewed, but also arrange this object in ways that define how it should be viewed, inscribe within each work the point from which the art should be seen, and finally often suggest that viewers themselves are being regarded by the work. Fine art paintings represent a network of gazes. Some of these gazes are overt such as painted subjects who are looking at something or someone, also in the painting, which or who is glancing at something beyond the frame of the painting, or returning the gaze of those who are looking at the painting itself. The network of gazes also includes gazes that are implied from the angles in which the painted subjects are rendered, or the operation of perspective, which points back to the point of view from which a painting's perspective originated. This network can also be extended to include enframed sets of gazes, such as when the subjects of a painting are themselves looking at another painting, or when film characters are looking at paintings or at another film or television.

This network of gazes not only reflects the system of ocular angles necessary to produce and reproduce spatial relations—the relative positions of gazer and the objects of the gaze. It also enacts the same kinds of power relations between the ones who look and those who are the objects of the gaze. In fine art, especially as it became more secular during the Renaissance, if a female was the subject of a painting and hence the object of a gaze, the way the woman was rendered in the painting inscribed a particularly gendered way of looking. Female objects were rendered specifically to be pleasing to looking males, a relationship referred to as the "male gaze." As the subjects of paintings became more sexualized, the gendering of the looking gaze became more obviously masculine. The conventions of painting nude women as they have changed through history and styles of art are conventions that reflect the ideals of a heterosexualized viewing scenario in which males gaze at females.

These same power relations transferred from painting to cinema in the twentieth century. Cinema, which like photography uses a lens that reproduces a version of conventional Renaissance perspective relations that center the viewer, also reproduces the gendered network of gazing male and female object. Feminist film theorists of the 1970s and 1980s, such as Laura Mulvey, Jacqueline Rose, and Teresa de Lauretis, described not only the ways this network of gazing works to reproduce gender relations in film, but also the ways cinema tends to elide and/or naturalize the power relations of both gazing and gender. Some film theorists also posed the question of what kinds of art and film might be produced if gender/power relations were altered or reversed. What might happen if women were imagined to be the gazers?

LACAN'S THEORIES

The psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1978) employed the network of power relations attached to the acts of gazing in his theories of how individuals became conscious of themselves as mobile, desiring beings. Using the analogy of an infant gazing in a mirror, Lacan accounted for how individuals make a transition from being babies who are immobile and inseparable from their environment to being individuals who are separate. The "mirror stage," Lacan discerned, matched the act of gazing with a moment of recognizing that other, separate beings exist. For Lacan, the gaze does not disappear, but continues to operate as a part of what constitutes individual psychic development and consciousness. The gaze is the sense that one is being seen. It is the feeling that someone is watching, a sense that often curbs behaviors and forces responsibility. In addition, individuals also see themselves seeing themselves—watch themselves as if from outside. Thus, the gaze plays a large role in Lacan's notion of the dynamic relationships that constitute individuals.

SURVEILLANCE

This gaze, which operates psychically, has increasingly become a reality as European and North American societies employ camera technologies to observe public behaviors. The surveillance feared by George Orwell in *1984* (1949), and described by the cultural historian and theorist Michel Foucault (1977), exists in early-twenty-first-century systems of cameras set to record the comings and goings of subway riders, lawbreakers at traffic intersections, and convenience store shoppers. Credit agencies track bank activity and credit purchases, grocery discount cards record the food people buy, and marketers and information agencies collect information about many aspects of peoples' lives that were formerly considered to be private. This institutional gaze arguably prevents crimes or enables more rapid law enforcement, but it also provides a psychological curb on peoples' behaviors. If people psychically sense that they are being seen, in reality they are being seen. People are the object of many gazes.

SEE ALSO *Film, Gender and Eroticism: I. History; Gender, Theories of.*

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GENDER CONFUSION

Gender confusion is a nonclinical term that refers to an individual's feeling of not identifying with his or her assigned gender. In popular and scientific discourse, this term has been associated with diagnostic categories for transgendered and transsexual individuals, such as *gender dysphoria* or *gender identity disorder*. Gender confusion may also be used to describe behavior that is a symptom of these conditions. More generally, gender confusion refers to children, adolescents, or adults who either consciously or unconsciously do not present, behave, or identify as strictly male or female. In addition to being used to describe an individual with trans, androgynous, or indeterminate gender, the term can also refer to the reaction such a person might provoke in a social context. In this latter sense gender confusion describes the uncertainty some people feel when confronted with a gendered reality that disrupts the male–female gender binary.

THE ROOTS OF GENDER CONFUSION

As with scientific studies on the *causes* of homosexuality, studies have not produced sufficient evidence for why some people do not identify with the gender that has been assigned to them. The use of the word *confusion* in relation to this phenomenon is both apropos and misleading. Gender *is* a confusing and complicated construct, but those who exhibit gender confusion may not actually be confused about what gender they are. The polarized gender binary likely produces widespread confusion because women and men rarely identify with every aspect of feminine and masculine stereotypes and roles. Nevertheless, the term names behavior that blurs the line between male and female and carries a connotation that being confused about one's gender is abnormal. Ironically, those who identify as transgender or transsexual or are categorized as such rarely discuss confusion. In fact, most trans individuals feel that they were *trapped in the wrong body* from a young age and describe their condition as having *always existed* (Ames 2005). In other words there is little doubt or confusion for them about

which gender they actually are. From this perspective gender confusion is instead a social term that polices the borders of gender and relegates nonnormative genders as immature, undeveloped, or deviant genders.

THE CULTURAL TERRAIN OF GENDER CONFUSION

Although some cultures are more tolerant about gender expression and variation (a typical example is the American Indian *two-spirit* who embodies a fusion of masculinity and femininity), cross-culturally, those who do not fit into normative gender categories are tormented and discriminated against. Gender confusion can result in assault, rape, and discrimination for the person who does not conform to gendered expectations. Gender confusion, and the homophobic and transphobic violence sometimes directed at it, can be tied to what feminist and queer theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1985) has called *homosexual panic*—the pervasive anxieties in modern European and North American culture that surround nonnormative sexuality and gender. Cultural manifestations of gender confusion can be found in childhood exploration and play, eroticization in fashion advertisements and styles, and backlash against people whose genders do not conform to social standards.

Cross-gender identification in children has been well documented; however, the frequency of this behavior and the ultimate social implications of it are uncertain (Zucker 1985, Bradley 1985). Controversial claims regarding a direct correlation between childhood gender confusion (or cross-gender identification in children) and homosexuality or transsexuality have never been confirmed. Classic examples of gender confusion are the young boy who plays dress-up and the young girl who plays with cars and footballs. These behaviors are viewed as reparable and, increasingly, as ordinary. In a revealing double standard gender disorders are typically diagnosed when girls make claims of being anatomically male but when boys make any insinuation that they prefer feminine behavior and activities or would rather not have a penis (Sedgwick 1991). Many scholars with radical positions cite the psychological obsession with gender confusion—especially in its manifestation as *gender identity disorder in childhood*, which is in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV* (*DSM-IV*)—as merely a shift in the continued pathologization of homosexuality.

Pat, a character in the popular television show *Saturday Night Live* (SNL), is a humorous, if simplified, manifestation of gender confusion both as an ambiguous gender status and as a reaction felt by people when confronted by androgynous or gender-bending individuals. In these skits *SNL* performer Julia Sweeney dresses as

Human Rights Net. Available from http://www.whrnet.org/
docs/issue-sexualhumiliation.html.

an unattractive, androgynous person who consistently deflects the efforts of celebrity guests to discover Pat's gender in indirect ways. In preparing for the character Sweeney attempts to drop all gender-coded behavior, movement, and affect, and the skits satirize gender's elusive power and society's extremely regulated gender codes.

A particularly infamous social site of gender confusion is the gender-segregated bathroom. For transgendered individuals as well as women who have short hair or men who have long hair, confusion in the bathroom can be comical, frustrating, or dangerous. The segregation of bathrooms, a convention implemented globally to a range of degrees, is representative of the polarizing dichotomy of gender and the social expectation that individuals must fit themselves (in this case, literally) into one of these two distinct boxes. For individuals who do not identify as male or female, who may be transitioning from one gender to another, or who simply do not exhibit the stereotypical characteristics of one gender, navigating this seemingly simple space entails much anxiety, safeguarding, and fortitude.

A final cultural manifestation of gender confusion is presented in the context of global militarism and reveals how racialized encodings of gender can produce a different kind of gender confusion. The scholar Zillah Eisenstein (2004) cites the use of *gender confusion* as a tactic of torture that was used at Abu Ghraib, a five-compound prison just outside Baghdad run by American soldiers after the former Iraqi government was ousted from power. The rape and torture of Muslim men in the prison at the hands of white American female soldiers represents an ultimate *humiliation* because the men were treated as women—the men's genders were essentially *confused* by these acts. In Eisenstein's take on the scandal, the fact that the abusers were white women further confuses because the women inflict the type of abuse and cruelty that is usually directed at them. Swapping genders with the men, the women, as decoys of this masculinist endeavor, perpetuate a racist imperialism while obscuring its patriarchal origins.

SEE ALSO *Gender Dysphoria; Transgender.*

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GENDER DYSPHORIA

Gender dysphoria is a technical term for the sense that one's body and one's true gender do not match. In clinical settings the term is used to diagnose chronic symptoms of physical and mental discomfort, uncertainty, and depression about one's gender, also known as gender anxiety. Gender dysphoria is most often understood as a state that exists somewhere between gender confusion, where one might not know one's gender, and transsexuality, where one transitions with sex reassignment surgery to the anatomical body one feels most comfortable occupying. Not all gender dysphorics are transsexuals, and many choose to live as the sex they believe themselves to be without the aid of sex reassignment surgery.

Gender dysphoria is often linked with gender identity disorder, which is the official name given it by the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV* (*DSM-IV* 1994), the manual of pathological psychic disorders first published by the American Psychiatric Association in 1952. While the *DSM-I* (1952) and *DSM-II* (1968) mentioned only transvestism, *DSM-III* (1980) classified the gender identity disorders—including transsexualism and childhood gender identity disorder—as psychosexual disorders arising out of the incongruity between a person's anatomic sex and what many clinicians now term "psychological" sex, that is, the gender a person identifies as his or his own. The *DSM-IV* simplified the group into a single category, gender identity disorder, and eliminated transsexualism.

Diagnosing gender dysphoria entails emphasizing physical and psychological symptoms and deemphasizing social or political critique. The *DSM-IV* underscores that there must be evidence of a strong and persistent cross-gender identification, defined as either the desire to be the other sex or the belief that one really is the other sex already. Gender dysphorics must be uncomfortable wearing so-called sex-appropriate clothing, and they also should enjoy "opposite sex" activities and interests.

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Gender dysphorics are often uncomfortable with their genitals or biological secondary sex characteristics, such as breasts, hair, or voice. They may desire hormones, surgery, or both in order to make their anatomical and biological sex correlate. The *DSM-IV* emphasizes that this discomfort has to be more than the desire to have the perceived social status of the other sex. Dysphorics bear the burden of convincing medical professionals that their condition is real: Their gender anxiety must be acute, significant, and obvious, and it should make normal everyday social, sexual, and occupational functioning difficult.

Because gender dysphoria is a medical diagnosis of a psychological disorder, it defines its sufferers as mentally ill patients requiring treatment by medical professionals. Responding to this, some intellectuals and gender activists object to the term, viewing it as a way for parents and doctors to manage the potential homosexuality of children. They suggest that gender dysphoria pathologizes the healthy and sensible objections many people have to the oppressive roles and norms of the sex-gender system. In this view, gender dysphoria is more accurately described as a version of the gender discomfort many, if not most, people experience on a daily basis. Those who share this view might question how many people are truly comfortable in their gender, or with the idea of a binary gender system. They might wonder how can the feeling of physical incommensurability with one's ideal gender be pathologized when so many people admit their everyday difficulty living up to feminine and masculine norms.

On the other side of the question are those in favor of access to the care and resources provided by a medical diagnosis. They point out that the availability of surgery requires the creation of a category of subjects whose request for sex reassignment can be seen as legitimate. They maintain that in order to create this category and make surgical "correction" available, these subjects have to be pathologized, thus defining the parameters of a sickness that medical technology can reasonably cure. They argue that while the pathologization of gender dysphoria stigmatizes those who experience extreme levels of discomfort with their social and sexual gender roles, it also allows more people access to sex reassignment than if such surgery was viewed as elective rather than as the necessary treatment of a medical condition.

Treatment now involves not only providing counseling and access to hormones and surgery but also understanding gender variance as a naturally occurring human condition, with an emphasis on addressing the discomfort and anxiety of gender dysphoria by viewing gender-variant people as members of families and social networks that also need to participate in the therapeutic process. Those on both sides of the question agree that a growing acceptance of the principle of gender variance by medical professionals and society as a whole is good for those suffering from gender dysphoria as well as for those who want to provide the best standards of medical and psychological care.

SEE ALSO *Gender Confusion; Transgender.*

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Jaime Hovey

GENDER IDENTITY

Both sociologists and psychologists define gender identity as the differing cultural and social roles that men and women inhabit, as well as the ways in which individuals experience those roles, both internally and in terms of the ways they present themselves to the world through their manner of dress, behavior, physical comportment, and so forth. Both distinguish between a person's biological sex (male or female) and gender identity (masculine or feminine). This suggests that biology is in some sense prior to gender identity and has a historical immutability that the latter lacks. Some feminist biologists, however, have challenged even this distinction, arguing that anatomical differences between the sexes are the result of historically specific conceptualizations of the body, such that even something as apparently "objective" and "neutral" as biology must be recognized as the product of cultural, social, and historical factors. In other words, biology approaches the body with certain assumptions about gender—that the sexes constitute complementary opposites, for example—exaggerating whatever physiological differences may exist between male and female. Transgender advocates offer a related claim, arguing that the designation of two sexes is itself arbitrary, given the reality of human biological variation.

SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Focusing on cultural and social institutions, sociologists examine the strategies individuals who feel a lack of congruency between their gender identity and their biological sex develop to negotiate a world often hostile to those who display "inappropriately" gendered behaviors, as well as the ways in which societies are more or less tolerant of gender identity variation and deviance. The implication is that culture offers subjects a limited number of gendered positions from which they might choose. In their emphasis on choice and self-creation, sociological analyses do not always provide a way to account for the fact that the relationship of individual subjects to gendered identities is often complicated and contradictory. For example, some subjects are read as inappropriately gendered by their society despite their own often desperate attempts to "pass" as sufficiently "male" or "female." Are such subjects choosing to be gender outlaws, or is choice too simplistic a means to explain how subjects acquire and negotiate gender identity?

Psychology traditionally focuses on the family's role in the production of gender norms. With its pretensions to being a medical science, it typically argues that there is some biological component to gender identity, and it pathologizes gender nonconformity to a certain degree. For example, since its third edition (1980), *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* has contained an entry on "gender identity disorder of childhood."

The problem with sociological and psychological accounts of gender is that they often ignore the role subjugation plays in the developing of human subjectivity. If being a subject requires one to submit to—rather than simply select from—preexisting cultural categories and norms, gender identity is not something that a person simply chooses. Rather, as subjects, humans are always already gendered through a process that began even before birth and continues even after death. Psychoanalysis—rather than psychology—provides one theory of how the production of gendered subjects occurs.

FREUD'S PSYCHOANALYTIC ACCOUNT

Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic account of gender identity has proven extremely useful for feminist analyses of gender in particular. In psychoanalytic terms, gender identity refers to the place that the small human animal is required to take up as either male or female if it is to become a subject. It is something enjoined upon the subject, something to which the subject must accede. Freud's radical insight was his insistence that humans are not born gendered but are made so by sociocultural processes and practices of representation—the family being a microcosm of the larger society—and that this transition from ungendered animal to gendered subject is a perilous one, fraught with difficulties that continue to haunt humans throughout their lifetimes, and never ultimately accomplished in some final sense. Every person has both a "negative" and "positive" Oedipus complex, for example, and those early identifications with members of the opposite sex do not simply disappear once one has taken up one's appropriate place as either male or female. While, in keeping with his era, Freud argued that gender identity was bound up with sexual object choice (see below), he also insisted that all human subjects have made homosexual object choices at the level of the unconscious. Thus, in Freud, there is always something in the subject that is *resistant* to gender identity. This suggests that each person acts, both consciously and unconsciously, in congruence with *and* in opposition to the gendered places he or she has been assigned by culture and history, and that what constitutes "normal" gender identity is to a great extent arbitrary.

MARXIST FEMINIST ARGUMENTS

Marxist feminists argue that a relationship exists between gender discrimination and capitalism. Capitalism depends upon a hierarchical division of labor, gender providing one of the means whereby human subjects are coded into the hierarchy. Under capitalism, people typically live in resource-pooling units called households. Over the course of history, households have been transformed from independent economic units to units composed of at least one person who works outside the household for wages. This wage laborer is generally dependent upon others in the household, who perform subsistence work and household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and the providing of child care. Gender ensures that at least one member of these "semiproletarian" households will feel compelled to engage in this necessary but unremunerated labor. Socialized to believe that it is their duty and destiny to perform this household labor, female subjects make it possible for entrepreneurs to pay lower wages than they would otherwise have to, should wage workers be required to pay for household services from their own income. The fact that this household labor is unremunerated ensures that it will always be considered inferior, regardless of the importance of housework to the economy. This devaluation of women's labor in the household, shorn up by ideologies that link women's biology to their (alleged) inability or unsuitability to perform certain tasks, carries over into the workplace, justifying the lower wages women are paid in comparison with their male counterparts.

THE LINK BETWEEN GENDER IDENTITY AND SEXUALITY

In the West, at least since the late nineteenth century, gender identity has been intertwined with sexuality such that men who exhibit stereotypically feminine traits are in some contexts assumed to be gay, and woman who exhibit masculine traits, lesbian. This collapsing of gender identification with object choice served capitalism in a number of different ways, shoring up the family as a reproductive unit at a time when capitalism itself threatened to free sexuality from the obligations of procreation. A number of different factors—the increase in the demand for wage labor and the dissolution of the family as an independent economic unit that this demand produced; the transformation of the family from an economic unit to what John D'Emilio has called "the place where our need for stable, intimate human relationships is satisfied" (1992, p. 11); the increased productive capacities of capitalism; the demand for new markets that this increase required, and its accompanying pursuit of women as consumers—all threatened to unleash a genderless sexual desire that, taken to its logical conclusion, would interrupt the reproduction of the next generation of workers, the devaluing of women's labor, and the production of semiproletarian households. Because if households, anchored to the ideology of the family yet freed from the obligations of procreation, could be composed of any combination of desiring males and females, there would no longer be any justifiable link between gender and position in the division of labor, and no biological imperative to reproduce the workforce.

Faced with these possibilities, capitalism relinked gender and sexuality through what Rosemary Hennessy has called "a new (heterogender) ideology of sexual identity" (2000, p. 101). This new ideology divided human subjects into two categories—heterosexual and homosexual. These two categories were defined by the fact that their gender lined up with their sexual object choice, either "appropriately," in the case of heterosexuals (masculine males desiring feminine females), or "perversely," in the case of homosexuals (masculine males desiring feminine males, masculine males desiring masculine males, feminine males desiring feminine males, feminine females desiring masculine females, etc.). Either way, compulsory heterosexuality served to shore up the household—if not the family—as composed of one (male) person whose job it was to engage in wage labor and one (female) whose job it was to provide the unremunerated labor that made it possible for the wage laborer to return to work each day.

As capitalism has continued its relentless commodification of everything, it has produced a number of attempts to keep in abeyance the crises of gender identities it has itself provoked. Legislation to reaffirm marriage as the union of one man and one woman, demands by gay and lesbian people for the right to marry, attempts both to encourage and discourage gay and lesbian adoption—all can be perceived as resulting from the contradictory demands of a capitalism that has to balance, for example, its need for female unremunerated labor with its desire for female consumers, or its freeing of sexuality from the obligations of procreation with the demand to reproduce the workforce.

SEE ALSO *Gender Confusion.*

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John Champagne

GENDER ROLES

This entry contains the following:

I. OVERVIEW

Gender roles are sets of culturally defined behaviors such as masculinity and femininity. In most cultures this binary division of gender is roughly associated with biological sex—male or female. There is much variation within the categories of the masculine and the feminine, both in terms of the possible presentations of gender and the tasks deemed appropriate to each gender. There is also great variation in the degree of relation between gender and sex within and among cultures. Some cultures understand gender as only loosely linked to biology, while

others, including the United States, assume gender is an effect of and flows naturally from biological sex.

Gender roles seem to reflect the biological roles of reproduction as well as degrees of relative physical strength and other perceived qualities such as the ability to nurture, intelligence, and aggression. In the context of reproduction, gender roles seem both natural and essential; that is, the qualities attributed to appropriate gender presentations are understood as an effect of a person's biological sex. The essential character of gender roles as well as their binary division unfortunately has the effect of reducing human capabilities to artificial sets of complementary traits in which some, generally belonging to masculinity, are valued, and others, usually belonging to femininity, are devalued. The structural binarism of gender roles produces an artificial opposition in the qualities imagined to belong to each gender. If males are smart, females must be less smart. If males are strong, females are weak. This binary system sustains the oppression of women as an inferior class of beings and keeps most people from realizing their full potential. Gender roles neither represent the way most people combine traits from both genders nor provide a realistic picture of the capabilities of males and females in cultures no longer dependent on physical strength or divisions of domestic labor.

The qualities and behaviors considered appropriate to each gender change through history and from culture to culture. What is permitted in modern Western cultures seems comparatively less repressive and oppositional than the range of behaviors that were permitted to males and females in Western cultures one hundred years ago. More liberal cultures in general permit a broader range of deviation from gender norms, whereas more conservative cultures restrict and police gender behaviors.

Attention to gender roles as an object of study began at the end of the nineteenth century, as sexologists such as Havelock Ellis (1859–1939) and psychoanalysts such as Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) became interested in sex and particularly in patients whose desires seemed to deviate from normative gender roles. As it became evident that sexual desires were not always heterosexual, analysts questioned the ways individuals positioned themselves in relation to gender. If, for example, one explained homosexual desires as incidents of a person of one sex inhabiting the body of another (called sexual inversion), how did such an inversion come about? Breaking apart what had seemed to be a natural alignment among sex, body, gender role, and sexual desires brought each of these categories into question. Psychoanalysis, psychology, biology, and sociology have all been disciplines brought to bear on the questions of where gender comes from, how individuals adopt their gender (is it nature or an effect of nurture?), and what

gender normalcy might mean in a species with wide variation. In addition feminists have also raised the social and economic disadvantage based on gender as well as how inevitable gender traits really are.

The number of different disciplines involved in studying gender roles has produced a complex and sometimes confusing set of terms for the number of slightly different phenomena that constitute gender and gender roles. A *sex role* is sometimes a synonym for a gender role or it may refer specifically to a reproductive role such as maternity. It may also refer to which biological sex someone has chosen to be. That choice usually, but not always, correlates with genital morphology. The term *sexual identity* refers to how individuals understand themselves as biological males or females, but it is also sometimes used to describe how individuals understand their sexual desires as heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, autosexual, or celibate. *Sexual preference* and *sexual orientation* are other terms for the direction of sexual desires. *Gender presentation* refers to how people choose to present themselves despite what category of sex they have determined they belong to. *Gender* or *sex role stereotypes* refer to the models of behavior considered to be right and normative in the context of a given society. *Gender identity*, finally, refers to an individual's sense of themselves as masculine or feminine, or perhaps as neither or both.

SEE ALSO *Gender Identity; Gender Stereotype; Gender, Theories of; Sex.*

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Judith Roof

II. HISTORY

From the 1960s onward, the rise of feminism and feminist scholarship initiated investigations into the histories of women whose living conditions and experiences were overwhelmingly disregarded in mainstream histories that emphasized prominent male figures and government politics. Charting the changes in women's domestic roles and working conditions, these primarily women-focused studies attempted to understand how social institutions of the past led to contemporary social, political, and economic inequalities between the sexes. Increasingly, historians have engaged the social histories of both

women and men, shifting the focus to gendered inter-actions and calling attention to the instability and flexi-bility of gender as a concept. Even the discipline of history itself has become a subject of study as a "cultural institution endorsing and announcing constructions of gender" (Scott 1998, p. 9).

In the late 1950s, sexologist John Money (1921–2006) coined the term *gender roles* to mark a distinction between behaviors related to one's biological sex and those related to social practices and individual gender identity. The notion that masculine roles and feminine roles, while related to biological sex, are not determined by the differences in male and female genitalia had a significant impact both on the historical interpretation of social orderings and on understandings of traditional gender roles. In the 1970s feminist scholars such as Gayle Rubin (b. 1949) drew connections between economic, familial, and psychic forces that culturally construct gen-der based on notions of sexual difference. Calling atten-tion to the ways gender has acquired a false appearance of fixity through social institutions, historian Joan Wallach Scott argued in the 1980s that discourses of power such as those of fundamentalist religious groups have "forcibly linked their practice to a restoration of women's suppos-edly more authentic 'traditional' role, when in fact there is little historical precedent for the unquestioned per-formance of such a role" (1998, p. 43). Late twentieth-century historical studies of gender have demonstrated that over time the social institutions and discourses, which define gender roles, change and gender roles may vary greatly across cultures and even within a society's socioeconomic and multiethnic strata.

The malleability of gender and gender roles can be found in historical studies of societies that recognized more than two genders, such as the Mohave Native American Indians. The Mohave of the American Southwest, from the precolonial era up to the late nine-teenth century, recognized four gender norms: male; female; male-cross-gender (*berdache*), who was socially feminine; and female-cross-gender, who was socially mas-culine. Significantly in this structure, the female-cross-gender category is not synonymous with the contempo-rary classification of lesbian, and for a Mohave female to sexually desire another female was considered nonnormative.

According to Evelyn Blackwood, "the cross-gender role arose from the particular conditions of kinship and gender in these tribes. The egalitarian relations of the sexes were predicated on the cooperation of autonomous individuals who had control of their productive activi-ties" (1984, p. 32). A female-cross-gender often came into her role in childhood by avoiding the female duties of food preparation, basket weaving, and the making of

clothes. She would instead display an interest in male duties such as hunting and weapon-making. Within the Mohave's egalitarian kinship system, living with kin established lineage or familial reproduction. For instance, since a female-cross-gender could only marry a female, their children must come either via adoption or via the wife coming to marriage with children already. The children, regardless of how they came to the couple, would be recognized as belonging within their house-hold's lineage. The Mohave was not the only Native American society to recognize more than two genders, for evidence of cross-gender roles has been found in over thirty Native American tribes.

In contrast to egalitarian kinship systems, patriarchal social systems have predominated through much of world history. Patriarchal systems attempt to restrict gender roles to a binary order based on sexual reproduction. Maintaining a hierarchy wherein men dominate women, patriarchy regulates sexual reproduction by patronymic codes and laws, establishing and ensuring paternity, so that property or political power might be passed on through male offspring. Most scholars agree that inequal-ities between men and women increase when societies shift modes of production from hunting and gathering, to agriculture, to machine industry. As agricultural soci-eties produced surpluses and their populations grew, their governments expanded and gender inequalities increased. In patriarchal social orders, men assumed a dominant position in the society and pressed "women to become more purely domestic in function, more dependent on the family and more decorative" (Stearns 2000, p. 2). Women could then be defined primarily according to their relation to men; moreover, depending on the soci-ety and era, women were, or still are, kept from property ownership and active political participation.

Religious and philosophical institutions have played a significant part in delineating gender roles and establishing patriarchal social orders. Western cultural traditions based on biblical and Greek, particularly Aristotelian, thought pronounced women to be categorically inferior to men (Wiesner-Hanks 2001). Likewise, in South and East Asia, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Islam (to vary-ing degrees) maintained the subordination of women to men for ordering familial and social structures. It is impor-tant to note, however, that most scholars view the "devel-opment of patriarchy as a complicated process, involving everything that is normally considered part of 'civilization': property ownership, plow agriculture, the bureaucratic state, writing, hereditary aristocracies" alongside the devel-opment of organized religions and philosophies (Wiesner-Hanks 2001, p. 17).

The complexities of patriarchy can be viewed in histories accounting contact between cultures wherein

role changes, however minor, become more pronounced. Peter Stearns (2000) demonstrates in his cross-cultural history of gender roles that—over the past few thousand years—trade, colonial conquest, and, currently, international organizations invariably altered established ideas about the roles of men and women. For instance, the spread of Buddhism from India to China from the fourth century to the ninth century CE gradually expanded the image of woman and her duties in China's Confucian-style family. Whereas both Buddhism and Confucianism asserted female inferiority, Buddhism's claims that enlightenment was neither male nor female and that a woman had the spiritual potential to be holy offered greater social status to women and a spiritual egalitarianism previously absent from Confucian doctrines. Additionally, Buddhist monasteries offered alternatives to marriage for young Chinese women and men seeking a spiritual path. For married women, Buddhism provided opportunities for activities outside home or family. Women formed clubs to study sutras, supplying them with a means to become holy leaders. If Buddhism appeared to have affected gender roles by offering women, as well as men, access to political power and life outside of marriage, Buddhism could not, overall, "slow the standard tendency in agricultural civilization to a further deterioration" or subordination of women to men (Stearns 2000, p. 36).

Gender roles are always in flux—being inscribed, reinscribed, or resisted. Historians of American culture have suggested the following four major classifications to discuss dominant trends and shifting gender roles in the United States: paternalism in the colonial era; separate spheres in the Victorian era; companionate marriage from the 1920s to the 1950s; and quasi-egalitarianism beginning in the 1960s (Pleck 1991). It should be noted, however, that these categories mark only the dominant and predominantly white, middle-class, Anglo-American ideals of gender roles. Social groups such as immigrants, Native Americans, slaves, homosexuals, the working-class, and a myriad of other individuals who sought to express themselves alternatively to the norm often did not live according to these dominant gender ideals, negotiating, instead, gender roles suited to their particular socioeconomic circumstances or desires.

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III. CONTEMPORARY UNDERSTANDING

Gender roles, as well as people's expectations of and attitudes toward them, are different among different cultures and societies and also change over time within cultures. This idea supports the view that gender roles are not "natural" or fixed and stable as a binary opposition, as biological sex is. To what extent separate gender roles function strongly in a culture differs among various societies but, on the whole, the more prescriptive a culture is in relation to gender roles, the more masculine and feminine gender roles are defined in opposition to one another.

People are taught gender roles through socialization from infancy. In early years children learn through the gender role divisions they see in their own family circle. Later other institutions, such as school, the judicial system, and the media, influence individuals' perceptions of gender roles and work to encourage the internalization of what are considered appropriate roles. Some examples of the means by which individuals are socialized toward traditional roles are the toys they are encouraged to play with (dolls or trucks), the clothes that they are dressed in (pink or blue; dresses or shorts), the kinds of behavior for which they are praised or reprimanded (sharing or taking initiative; playing rough or being timid), and the kind of careers they are counseled to consider. Influences such as textbooks and advertising introduce people to gender role models that are often engaged in particular gendered activities. For example, in commercials toys are often targeted at either girls or boys, and in an ad for laundry detergent, boys may be shown having fun and getting dirty whereas girls are shown helping their mother with the housework.

Examples of traditional feminine and masculine roles also exist in relation to work and social behavior. Many cultures are similar in terms of what roles are expected. The most prevalent assumption about gender roles is that femininity is linked with motherhood and nurturing, highlighting the link to biology. It is widely

assumed that women have a "maternal instinct," which makes it natural for them to want children and want to be primary in caring for them. This becomes expanded to caring in general, so that many jobs traditionally associated with the feminine role are in areas such as education, health care, and social work, as well as homemaking. Men's roles traditionally take them outside the home. Masculine work, in accordance with masculine roles, is expected to support the family and carry responsibility and is more likely to involve physically demanding labor. Examples in the past have been technical work, management, and the military. Such divisions are often damaging to individuals, as they restrict the choices of women and men both by prescribing attitudes regarding social relations toward being a parent and choices in one's professional life.

Different kinds of societies have traditionally held, and still hold, different gender patterns. As Julia Wood (2005), working in communication studies, states, "in foraging or hunter-gatherer societies, there is the least gender division, and therefore, the greatest equality between men and women" (p. 49). Through horticultural, pastoral, and agrarian societies, gender relations are increasingly less equal, and "finally, industrial-capitalist societies distinguish clearly between the genders and confer different values on men and women" (p. 49). Religious beliefs also strongly influence attitudes toward the function of gender roles. Most fundamentalist religions prescribe greater separation between feminine and masculine roles, usually relegating women to a subordinate position.

The *International Handbook on Gender Roles* lists ways in which women are being denied equality, autonomy, or mental and physical integrity. "Female infanticide, suttee, genital mutilation, prostitution, child marriage, polygamy, arranged marriages, wife-selling, and prohibitions against birth control and abortion" are mentioned as practices following from the relegation of women to inferior roles (Adler 1993, p. x). Nancy Felipe Russo, a professor of psychology and women's studies, states in the foreword: "Underlying these laws and practices are gender roles and stereotypes that reinforce traditional norms, values, and socialization patterns that rely on a view of women as different from and inferior to men. Women continue to be expected to find their central fulfillment as mothers and wives and are subordinated to men by social, economic, legal, and religious institutions" (p. x).

As Xiaoling Shu (2004) argues, legislation, education, and control for women over their own fertility are all instrumental to positive change with regard to gender roles for women. However, advances in these areas are no guarantee of equality: in numerous nations where laws exist to protect women against various forms of discrimination in the workplace or politics, practice shows a continuation of adherence to traditional gender roles. Also, whereas in many cultures girls now have almost equal access to education as compared to boys, education for girls is often only seen as a means of ensuring them a better marriage, as Barbara Mensch and colleagues observe (2003). The *International Handbook of Gender Roles* shows that, although on the whole attitudes have become more relaxed in most Western as well as many non-Western countries, gender roles are still quite rigidly prescribed worldwide, and though the adherence to suitable roles is generally required of both men and women, gender roles are much more restrictive to women because of the traditional devaluation or trivialization of gender roles associated with femininity.

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IV. FEMINIST AND GAY/LESBIAN PERSPECTIVES

Gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals historically have challenged hegemonic gender roles. Gender and sexuality are linked inextricably, and a person's gender presentation has been assumed to indicate that person's sexual identity. In their complex relationship to ideas about gender and sexuality, gays and lesbians in the United States have defied conventions regarding both issues. Misconceptions about gender presentation and sexual identity dictate the ways in which the heteronormative culture reacts to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals. For example, if a person who presents with traditional feminine traits is biologically male, the assumption is that that person is homosexual. Similarly, women who display traditional masculine characteristics are assumed to be lesbians. Queer culture has played with

gender roles for a variety of reasons, particularly to challenge conventions and find a safe place for the expression of one's gender and sexual identities.

During the gay liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s, for example, gay men "created subcultures in major cities that facilitated greater personal experimentation," particularly with gender, by using terms such as *top*, *bottom*, *pansy*, and *fairy* (Shneer and Aviv 2006, p. 30). Those different gender presentations challenged traditional male gender roles and masculinity. Drag queens also challenge gender roles and gender presentation by wearing women's clothing, displaying traditional feminine characteristics, and/or impersonating gay icons such as Judy Garland and Liza Minnelli. A drag queen can be defined as a male-to-female "transvestite who employs dramatic clothes, make-up, and mannerisms, often for other people's appreciation" (Feminism and Women's Studies 2006).

Similarly, lesbians historically have challenged traditional ideas about femininity through butch and femme gender presentations. In the early twentieth century, for example, women who wore pants, smoked in public, or learned to drive were known as "mannish women," and later, butch dykes "reject[ed] the constraints and limitations of femininity" (Shneer and Aviv 2006, p. 29). In contrast, femme women presented a hyperbolic form of femininity. The butch and femme gender presentations came under assault during the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s when "lesbian feminists combined their critique of gender and sexuality by rejecting participation in the patriarchy"; that stance resulted in the rejection of the "butch/femme gender expressions in lesbian relationships in favor of more androgyny" (Shneer and Aviv 2006, p. 30).

The reconsideration of gender identities became a focal point for feminists in the 1960s and 1970s, and that debate remained critical in the context of later feminist concerns. The delineation of gender identities within the lesbian community continues to evolve. This is evident in the number of gender presentations, including stone butch, stone femme, boi, high femme, daddy/grrl, and mommy/boy ("Gender Terms and Linguistics" 2005). Butch and femme gender presentations are still present, and lesbians have entered the performative realm of gender with the increasing presence of drag kings. Like drag queens, drag kings embody camp; they present traditional masculine characteristics in an effort to challenge conventional notions of femininity.

Transgenderism, "the decision and ability to change from the gender to which one has been assigned at birth to another chosen gender, complicates gay–straight and masculine–feminine binaries" (Shneer and Aviv 2006, p. 31). *Transgender* is also an inclusive term for *transsexual*

("One who switches physical sexes. Primary sex change is accomplished by surgery") and *transvestite* ("One who mainly cross dresses for pleasure in the appearance and sensation") (Feminism and Women's Studies 2006). Being transgender often means struggling against cultural assumptions that suggest that transgender individuals are sexually perverse or psychological unstable.

This is evident in the response of the medical field to transsexualism in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM). As recently as 1980 transsexualism was considered a "heterogeneous disorder" that was described as a "persistent sense of discomfort and inappropriateness about one's anatomic sex and a persistent wish to be rid of one's genitals and to live as a member of the other sex" (Shneer and Aviv 2006, p. 39). Transsexualism is linked to and categorized as a gender identity disorder (GID), which the most recent version of the DSM, the *DSM-IV-TR*, considers a psychological illness. There have been numerous petitions by medical and nonmedical professionals to remove transsexualism from the DSM.

Transgender individuals typically fall into two categories—male-to-female (MTF) and female-to-male (FTM)—that define their transition. Some MTF and FTM individuals undergo sexual, or gender, reassignment surgery, which includes hormone replacement therapy, and others remain as they are. Transgender individuals more recently have begun to utilize a variety of labels to self-identify, including "third-gender, two-spirit, both genders, neither gender, or intersexed" and argue for "their right to live without or outside gender categories that our society has attempted to make compulsory and universal" (Califia-Rice 2003. p. 245). Sexual identity varies as widely among transgender individuals as it does among nontransgender people; sexual identity thus is explicitly different from transgenderism. Transgender individuals represent a dynamic challenge to conventional gender roles and presentations.

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GENDER STEREOTYPE

A gender stereotype is a predetermined set of attitudes and behaviors that is believed to be typical of all men or women. Stereotypes about gender assume that there are in fact only two genders: male and female. They also assume that all men and women are heterosexual and that gender is determined by or related to a person's sexuality. Gender and gender stereotypes are connected to a sense of identity (as something intrinsic to oneself), sexual practice (the actions one takes on the basis of that identity), and sexual desire (the gender to which one is attracted whether or not that attraction is acted on). In light of the prevalence of the nuclear family in most Western societies, the roles of the father and the mother are also key determinants of gender identity because the child stereotypically identifies with one parent and sees the other as a model for a future partner.

THE NATURE OF GENDER STEREOTYPES

The fact that there are only two acknowledged genders reveals that masculinity and femininity are conceived of as being in opposition to each other. This conceptualization is found in the Chinese notion of yin and yang, in which the feminine and masculine elements naturally complement and harmonize with each other to produce a complete whole. Similarly, men and women are expected to exhibit oppositional characteristics that, taken together, produce a complete vision of sexuality and heterosexuality. Marriage is stereotypically expected of all individuals. Most fictional narratives (movies and novels often end with either marriage or death) point to the common belief that the two opposites belong together to create harmony.

This idea of opposites has resulted in gender stereotypes that are an exaggeration of the real physical, social, and psychological differences between the sexes. Feminine traits include being emotional, submissive, weak, cooperative, artistic, and home-focused; masculine traits include being rational, unemotional, aggressive, competitive, strong, scientifically or mathematically skilled, and career-focused. In many cultures masculine traits traditionally have been valued as superior to feminine ones.

These stereotypes are problematic because they do not take into consideration the real diversity of genders and sexualities in the human population. In fact, gender differences exist much more along a continuum of subtle differences that result in combinations of feminine and masculine characteristics in every individual rather than as a binary opposition between the two genders. Because everyone falls short of achieving an ideal gender role, it is easy to criticize individuals for being less than manly or ladylike, and the English language is full of discriminatory words that insult people who do not adhere to these stereotypes (e.g., tomboy and sissy). Those names are used commonly among adolescents, a population in which gender identities and sexualities are in a natural state of flux and transition, to chastise fellow adolescents for not exhibiting typical masculine or feminine behavior as they mature physically, sexually, and emotionally. With the growing presence of feminism and the increasing acceptance of homosexuality in many cultures, these stereotypes have been challenged and revealed to be false ideals that can be damaging to a person's sense of identity.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON AND CHALLENGES TO GENDER STEREOTYPES

At the turn of the twentieth century findings in anthropology and psychology revealed that gender is much more fluid and socially determined than previously indicated by essentialist and biological notions of gender, which believe that all gendered traits originate from physical differences between men and women. In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) the psychologist Sigmund Freud noted that gender is both linked to biological and psychological elements of individual identity and socially constructed by the forces of family relationships. Within the nuclear family a young child must identify with the same-sex parent and then desire the opposite-sex parent to achieve gender identity and sexuality.

Social theorists who followed Freud, such as Michel Foucault in the 1970s, found that gender and sexuality also are constructed by social, economic, and political forces. In *The History of Sexuality* (1978) Foucault revealed that the Victorian era of European society utilized a number of institutions (including the church, the government, and the medical profession) to regulate the discourse around sexuality and gender so that previous cultural and sexual practices such as bisexuality became acknowledged not as one among a variety of sexual practices but as aberrations from a presumed normal heterosexuality. Although Foucault's work focuses on sexuality, the notion that gender is determined by a person's sexual practice means that gender identities were configured in a conservative and oppositional or binary manner.

Judith Butler, a feminist theorist writing in the 1990s, added to these conversations by arguing that there is no true gender in any person; instead one's gender is performed constantly through actions and in line with various cultural conversations about ideal gender identity and sexuality. Thus, a person's gender may be in flux throughout that person's life, and it is performed constantly through both sexual actions and cultural interactions with others. Instead of imagining an essential woman defined by the maternal body, as some feminists in the mid-twentieth century did, Butler believes that there is no essential femininity or masculinity: "There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (Butler 1990, p. 33). Thus, a drag queen performs femininity in much the same way a heterosexual woman does: She acts and presents herself as feminine to a watchful audience instead of unthinkingly demonstrating a biological essence at the core of her identity.

For many feminists one of the essential tasks in challenging gender stereotypes was to attack the assumption that women are defined by their biological ability to bear children. Maintaining the belief that womanhood and femininity are defined by maternity reinforces the stereotype that the female gender is innately nurturing, self-sacrificing, family-oriented, and so forth, whereas men are naturally promiscuous, career-driven, and so forth. In an effort to celebrate the feminine the critic Julia Kristeva's writing of the 1970s argues that the maternal body is a powerful site of feminine, sensory knowledge that exists outside the controlling forces of society found in patriarchal language. Although her intention was to offer possibilities of disrupting patriarchal systems of dominance, Kristeva has been critiqued for praising the other side of the masculine-feminine binary instead of rejecting the oppositional dynamic. Butler, following the work of Monique Wittig, offers the notion of lesbians as individuals who challenge the binary model of gender, arguing that if lesbians do not participate in heterosexual relations and motherhood, they offer an alternative gender that is associated with women's bodies but is not stereotypically feminine. A similar dynamic is found in homosexual men because they too challenge heterosexual notions of masculinity and sexuality.

Lee Edelman (1994) argues that male homosexuality is represented in heterosexual narratives of film, literature, and popular culture as a singular identity category that defines all gay men by their sexuality, negating other differences of gender and identity within the population. Gay sexuality thus becomes a site that catches all the nonnormative depictions of sexuality and gender and reinforces the notion that there is a normal form of sexuality. Edelman argues that an increasing diversity of representations of homosexuals will help undermine those limiting stereotypes.

The field of masculinity studies, which follows on feminist ideas that gender is socially constructed, focuses on and identifies the unattainable ideal of masculinity as it is found in American society in particular. Michael Kimmel (1996) notes that in the United States one cult of masculinity can be traced back to 1832, when Henry Clay described the American "self-made man," establishing masculinity as something tied to ambition, career, income, and nationalism. This masculine role model was exhibited by captains of industry in the late nineteenth century such as Andrew Carnegie. During World War II, when many American men were in the armed forces, women were recruited as workers in factories and other industries; however, that departure from traditional gender stereotypes was corrected by the 1950s cult of domesticity that portrayed women as domestic goddesses and men as strong providers in the workforce. Besides the workplace, other areas of culture that help create and regulate a specific notion of masculinity include sports, the military, and schools. In addition, masculinity, as well as femininity, also has come to be defined in terms of race, age, and socioeconomic class. Thus, an old man or woman seems less masculine or feminine than a younger one, an impoverished man is less of a "man" than one who earns a good income, and so forth.

The notion of gender as constantly changing within a range of possibilities instead of one of two predetermined identity categories is particularly useful when applied to those who suffer from gender dysphoria, a state of conflict between one's biological sex and one's gender identity, those who are born intersexed and medically rendered either male or female, and those who become transsexuals. All these individuals reveal a disparity between one's physical sex and the sense of gender identity with which a person feels comfortable. Thus, a woman born with all the female reproductive organs may feel more comfortable as a man and eventually may take steps to become a physical man through surgery and hormone treatments. Such individuals demonstrate that there are more than two biological sexes, as one in five thousand infants are born as hermaphrodites or intersexuals and about one in a thousand people carry more than two sex chromosomes, resulting in not just the male XY or the female XX combination but also in variants such as XXY and XXX. Because there are more than two biological sexes, it follows that there are more than two genders in the diverse human population.

SEE ALSO *Gender Roles: I. Overview; Intersex.*

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GENDER STUDIES

Gender studies is a field of inquiry that explores the ways femininity and masculinity are an integral part of the ways people think about social organizations and institutions, dispositions of power, interpersonal relationships, and understandings of identity, sexuality, and subjectivity. An enlargement of what was initially known as "women's studies," gender studies identifies, analyzes, and often critiques the disparate effects of patriarchal organizations on women and men. Gender studies also often includes studies of sexuality associated with the work of feminist scholars and activists, as well as gay and lesbian scholars of sexuality. Since the mid-1990s it has also undertaken issues of transgender, intersexuality, and transsexuality.

The focus of gender studies ranges from political institutions and philosophy to issues of family, domesticity, and labor to literature, art, sports, film, and other aspects of popular culture. Gender scholars may use any number of disciplinary approaches from the empirical studies of sociology, biology, and anthropology to the more abstract arguments of law and philosophy to the humanities' analyses of various modes of representation. Gender scholars might study the ways gender functions as an asymmetrical system in which masculine subjects depend upon and oppress feminine subjects. They may consider the ways both genders are disadvantaged by social organizations that privilege one gender over the other, or they may look specifically at the cultures that form around one gender or another such as feminism, male bonding, maternity, or gay male culture. They

might explore the relations between gender and sexuality or how transgender and transsexuality reaffirm or bring into question the gender system itself.

Gender studies often envisions itself as an involved and activist discipline whose mission is to help identify, analyze, and correct social inequities both locally and globally. It often does not limit itself strictly to the academic, but sees its mission as helping those oppressed by gender disparities correct their circumstances both on a local level and as a participant in political policy discussions. Issues that affect women and to some smaller degree men—such as child care and custody, reproductive rights, health issues, labor and employment, and education—are often the focus of gender studies scholars, and their studies may translate into community or even global action. Insofar as specific gender studies programs are also involved with issues of sexuality, they may also advocate for nondiscrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender presentation, or transsexual status. As a politicized discipline, gender studies also pays attention to the power relations inherent in its own organization and especially the ways gender studies itself benefits and suffers from an official status.

The term *gender studies* emerged as an alternate title for such studies after several decades of thinking of inquiries about gender as involving primarily women. As women's studies programs discerned that gender involved sets of interdependent relationships between masculinity and femininity, they spawned an interest in issues of masculinity both on the part of feminist scholars and more traditional male scholars. As the relations and distinctions between gender and sexuality became more prominent, women's studies programs became more interested in issues of sexuality. As women's studies increasingly became an integral part of university curriculums, programs began to reconceive themselves as a discipline focused on a broader notion of gender rather than only on women. Adopting the rubric "gender studies" enlarges the scope of the field, but it also loses reference to women's issues as the animating spirit of gender inquiry.

THE HISTORY OF GENDER STUDIES

The history of gender studies begins with the history of feminist critiques of the position and status of women. In the early 1970s in the wake of protests against the war in Vietnam and continued pressure for civil rights reform, feminist scholars began pressuring universities to initiate and support special units for the interdisciplinary study of women. Making women visible as a legitimate area of study was a part of both a political and an intellectual impetus to make public the ways assumptions about sex, gender, and patriarchal institutions produce systematic inequities through a range of ideas and material condi-

tions—from the ways people think about life to what people expect from individuals based on their sex.

When women's studies programs first began, the programs often saw their missions not only as intellectual and social but also as intrinsically feminist. Many programs concentrated on improving the range of library materials, recognizing important contributions by women, and developing an interdisciplinary mode of study based on sex and focusing on women. In addition, such programs often felt responsible for providing help for struggling women and supporting campus women's centers, women's leadership programs, and the widespread visibility of women and women's issues as the subject of legitimate academic study.

As women's studies programs became more widely accepted and integrated units in colleges and universities, they continued to develop their interdisciplinary approach to studies of women, but in securing academic respectability, they often left more social and activist functions to other units or to the community. At the same time, women's studies scholars began to recognize that oppressions based on sex were a part of a larger system of sex (the biological categories of male or female) combined with gender (the social categories of masculine and feminine). Some scholars realized that it was difficult to understand the status of women without understanding the way the entire sex/gender system operates.

At the same time that some women's studies scholars were beginning to study both the sex/gender system and masculinity itself—especially the ways masculinity is represented in popular culture—male scholars, who were not necessarily associated with women's studies programs, began to develop the vaguely parallel area of study known as "men's studies." Partly attributable to backlash, partly an interest spurred by women's studies, men's studies focused on an interdisciplinary study of how men behave and are represented. Although men's studies for the most part never became a separate part of university programs, it established itself as a legitimate area of interdisciplinary study.

In the late 1980s and 1990s increasing interest in gays and lesbians came both from the more public nature of demands for lesbian and gay rights and from the observation that studies of sex and gender inevitably address issues of sexuality because people tend to understand sexuality in terms of the gender of participants. Heterosexual couples consist of a male and a female, while homosexual couples consist of a male and a male or a female and a female. Although feminist political movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s were uncertain about their relation to the many lesbians who participated in feminist activities, by the 1980s lesbian issues and concerns were becoming a more central part of

the domain of established women's studies programs. Scholars studying explicitly gay male phenomena, however, did not become integral parts of men's studies, but instead began their own gay studies agendas.

By the 1990s, then, the disparate endeavors of women's studies, men's studies, and gay studies began to combine forces and interest, usually under the leadership of established women's studies programs, especially as those programs increasingly recognized the systemic and interdependent character of sex and gender. By the mid-1990s, women's studies programs began renaming themselves "gender studies" programs to reflect a more inclusive program of study, including sexuality, transgender, and transsexuality. Although women scholars sometimes disagreed with this change of rubric because it loses any reference to the feminist impetus and approaches by which women's studies was first founded and defined, the title was more palatable to many who saw women's studies as an organization that reflected a specific stage in intellectual history, which had in many ways surpassed itself.

By 2006 there were more than fifty gender studies or women's and gender studies programs in the United States. The majority of these programs were organized as interdisciplinary major or minor study programs. Fewer institutions had established academic departments or units in gender studies.

THE SUBJECT OF GENDER STUDIES

Gender studies examines the entire gender system—the means by which cultures, societies, political organizations, and ways of thinking both produce and depend upon an asymmetrical, binary notion of gender. Gender is a sociocultural category rather than a naturally occurring phenomenon. Societies define, incorporate, and police divisions of people roughly based on an imaginary version of what appears to be a "natural" difference. The interpretation of this binary difference as natural is based on the appearance of differences between biological sexes (female, male). Although biological differences cover a great range of possibilities, including intersexuality, cultures interpret biological differences within a rigidly binary scheme, one that is so rigid that children who do not conform to the average appearance of boy or girl are often forced to comply through dress, behaviors, or even surgery.

The sociocultural gender system refers to sets of identities, positions, and behaviors imagined to align with either femininity or masculinity. Although different cultures understand the relation between biology and culture differently, all Western cultures presume that there is some link between biology, expected behavior, social and kinship roles, and gender. The ways biological

sex and social gender interact to produce complex systems is called a "sex/gender system." The sex/gender system as it works in any given culture is usually asymmetrical, meaning that one sex/gender or the other enjoys rights, privileges, and controls that depend upon the oppression, suppression, and repression of members of the other gender. In patriarchal systems based on maintaining the fiction of paternal primacy, males generally gain primacy at the expense of females.

Even in more purposefully egalitarian systems, genders are often defined in obverse terms of one another. For example, if males are understood to be strong and wise, females are weak and silly. If females are seen as nurturing and soft, males are seen as distanced and hard. Tensions about sex/gender differences persist as insults (e.g., dumb blond jokes, which are rarely about blond men), rationales for limiting rights or assigning roles (e.g., a woman could not be president because she has periods, women should care for children), or overt pretexts for self-definition (e.g., to be a male is not to be girlie, to be a female is not to be masculine).

Gender studies not only interrogates the inequities of gender in society but also looks at the ways this system has been integrated throughout culture in such institutions as the law and medicine; in science; through literature, popular culture, language, and media; and even in philosophy. As a system, gender also involves other kinds of socially recognized differences such as race, age, ethnicity, and ability and the ways sex/gender systems interact with, help produce and support, or even rationalize other disparate treatments and inequitable systems such as racial discrimination or various people's understandings of what might constitute a disability.

Perhaps the most immediate effect of the sex/gender system is sociocultural understandings of sexuality and sex/gender identities. Sexuality is so intrinsically linked to gender that it is impossible to study sexuality without taking the sex/gender system into account. Studies of gender most often assume specific sexual roles attached to each gender. One of the central insights of any study of sexuality from the work of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) on is that sexual desires are innately bisexual. The alignment of femininity with sexual receptivity or passivity and masculinity with sexual aggressivity occurs as the combined effect of socialization and psychical development, abetted by such biological factors as the action of hormones. Genders define sexuality insofar as individuals understand sexuality according to the relation between the gender of the one who desires and the gender of the one desired. Heterosexuals desire an object of the other gender. Homosexuals desire an object of the same gender. Bisexuals desire both.

As the institutional heir to women's studies, gender studies, then, addresses the inequities occurring within and between genders and sexualities. It defines the ways the sex/gender system is integrated within systems of thought such as science and philosophy; the ways it is represented in literature, film, language, and popular culture; and the ways it organizes social behaviors and institutions. Gender studies scholars might ask, for example, how the rights of women have changed, how assumptions about gender are inflected by race or age, or why there is violence against homosexual men. It might define feminist theories of aesthetics, or look at how lesbians fare in non-Western cultures. It might track the history of a sexual subculture (such as transvestites) or make available the experiences of intersex or transsexual individuals.

METHODS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF GENDER STUDIES

Gender studies may be approached through individual disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, or art history, or it may involve interdisciplinary strategies. Gender studies, though organized around sets of issues and questions centered on gender and sexuality, often uses conventional methods and assumptions from either the social sciences (sociology, anthropology, psychology) or the humanities (literature, art, music, film). For both the social and the "hard" sciences such as biology or physics, these include empirical methods of showing various sex/gender functions and inequities. Scientists consider their approach to gender to be objective and based on data collected in controlled experiments. Science tends to assume that words and people mean what they say.

Humanist scholars engage in a more abstract philosophical and language-based examination of sex/gender focused on various aspects of representation (such as images of woman and gender or the gender bias of underlying assumptions in the arts, literature, film, theater, and culture broadly speaking). Humanists investigate the ways structures, organizations, ideologies, and representations are anything but transparent, exploring the various ways both cultural material and the ways of thinking about such material already depend upon assumptions about gender and sexuality.

Gender studies, however, often perceives itself as interdisciplinary. Although science and the humanities seem to represent opposing methodologies with conflicting assumptions, gender studies has often combined the two, seeing that neither in itself can account for the complex difficulties presented by the pervasive gender asymmetries underwriting human cultures. Studies of gender bias in scientific writing, for example, combine scientific knowledge with analyses of rhetoric. Legal

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scholars often employ sociological ideas to understand the gender bias of legislation. Humanists may employ psychological insights as a way to understand gender relations in a novel or film.

In addition, gender studies often questions the possible "objectivity" of either science or humanism, suggesting that what is regarded as objective or universal veils the privileges of patriarchal organizations and male speakers. Challenging notions of objectivity, neutrality, or universality, gender studies combines objective approaches with experiential strategies, balancing the empirical with the subjective, receptivity with authority, and the power of discourse with the irresistible evidence of material existence. This has resulted not only in expanding disciplinary inquiry and questioning traditional assumptions, but also in the combination of personal, group, and contextualized representations of research both in the rhetoric and style of communication and in challenges to the universality of any kind of "truth."

The practice of examining the ways sex/gender systems affect and are affected in and through culture, science, philosophy, and law began, like gender studies itself did, with feminist interrogations of the inequities of patriarchy. Although such early feminist thinkers as Mary Wollstonecraft, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Susan B. Anthony discussed the uneven and oppressive effects of patriarchal systems on women in general, Virginia Woolf's famous *A Room of One's Own* (1929) begins what might properly be called a gender study, particularly for those who contend that gender inequalities are the effect of larger systems, including capitalism and patriarchy. Woolf continues her exploration of gender oppressions as the effect of larger systems in *Three Guineas* (1938), in which she analyzes the relations among privilege and material conditions that are naturalized by gender myths.

Perhaps the most famous and thorough precursor to gender studies is the work of the French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir, particularly her influential inquiry into the bases of women's oppression, *The Second Sex* (1949). Although like Woolf, de Beauvoir focuses on the status of women, she exposes the ways gender oppression are linked to larger economic, social, and ideological systems in everything from Marxism to psychoanalysis.

Feminist scholars of the 1970s and early 1980s continued to focus more specifically on the accomplishments of women and the reasons for their oppression. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar's famous study of the roles of women in English fiction, *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979; 2nd ed., 2000), established a basis for beginning to see the systematic effects of how gender is represented and the roles various gender representations play in Western versions of society. Feminist psychoanalytic critics began to study the ways psychoanalysis understands the ways people understand themselves to be one gender

or another. In the mid-1980s, feminist scholars such as Michele Wallace and Robyn Wiegman began to focus on how masculinity is also a category produced by the sex/gender system. In addition many scholars began to outline the ways such categories as race, ethnicity, class, and age interact to produce and sustain a range of gender roles, ideas, inequities, and asymmetries. The work, for example, of the critics Gayatri Spivak and Gloria Anzaldúa and the author Toni Morrison began to expose the systematic nature of sex/gender oppressions.

Lesbian and gay male scholars also began to investigate the intersections between gender, sexuality, and other cultural categories. Lesbian thinkers such as Marilyn Frye continued and expanded upon feminist thinking into realms of sexuality. Scholars of male homosexuality such as Eve Sedgwick began to show the ways that gender and sexual systems intersect and help to produce the disparate treatment of gays and lesbians under the law as well as in many cultural institutions. Informed by and depending upon the insights of feminism, scholars of sexuality such as Judith Butler, Teresa de Lauretis, and Michael Warner analyzed the gendered and sexual presuppositions by which heterosexuality continues its dominance. Others, inspired by feminist and gay and lesbian studies examinations of the systems, ideas, and institutions by which sex and gender interact, devised a program of "men's studies," focusing on the ways maleness and masculinity are represented, treated, and limited within the same sex/gender system.

In the mid-1990s issues of transgender and transsexuality emerged as topics of study with the work of Leslie Feinberg, Sandy Stone, Kate Bornstein, and Judith Halberstam. Cheryl Chase and Howard Devore's attention to the plight of intersexuals also opened up an important set of questions around the inevitability of binary gender and the relation between biological sex and cultural gender systems, especially in relation to the ways in which the medical profession complied with gender norms as an unquestioned way of "treating" intersexual infants. Anne Fausto-Sterling brought even the naturalness of binary sexes into question in her work on science. Studies of drag queens and drag kings provided a focus on a broader range of social gender practices, while gay male studies questioned the relation between cultural repression and gay sexual practices.

Scholarly insights were often aided by contemporaneous activist programs such as the continued activities of feminist organizations and the series of demonstrations and interventions devised by such gay and lesbian groups as ACT UP and Queer Nation. Political activities such as these required not only a savvy analysis of the sex/gender system but also a keen appreciation of the power of timing, representation, and the media.

THE FUTURE OF GENDER STUDIES

Because gender systems are an aspect of society and culture, they are always in flux as are the paradigms and assumptions by which gender is understood. Just as gender studies emerged from women's studies as an outcome of precisely the kinds of insights women's studies began to have about the pervasive character of gender as a system, so gender studies begins to approach ways to understand how genders may not be binary at all, how individuals come to undertake multiple genders, and finally how flexible and mobile gender is for everyone.

At the same time, like women's studies, gender studies continues an involvement in issues of social justice and advocacy. One topic of study is in fact how political and social interventions can be made more effectively in changing political environments. In the face of increasing globalization, gender studies is also undertaking a formulation of ways to understand the interrelation of gender and the multiple cultural systems in which gender is organized and treated differently. Gender studies has begun to focus on the effects of gene research and biotechnology as these relate to and affect reproductive practices, the environment, medical care, family formations, and the law. Finally, it also has begun to investigate the relation between information technologies, issues of privacy, and sexuality and gender in the virtual public sphere. As the circumstances of living alter, so does the realm of issues with which gender studies becomes involved.

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Judith Roof

GENDER, THEORIES OF

Traditionally gender has been used primarily as a grammatical term. Gender aspects constitute a subclass within a grammatical class (noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb) of a language that is partly arbitrary but also partly based on distinguishable characteristics (shape, social rank, manner of existence, or sex) and that determines agreement with and selection of other words or grammatical forms. In the second half of the twentieth century, largely through the rise of second-wave feminism, gender entered into everyday language either as a synonym of sex—serving to distinguish individuals on the basis of their reproductive capacities into male or female—or, in contrast, to set off precisely such organic or biological sex differences from the socioculturally acquired roles and positions that differentiate men from women in a given society. Whereas in some contexts the distinction between sex as biological fact and gender as social acquisition is useful, it is by no means widely observed, and considerable variation in usage occurs at all levels.

Most twenty-first-century dictionaries define gender as the condition of being female or male (or sex), but also include the behavioral, cultural, or psychological traits typically associated with one sex into its meanings. To further confound the various uses to which the term can be put, gender may additionally refer to an individual's sexual identity, especially in relation to society or culture. The confusion about its specific reference, and the occasional convergence or sliding into one another of its various meanings, cannot merely be reduced to linguistic issues. The multiplicity of meaning embodied by the notion of gender also points up the complex interrelations among its variously constitutive components, that is, those of sex, gender, and sexuality, as lived phenomena and as analytical concepts. It furthermore reflects the divergent ways in which these interrelated concepts have been diversely, and often contradictorily, theorized both in and outside feminist discourse.

ANALYTICAL ORIGINS

Although the term gender as synonym for sex has a history that goes back to the fifteenth century, prior to the 1960s it was rarely used in nongrammatical contexts. As an analytic term with reference to sex-related categories, gender was introduced into contemporary critical thought by way of sexological science. In 1955 psychologist and sexologist John Money proposed the concept of a gender role to "signify all those things that a person says or does to disclose himself or herself as having the status of boy or man, girl or woman, respectively" (Haig 2004, p. 91), including but not being restricted to aspects of sexuality, in the sense of eroticism. According to Money gender role is acquired in early childhood and may differ from a person's sex. Psychoanalyst Robert Stoller extended the distinction between biological sex and social gender by introducing the notion of gender identity, a term used to define "one's sense of being a member of a particular sex," as distinct from the "overt [gendered] behavior one

displays in society" (Haig 2004, p. 93). Although Money himself believed that gender role was particularly resistant to change, it was precisely the possibility to separate off innate aspects of sex from learned or acquired gender roles, and hence for refuting the Freudian idea that *anatomy is destiny*, which rendered the notion of gender attractive to feminists, and apparently helpful in their attempts to challenge the normative hierarchy of sexual relations.

FEMINIST VIEWS AND GENDER THEORY

Whereas there is no ultimate feminist consensus about the meaning of gender, its varying usages share one thing in common, and that is the explicit rejection of the belief in gender as a natural phenomenon. A natural, and still widely spread, common sense attitude to gender assumes that differences between men and women are biologically—or genetically—given; that gender is invariant; that there are two and only two genders standing in opposition to each other; that genitals and reproductive capacities form the defining aspects of gender; that the male/female dichotomy is a fixed structure that cannot be modified and that determines the kind of lives people can live; and that all individuals can—and, indeed, must—be classified as either masculine or feminine, or else enter into the realm of pathology. Against such naturalist assumptions about maleness and femaleness, and about the determinations of (in)appropriately gendered selves, feminists in the early 1970s introduced the term gender in order to call into question any universalist claims about what it is to *be* a man or a woman. By the end of the 1980s, the use of the term gender was not only widely adopted, but had also given rise to a variety of usages, and concomitant contestations of its meaning.

Early second-wave feminist scholars used gender to reject biological determinism by presenting evidence of the historically and culturally varied ways in which femininity and masculinity may be expressed and understood. As Mary Hawkesworth (1997) points out, the term has subsequently been used to a wide range of effects, for instance, to analyze the social organization of gender relations; to explore the ways in which body, sex, and sexuality acquire and produce meaning; to explain the unequal social benefits of biological differences; to demonstrate the operations of social power in the lives of individuals; to illuminate the structure of the psyche; and to account for individual identity and social intelligibility. Depending on their ideological and theoretical commitments, different scholars furthermore use gender in strikingly different ways. Some regard it as an attribute of individuals, as interpersonal relation, or as a mode of social organization. Others emphasize the gendered aspects of social status, sex roles, and sexual stereotypes. Yet others consider gender a structure of consciousness, as internalized ideology, or as performative practice. The processes of gender—that is, the ways in which human beings come to be split into male and female kinds and gradually acquire their gendered (sense of) selves—have additionally been traced to divergent sources: From a product of socialization or disciplinary practices, to an effect of language, a mode of perception, or a structural feature of labor and power relations, gender has been variously discussed as a multifaceted phenomenon whose causes, purposes, and origins are neither as clear cut nor as easily identifiable as the still pervasively influential beliefs constituting the natural attitude suggest.

LATE-TWENTIETH-CENTURY MODELS

Within the expanding domain of gender theory, three aspects are commonly understood to operate simultaneously and in interconnected manners. First, gender is a feature of subjectivity, that is to say, people conceive of and recognize themselves in gendered terms, both individually and collectively. Second, gender functions as a social variable, structuring the ways in which different kinds of people—classified in, among others, the binary terms of sex difference—tend to assume different social positions and pursue different and largely preordained life courses within a multiply stratified sociocultural realm. Third, gender designates the cultural representations and significations of what it is to be (classified as) a man or a woman. Within the terms of this overall conceptual agreement, it is possible to trace a number of broadly defined schools of thought that have variously dominated theoretical debates on gender during the two final decades of the twentieth century and that continue to exert their influence in critical cultural studies and the social sciences in the early twenty-first century. A provisional distinction can be made between naturalist, social constructionist, and postmodernist approaches to gender on the understanding that considerable overlap exists among these general categories, and furthermore, that such labels can only serve as umbrella terms for realms of thought that can be further differentiated into a great many distinct theoretical models.

The noted predominance of natural attitudes toward gender can be directly connected to the prestige and authority that have generally been attributed to the modern sciences in the European and North American world since their emergence in the eighteenth century. The so-called nature–nurture debate (a shorthand term for discussions about the relative importance of an individual's innate qualities versus personal experiences in determining or causing differences in physical and behavioral

traits), receiving new impetus by recent developments in genetic and sociobiological research, has inevitably played a role in contemporary theories of gender. Still, the most significant differences in conceptualization within gender and sexuality studies have evolved from social constructionist and postmodernist trends in critical thought.

The introduction of the term gender in 1970s European and North American feminism in the first place served to liberate women from their marginalized and oppressed position in society and to expose the idea of natural gender as a male-biased ruse that served to keep women in their subordinate place on the basis of their reproductive capacities. Giving credence to Simone de Beauvoir's (1908–1986) famous dictum, "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (1989, p. 267), gender could be employed as an emancipatory tool that would ultimately allow women equal access to positions of power in society that had hitherto been the privilege of men. If gender is a social and not a natural phenomenon, there is no intrinsic reason why women should be confined to the margins of culture on the grounds of their essential difference from men. With gaining equality as their central aim, early second-wave feminists thus used theories of gender to be assimilated into a social landscape in which biological sex differences would no longer count against their viability in relation to a *universal* standard of humanity.

GENDER DIFFERENCE THEORIES

By the early 1980s a focus on group difference, that is, on a singular identity aspect or subjective category, came to prevail within various projects of critical sociocultural analysis in the European and North American academy. In feminist thought gender became the organizing term for a theoretical and political critique of heteropatriarchal social relations and was used to highlight the additional value and validity of a marginalized, in this case, feminine, perspective. Rather than attempting to include women in a gender-neutral universe in which all people are considered the same, proponents of gender difference theory defend an alternative worldview that not only recognizes but actually foregrounds gender difference as a positive value and as an "antidote to the androcentric organization of society" (Beasley 2005, p. 21). The insistence on the specific positioning of women in society in this context does not necessarily mean that gender becomes renaturalized, or that gender differences are conceived as essential or intrinsic. Especially within the branch of feminist thought known as *sexual difference* thinking, the controlling idea is that gender identities have no meaning or significance in and of themselves, but that *the feminine* represents in cultural terms *difference* from the masculine norm. As Australian political

scientist Chris Beasley maintains, "gender (Feminine and Masculine) is here not so much about the actual characteristics of men and women as the exemplary symbolic register for power and hierarchy in society" (Beasley 2005, p. 21).

Gender difference theories find various equivalents in critical sexuality studies in which a strong focus on lesbian/gay identities equally led to the highlighting and privileging of marginalized perspectives that were suggested to offer more enlightening insights into the operations of heteropatriarchal culture and its underlying system of power relations. It is nonetheless partly as the result of critiques from lesbians, as well as from nonwhite feminist women, that gender difference theories came most severely under attack. Challenging its focus on the singular difference of gender, defined in term of the masculine/feminine dichotomy, lesbians and women of color, from the mid 1980s onward, began to challenge any form of gender theorizing that involved the suppression of other differences, such as differences of sexuality and racial, ethnic, and cultural differences. According to these critics gender categories necessarily function differently within different sociocultural locations and are, moreover, always complexly inflected with racial, ethnic, and sexual meanings. Instead of merely adding such differences, however, to any overarching mode of gender analysis, later scholars dealing with sexuality, as well as race, ethnicity, and imperialism, seek to understand the ways in which gender and other differences operate in mutually constitutive ways. As no aspect of any person's gendered self can be detached from other aspects of her/his subjectivity and social positionality, such theorists recognize that gender, in its various forms and permutations, is always race, as well as sexually and socially, specific.

EVOLVING THEORIES OF GENDER INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The recognition of the mutually constitutive character of multiple differences in the processes by which people acquire their gendered selves is equally central to theories of gender moving beyond the equality versus difference debate and that can be situated within the paradigm of social constructionism, a more general trend of critical thought that became significant in the course of the 1980s. Social constructionist theorists of gender do not regard difference as something that is an intrinsic part or essential aspect of identity/subjectivity, but, instead, the product of power relations. Adopting a view on power inspired by the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault (1926–1984), they see power as both an oppressive and limiting structure, and as the generating force of meaning and knowledge. Criticizing any notion

of identity as fixed or authentic, social constructionists deny the existence of a preexisting core to the self and, instead, assert that identities are made (differently) by the structuring operations of power and knowledge systems, a process in which discursive power is seen to play a preeminent role. Their equivocal position in relation to human essence entails that such theorists reject the emphasis on or highlighting of group identities, be they defined in terms of gender, sexuality, or any other aspect of differentiation. They do not, however, go so far as to reject identity categories as a whole. Acknowledging the potential sedimentation and stability of such categories over time, social constructionist thinkers continue to pay attention to the concrete operations and functions of multiple identity categories in historically and culturally specific material realities.

The most radical theories of gender have come out of postmodern schools of thought that came to predominate both feminist and critical sexuality studies in the 1990s and 2000s. With an overall focus on the multiplicity and instability of differences, postmodern theorists of gender resist any notion of firm or fixed identity categories. On the contrary their major aim is to fundamentally destabilize and denaturalize the notion of identity itself, whether conceived in group or individual terms. Generally, but by no means exclusively, inspired by such queer thinkers as Judith Butler and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, postmodernists propound a largely discursive account of gender construction, emphasizing differences among and within all human beings. The central issue, however, is not the multiple nature or mutually constitutive aspects of categories of difference but, rather, the questioning of the status of differences as such. Conceiving of human beings as the products of both material and discursive power, postmodernist thinkers reject the idea of a self lying behind the expressions and performance of differentiated identities, regarding gender as no more and no less than an obligatory masquerade. Following Friedrich Nietzsche's adage that "'the doer' is merely a fiction added to the deed" (1995), they deny the possibility and existence of a prior, true, or authentic self underneath the embodied practices of gender. Seeing power as a multiple, constitutive force that operates in a variety of ways to produce what subsequently comes to be seen as an interior core or preexisting identity, postmodernists conceive of gender as no more than the effect of power and, as such, as a performative act that ostensibly calls into being what it is supposed to express. Formulated in thoroughly antiessentialist terms, postmodern notions of gender not only deny any ulterior truth behind identity, they also implicitly reject the supposition of subjective agency on which the initial distinction between biological sex and cultural gender was founded.

Indeed, the widespread acceptance in feminist discourse from the 1980s onward of the concept of gender as a technical term for the socially constructed aspects of femininity and masculinity—as distinct from biologically determined differences between men and women—has, paradoxically, led to a more general adoption of gender as a simple synonym for that from which it was supposed to mark itself off. This is partly the result of the fact that it has proved difficult to maintain such a distinction, especially in situations in which processes of gender appeared to involve an interaction between biology and culture. Another reason the conceptual distinction between the two terms has become increasingly blurred might be that, given the relative semantic indeterminacy of gender, scholars who were not so familiar with the divergent emphases in feminist debates about its meanings "interpreted gender as a simple synonym for sex and adopted it as such in their own writings" (Haig 2004, p. 94). In postmodern theories of gender, the deconstruction of the sex/gender distinction is not, however, so much the result of explanatory inadequacy or simple confusion but a deliberate attempt to call into question the presumed naturalness of not only the categories of gender and sexuality but also those of sex and the sexed body.

Following Butler's cautionary observation that "'being' a sex or a gender is fundamentally impossible" (Butler 1990, p. 19), postmodernist thinkers understand gender not as a noun or a set of attributes of a previously sexed, presocial body but, instead, as a series of acts, repeated over time, that constitutes the corporeal identity that it purports to be. Instead of seeing the sexed body as a text upon which culture inscribes its gendered meanings, Butler defines gender as the process that constructs the internal coherence of sex, (hetero)sexual desire, and (hetero)sexual practice in the subject: "Gender is the discursive/cultural means by which 'sexed nature' or 'natural sex' is produced and established as 'prediscursive,' prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on which culture acts" (Butler 1990, p. 7). The stylized repetition of gender-inflected actions, words, and gestures through time gradually gives the actor the feeling of naturalness of the body and of heterosexuality that is required in modern societies.

Functioning as a regulatory regime, gender in Butler's work becomes the causal force of (what is presumed to be natural) sex, so that what was believed to be sex in earlier modes of gender theory, in postmodern discourses is established as the product of the operations of gender. Within this framework gender itself is conceived as the effect of power structures, organized in institutions, practices, and discourses that regulate and establish its various shapes and meanings. The most important sites at which gender itself is produced,

according to Butler, are the mutually reinforcing systems of, on the one hand, *phallogocentrism*, a neologism coined by French philosopher Jacques Derrida referring to the perceived tendency of European and North American thought to locate the center of any text or discourse within the *logos*—Greek for word, reason, or spirit—and the phallus, a representation of the male genitalia, and, on the other hand, compulsory heterosexuality. The taboo against homosexuality thus ultimately comes to account for the naturalization of the body in gendered terms, whereas gender, as the repetition of a series of stylized acts, simultaneously becomes the cultural force that generates the belief in the naturalness of heterosexuality. As the central organizing principle of gender, heterosexuality in Butler's thought constitutes the *epistemic regime* that drives the division of humans into male and female, and that structures our understanding of the body as biological.

Although Butler has acquired a central position in contemporary gender theory, her work has neither been unquestionably adopted nor remained unchallenged. Especially with regard to the political efficacy of her model—which leaves little, if any, room for the contestation of existing gender regimes—as well as the place of the body in her work, this extreme form of antiessentialist and antihumanist theorizing has urged other thinkers to point up the need to "supplement her account with insights from psychoanalytic and materialist theorists" of gender, and to "attempt to weave these strands together in . . . discussions of sexuality, the body, transgendering, and the politics of identity" (Alsop et al. 2002, p.7). Nonetheless, the influence of Butler's performative model of gender supplemented with the destabilization of the links between sex and gender by queer theorists has opened up possibilities for such multiple and indeterminate sex/gender/sexual positionings that subsequent theories of gender cannot but result in the further deconstruction of what were for a long time believed to be stable, universal facts of nature.

SEE ALSO *Body, Theories of; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Sexuality.*

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renée c. hoogland

GENET, JEAN
1910–1986

Jean Genet was one of the most important literary figures of the twentieth century, and one of the most important writers of works dealing with gender and homosexuality. His creative life can be divided roughly into three periods: 1940 through 1949; 1950 through 1966; and 1967

through 1986. The first period is dominated by his five novels, in which Genet creates mythical universes of male characters with homoerotic desires. The hero(ine) of Genet's first novel, *Our Lady of the Flowers* (1944), is one of literature's most famous transgendered characters. This character, whose birth name was Lou Culafroy, adopts the name Divine, and vacillates throughout the novel between masculine and feminine gender identities. The narrator of the novel insists that there is no real, true gender for Divine, that his or her gender is constantly in flux, and is contingent on her state of mind and her surroundings. Thus, Divine's gender is performative in a way that author Judith Butler would describe more than forty years later.

Genet's second novel, *Miracle of the Rose* (1946), is the tale of a young convict's journeys through reformatories and prisons. It describes in great detail the complex homoerotic situations that occur in prison—another groundbreaking theme. Genet's third novel, *Funeral Rites* (1949), set during World War II (1939–1945), is also his most controversial. In it, he valorizes the virility of the conquering German army, and revels in France's ignominious capitulation. As with *Miracle of the Rose*, the novel deals with the presence of homoeroticism in exclusively male environments—this time the world of the soldier.

Genet's fourth novel is his least autobiographical, most traditional narrative. It is perhaps for this reason that it is Genet's only novel to be transferred to the cinema, in the form of Rainer Werner Fassbinder's (1945–1982) well-known 1982 film *Querelle*. The novel of the same name, which was published in 1947, is the story of the sexual adventures of the sailor Querelle, who accepts the fact that he is attracted to men, but struggles throughout the novel with implications of this attraction—above all what it means to be called a *pédé* (a faggot). Genet's first four novels show a wide range of possible subject positions for men who desire men, which ultimately undermines the reductive notion that the term *homosexual* is a useful ontological category.

Genet's last novel, *The Thief's Journal* (1949), is a fictionalized retelling of his life as a vagabond wandering Europe in the 1930s. In it, Genet explores the questions of what it means to be a writer and a homosexual. It is here that Genet most explicitly states his ethos: He stands for everything that is antithetical to the French state. Instead of the French national ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity, Genet values homosexuality, crime, and betrayal. More than just effecting a simple inversion of bourgeois French mores, all of Genet's works investigate how values are created, and the tension at work between all binaries. Genet always takes up the less valued element of pairs such as black and white, gay and straight, and masculine and feminine in order to first invert, then
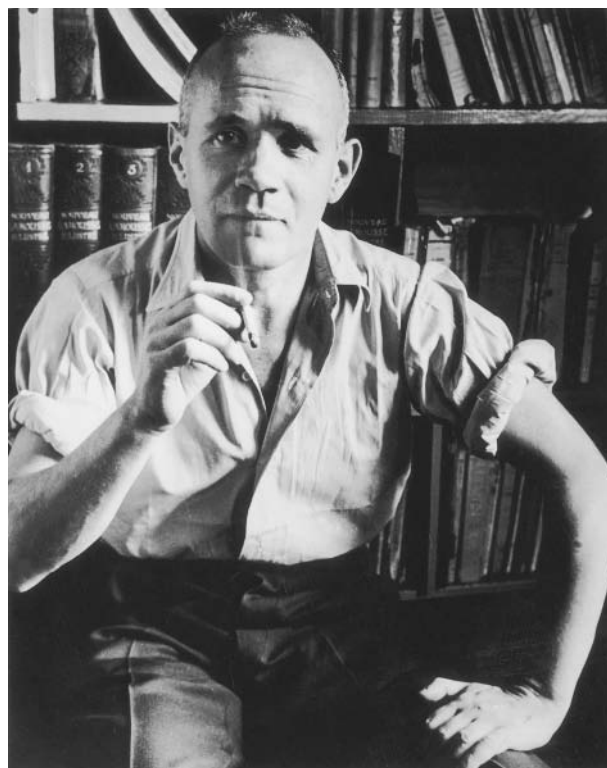
Jean Genet. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

ultimately flatten the hierarchy imposed on them by French language and culture.

The beginning of Genet's second creative period is marked by the 1952 publication of his complete works to date, with an introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980). Sartre's introduction would expand into a 600-page work, *Saint Genet: Comedian and Martyr*, and quickly be recognized as one of the most important works ever written by one writer about another. In it, Sartre performs an existential psychoanalysis of Genet, intending to find the root cause of Genet's homosexuality. The exhaustive examination of Genet's life is rumored to have stopped Genet in his tracks, unsure what more there was left for him to do in the realm of the novel. His answer was to return to the theater.

He had already had success with his 1946 play, *The Maids*, which was loosely based on the famous 1933 murder by the Papin sisters of the woman who employed them as maids. In their rehearsals of their plot to kill their mistress, Claire and Solange work through issues of class and gender, with an undercurrent of lesbian eroticism running through their relationship. In his next play, *The Balcony* (1956), Genet examines the power of the erotic relationships enacted through role-playing in a brothel. In his last two plays, *The Blacks* (1958) and

The Screens (1963 [1961]), Genet focuses on relationships of power between colonizer and colonized, and also between men and women, specifically showing how these relationships are enacted through language. In all of his theatrical work, Genet investigates the constructed nature of reality, and the notion that our means of understanding the world in which we live is always subjective.

Genet's last period of work (after 1967) was largely devoted to occasional pieces defending first the Black Panther Party, then the Palestinian cause, which would be the subject of his last book, *Un Chant d'amour*. Curiously, though he wrote copiously about other minority groups, Genet never wrote essays devoted to gay, lesbian, or transsexual rights. Genet never had an interest in assimilation; he was a solitary figure, who believed that the human condition was also a solitary one. He never had a desire to be a part of any group or identity, and no interest in arguing to make queer people part of the mainstream. In this way, he lived his life true to the existential principles that underlie the modern formulation of queer sensibility: resist definition, constantly evolve, provoke, and challenge the status quo.

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

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Drew Jones

GENETICS AND GENDER

The words *gene* and *gender* both come from the same Greek word *genos*, meaning birth, origin, race, species, or class. Genes are the ordered bits of chemical information composed of DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) that direct all of the bodily processes from the conception and development of an organism to the processes necessary to sustain life. Genes are located on chromosomes in every cell in the body. Human bodies have twenty-three paired chromosomes in cell nuclei. How the two chromosomes in each pair work together defines the kinds of traits (eye color, skin tone, hair type, body shape, metabolism, muscle type) individuals may have and contribute to or even cause

potential weaknesses (heart disease, arthritis, cancer) individuals may experience through their lives. There is also DNA in other parts of cells called *mitochondria*, which are energy-producing "organelles" in each cell.

Genes are passed from parents to children in the gametes (eggs and sperm) that join to make new beings. Although human body cells typically reproduce themselves by a process called *mitosis* in which the cell divides and replicates its full quota of twenty-three chromosome pairs, germ cells—which are the cells involved in reproduction—are produced by a process called *meiosis* in which each germ cell receives only one side of each of the cell's twenty-three pairs of chromosomes. In human reproduction, each parent contributes a gamete, or germ cell, produced through meiosis. The mother contributes an egg that is a complete cell with one-half of each of the twenty-three chromosome pairs. The father contributes a sperm that consists of twenty-three half chromosomes contained in a nucleus-like head with a tail. The twenty-three single chromosomes from one gamete then pair up with the twenty-three single chromosomes from the other gamete to form a new full set of twenty-three chromosome pairs.

The twenty-third pair of chromosomes determines an individual's sex (maleness or femaleness). This chromosome comes in two versions: an X chromosome and a Y chromosome. If an individual has two X chromosomes, then, assuming a normal fetal development, that individual will be female with female genitals and reproductive organs (vagina, uterus, ovaries). If an individual has an X chromosome and a Y chromosome, then, assuming a normal fetal development, that individual will be male with male genitals and reproductive organs (prostate, testes).

Because females have only the X chromosome in pair 23, when they produce germ cells through meiosis, their gametes will have only an X chromosome. Because males have both an X and a Y chromosome in that pair, they will produce sperm with either an X chromosome or a Y chromosome. The type of chromosome contained in the sperm, then, will determine the sex of any new individual in combination with the female's X. This means that all Y chromosomes come from fathers. Because the mother's egg is a complete cell, new individuals will inherit mitochondrial DNA only from the mother.

In other species, sex is sometimes determined in ways other than through sex chromosomes. Many insects, such as grasshoppers and roaches, have only an X chromosome. Females have two X chromosomes and males have only one. In birds, butterflies, and some fish, the sex of offspring is determined by the female rather than the male contribution. Females have the sex genotype of ZW, while males have the sex genotype of ZZ. Bees and ants have no sex chromosomes at all. In these species

if an egg is fertilized, it becomes a female. If it is unfertilized, it may develop into a male.

SEX CHROMOSOME VARIATIONS

Occasionally during meiosis, there is an error in the splitting of the chromosomes present in future germ cells. Sometimes there is an extra copy of a chromosome so that there are three chromosomes where there should be two (XYY instead of XY, for example). The presence of three chromosomes is called a trisomy, and trisomies often cause problems. Down syndrome, for example, has a trisomy in chromosome 21. Sometimes there is no copy of a sex chromosome, which results in a fetus with only one chromosome 23. Most errors of this sort do not produce viable fetuses. Because trisomies in the sex chromosome tend to cause less severe problems, more fetuses with trisomies and other abnormalities in the sex chromosomes survive.

Having too many or not enough sex chromosomes results in a variety of syndromes and abnormalities. In females, the absence of one X chromosome results in Turner syndrome. Most females with an XO genotype do not survive. Those who do are often mosaics, that is, their genotype varies between XO and XX. This syndrome is relatively rare, occurring in only 1 in 3,000 to 1 in 5,000 births. If these females survive, they tend to be short in stature, with webbed necks, out-turned elbows, high-arched palates, and small jaws. They are prone to thyroid disease, and they may suffer slight mental retardation. They are sterile, as they do not develop normal ovaries nor do they ovulate. They do not develop normal secondary sex characteristics, having small, widely spaced breasts. Girls with Turner syndrome can be treated for its symptoms. Human growth hormone may help them grow taller, and estrogen replacement at puberty will begin menstruation and promote the growth of more normal breasts.

Females who inherit an extra X chromosome are called metafemales or triple-X females. Their genotype is XXX, but can be XXXX or even XXXXX. Metafemales are usually the children of older mothers, and the incidence of this is approximately 1 in 1,000 births. Metafemales do not look much different from XX females. They are fertile, but are generally taller and more slender than their XX counterparts, with longer legs. They may have low intelligence, have learning difficulties, or be perceived as slow learners because of their height when they are young, since they are often perceived to be older than they actually are.

Males with chromosome abnormalities generally suffer either from Klinefelter syndrome or Jacob syndrome (also called XYY syndrome). In Klinefelter syndrome, a male inherits an extra X chromosome, making his genotype XXY or even XXXY, XXXXY, or XY/XXY mosaic
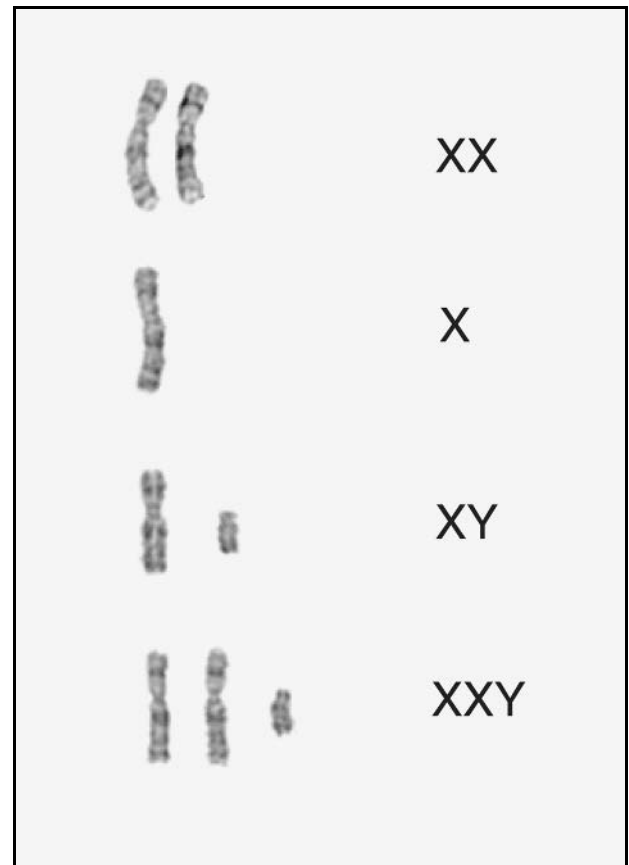
Sex Chromosomes. *Sex chromosomes showing different complements associated with different phenotypes: 1: two X chromosomes, normal female; 2: an X and a Y, normal male; 3: one X chromosome, a Turner syndrome female; 4: two X and one Y, a Klinefelter male.* **ILLUSTRATION BY ARGOSY PUBLISHING. THE GALE GROUP.**

(a mixture of genotypes). One of the most common chromosomal abnormalities (1 in 500 to 1 in 1,000 births), Klinefelter syndrome may pass almost unnoticed, or may be expressed as effeminacy accompanied by severe mental retardation, depending on the number of X chromosomes present. Males with Klinefelter syndrome produce very small amounts of testosterone and as a result have small testes and prostate and are nearly sterile. They often have high voices, little body hair, and a more effeminate body shape, and may develop breasts. They are also, like metafemales, taller than average, but they may also be heavier. They have learning difficulties when young, especially with language, but can usually function easily in society, especially if they are treated with testosterone at puberty. Males with Klinefelter syndrome have normal sexual function, can have erections and ejaculate, but may evince less interest in sex. They have a slightly higher likelihood of developing diabetes and osteoporosis.

Although males with XXXXY genotypes have been understood as a variant of Klinefelter syndrome, this genotype is increasingly recognized as its own genetic condition. XXXXY males are characterized by small gonads, micro penis, mental deficiency, speech impairments, hyperextensive joints, low birth weight, and other skeletal anomalies.

Another variant of Klinefelter syndrome now treated as distinct is XXYY syndrome. These boys, with the genotype XXYY, display a range of characteristics including taller than average height, learning disabilities, speech and language impairment, flat feet, scoliosis, delayed sexual development, low testosterone, and developmental delays. Rarer than Klinefelter syndrome, XXYY syndrome occurs in only 1 out every 17,000 births.

Males with an extra Y chromosome have Jacob syndrome, sometimes called XYY syndrome. These boys have an XYY genotype and appear normal. Occurring in between 1 and 900 to 1 in 2,000 births, XYY syndrome boys tend to be taller than average, with high levels of testosterone, acne, and poor coordination. They are fertile and have normal sexual function. There are some claims that XYY males are more disposed to aggressivity and violence. Defense lawyers have attempted to use the genotype as a defense for criminal behavior, but unsuccessfully.

HERMAPHRODITISM AND INTERSEXUALITY

Occasionally, but very rarely, errors in germ cell production result in a fetus with both XX and XY genotypes simultaneously. The presence of both genotypes in the body causes the development of both male and female sex organs. Externally, the fetus may develop a penis, but testes are usually underdeveloped and undescended. Often the external genitalia are ambiguous, with fused labia, a clitoris that looks like a penis, a penis that is underdeveloped, or a vaginal opening without a complete vagina. Ovaries, vagina, and uterus will develop internally but may consist of an ovary on one side and a testis on the other, or a testis or ovary on one side and an ovo-testis (a mixture of ovary and testicle) on the other. Until recently most doctors thought that the external genitalia of intersexuals needed to conform to one sex or another. In addition to surgeries necessary to correct life-threatening conditions, doctors often performed more cosmetic corrections that would make hermaphrodites conform to one sex.

Genes other than those comprising the twenty-third pair of chromosomes can affect the sexual development of embryos, making them appear to be a sex different than that indicated by their genotype. Androgen insensitivity syndrome (AIS), for example, is a condition in which XY fetuses that have begun at the eighth week to develop testes, do not continue to develop normal male genitalia because their body tissues cannot use the androgens their testes produce. A genetically male individual will have the appearance of a female. AIS is caused by a faulty androgen receptor gene located on the X chromosome. The syndrome is thus passed onto genetically male children by the mother.

There are two forms of AIS: complete and partial. In complete AIS the body's tissues are completely insensitive to androgens, and the body develops as a female without internal sexual organs. In partial AIS some tissues are sensitive to androgen, but in varying degrees. Individuals with partial AIS have a range of external genitalia from normal male external genitalia and infertility to genitals that appear to be female with an enlarged clitoris or even genitals that appear to be completely female. AIS comes with a higher risk of cancer affecting especially the unformed testicular tissue still in the body. This tissue is generally removed at an early age to prevent further problems.

Another genetic disorder, congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH), encompasses several different conditions in which the steroid cortisol is not produced, causing the overproduction of other steroids. Female fetuses with this recessive trait produce too many steroids and often develop genitals that appear to be male, with large clitorises or even penises. Such females are often mistaken for boys at birth. Girls with CAH often have low rates of fertility.

SEX-LINKED DISORDERS

The X and Y chromosomes of pair 23 are not of equal size, though together they are responsible for most sex-based characteristics. The X chromosome is much larger than the Y and has more genes. The genes located on chromosome 23 manage the development of genitals and gonads, the timing of puberty, the production of sex hormones, and the appearance of secondary sex characteristics. Their management of these processes, however, does not come only from direct instruction, but also as an effect of being or not being paired with another gene on the pairing chromosome (X with X, X with Y). Because the Y chromosome is much shorter than the X chromosome, portions of the X chromosome have no correlative gene on the Y. This means that certain traits, such as color blindness, hemophilia, Duchenne muscular dystrophy, and fragile X syndrome—the genes for which are located on the X chromosome—have no corresponding version on the shorter Y. Thus, these traits are exhibited primarily by male children and are inherited from the mother. In some disorders, females are also affected, but often not as severely because they have another copy

of the X gene that may still function. The X chromosome is linked to more than three hundred diseases, more than any other chromosome, including not only sex-linked conditions, but also disorders such as cleft palate and chronic granulomatous disease; it may also contain the genes for longevity.

Color blindness occurs because the gene for normal color vision occurs on the X chromosome. If XN stands for the gene for normal vision and Xn stands for the gene for color blindness, then a male with the genotype XnY would be color blind, while a male with the genotype XNY would have normal vision. A female with the genotype XNXn would have normal vision but would be a carrier of the color-blindness trait. Females can inherit color blindness, but only if their fathers are color blind and their mothers are carriers. The genotype of a color-blind female would be XnXn.

People with hemophilia, called hemophiliacs, lack the blood-clotting factor VIII. As with color blindness, women carry the recessive gene on the X chromosome and so are rarely affected by the condition themselves, unless they inherit two versions of the gene, one from a hemophiliac father. Queen Victoria was a carrier of this recessive gene, so her sons had a 50/50 chance of having hemophilia. One of Victoria's sons and three of her grandsons were hemophiliacs, and two daughters were carriers.

Duchenne muscular dystrophy is a condition in which males lack the gene for producing a key muscle protein called dystrophin. This gene, too, is located on the X chromosome. Males with Duchenne muscular dystrophy are afflicted by a weakening of the muscles and a loss of coordination, dying in early adulthood. This condition occurs in approximately in 1 in every 3,500 births.

Fragile X syndrome involves a mutation in a gene for producing a protein necessary for proper cell, especially brain cell, development and functioning. This gene, located on the X chromosome, generally affects intelligence in male children, though females with one copy of the gene will also have reduced mental capacity. Those with fragile X syndrome often have large ears, long faces, and some problems with emotion and behavior. The mutation causing fragile X syndrome occurs in the number of repeated sequences that tell a gene when to turn on and turn off. Fragile X syndrome involves a larger than normal number of repeats, which slows down or prevents the operation of the gene.

GENES AND GENDERED BEHAVIOR

Some researchers believe that genes influence the development of the brain differently in females and males. They attribute certain traits that have come to be understood as gender stereotypes to differences in brain structure and function. Thus, for example, having more precocious linguistic abilities or having the ability to gauge spatial relations may not be an effect of children being nurtured as girls or boys, but may be hard-wired into the structures of differently sexed brains. Some of the evidence that suggests that genderings are genetic comes from the experiences of intersexed babies who are reassigned a sex opposite to that of their genotype. As these children grow older, they often wish to become the other sex, even though they have most often never been told about their genotypes.

Within the last ten years research on the sex chromosomes has shown that there is a substantial difference in the way as many as three hundred genes on the X chromosome are activated between males and females. Scientists suggest that males and females may differ by as much as 2 percent of their genome. This difference is greater than the difference between humans and chimpanzees.

Other researchers attribute differences in brain function and sex identifications to the actions of hormones during fetal development. These researchers point to the ways genetic males and females will manifest abilities linked to the other sex and will often prefer cross-gendered behaviors. Some of the evidence that suggests that hormones are also influential comes from the range of behaviors and identifications genetically and somatically normal people seem to display.

Ideas about the genetic or hormonal basis for gender differences contravene earlier ideas that gender was learned through culture or nurture. The early-twenty-first-century consensus seems to be that sex and gender are formed through a complex interaction of genes, hormones, and nurture that generally aligns genotypes with bodies and with behaviors that comply with normative gender concepts.

DIFFERENCES WITHIN SEXES

Genes do not, however, affect only differences between the sexes. They also seem to produce a range of differences within both women and men. The large number of variations in the distribution of genes on the X chromosome produces a wide range of differences among women themselves. Researchers have also discovered that, although generally in women one copy of the genes on the X chromosome is turned off, in some women more genes are still activated on both copies, producing even more variation. These variations may account for differences in the ways women react to drugs or their vulnerability to disease. They may also account for differences in preferences, activities, and degrees of feminization, although these qualities are also determined at least in part by the cultural models and opportunities available.

Both Y chromosomes and the mitochondrial DNA passed from mothers to children also enable scientists to trace different groups of people. Y chromosomes, passed only from fathers to sons, change little, and these changes tend to accompany surnames. Only the gradual accumulation of mutations differentiates separate groups of males. By looking at Y chromosomes, researchers have been able to trace the movements of groups of people across continents and through history. They have also posited the existence of a "Y-chromosomal Adam" as a forefather of most living beings.

The mitochondrial DNA passed on by mothers also is only altered by the slow accumulation of mutations. Some researchers have posited the existence of an originary mother figure, called "Mitochondrial Eve" or sometimes "African Eve," supporting the idea that all humans emerged from a single African ancestor. Mitochondrial Eve is much older than Y-chromosomal Adam. Both figures are disputed hypotheses.

SEE ALSO *Gender Identity.*

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Judith Roof

GENIES

SEE *Jinn.*

GENITALIA, AS APOTROPAIC

The term *apotropaic genitals* refers to instances in which exhibitions or representations of female or male genitals are deployed to fend off evil. The adjective *apotropaic* comes from the Greek *apotrope*, meaning "to turn away." The category of apotropaic genitals is part of a larger set of practices called apotropaic magic that consists of rituals and other symbols or mythologized practices that are

believed to turn away evil. Apotropaic symbols other than genitals include objects such as horseshoes (for good luck); protective amulets in Japan; the "evil eye" in Greece, Turkey, and Arab countries; mirrors to deflect evil; crucifixes; garlic; and silver bullets.

FEMALE GENITALIA

Many cultures around the world have used genitals, representations of genitals, or symbols of genitals in ritual practices to fend off evil or inclement weather, in architecture to keep evil away, and in wars as a defensive strategy. Linked in many cultures to childbirth and creation, female genitalia are potently apotropaic, though they may have dangerous effects as well. In ancient Greece a woman exposing her genitals was believed to drive away devils, evil spirits, and ill-willed deities; scare attacking troops; keep dangerous animals at bay; and calm the elements, including whirlwinds and lightning. Both Pliny and Plutarch described instances of soldierly flight in the face of exposed female genitals, and Plutarch wrote accounts of women calming storms and defeating massed enemies. The folklore of Catalonia includes references to the ways in which female genitals can calm the sea. Fishermen's wives made a practice of exposing themselves to the waves before each fishing trip. Italians and people from India also believed in such apotropaic powers, and Russian folklore includes stories about how women exposing their genitals scared away bears. In Russia as well as the rest of Europe towns were protected from evil by a ritual in which women plowed a symbolic furrow around the town.

Female genital shapes also adorn or align with the structure of buildings as a way of warding off evil. In the Micronesian island nation of Palau the gables of village meeting houses display wooden sculptures of nude women exposing their genitals. The construction of those figures is accomplished by specialists who are assigned the ritual task of producing the figures in accordance with rules that guarantee the efficacy of their protective powers. The archlike shape of female genitals made them a symbol of welcome and fecundity while they simultaneously performed their apotropaic function.

In Ireland, England, and Switzerland church builders placed stone statues of squatting women in the keystone spot of the arch for the door or an important window of the church. Possibly left over from previous practices of goddess worship, those statues often depicted the women with their legs apart, holding their vulvas open with their hands. In Ireland the practice of using figures called *Sheelagh-na-gig* was widespread. As in the gable figures of Palau, their function was to ward off evil.

Instances of apotropaic female genitals also make an appearance in literature. François Rabelais wrote a story

about how the Devil was routed by an old woman's exhibition of herself. A fable of La Fontaine recounts how a young woman defeats the Devil and saves her town by lifting her skirt.

MALE GENITALIA

Symbols and figures of male genitals also serve apotropiac functions, warding off evil and fending off aggression. In ancient Greece phalli were carved above doorways to protect homes, and phallic sculptures appeared throughout Greece. The island of Delos, reputed to be the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis, was famous for its statutes of phalli. Throughout the Mediterranean region both Greeks and Romans used phallic figures to protect valuable resources such as grain cisterns. The apotropaic qualities of the phallus derive from the ways in which it represents the idea of strength and manliness evoked to protect communities and their assets.

Ancient Japan looked to a group of gods called the *Sahe no Kami,* or preventive gods, to protect believers against beings from the underworld. The preventive gods were presented as giant phalli that were erected along highways, at the ends of bridges, and at crossroads to impede the passage of evil beings. The phalli became the protectors of travelers who would pray to them for safe passage and offer them rice and hemp. Recently the phalli were taken down to avoid offending Western travelers who associated them with obscenity. Though they are not consciously regarded as apotropaic, the city of Amsterdam is bedecked with thousands of roadside phalli that mark roads and protect pedestrians.

Perhaps the most frequently used contemporary apotropaic phallic symbol is the gesture popularly referred to as "the finger." Although often used as a signal of anger, disdain, and even disgust, the finger and its many variations are also apotropiac, warding off threats, responding to aggression, and serving as a warning.

A more complicated version of the finger, the sign of the "horns," is produced by extending the index finger and little finger. This is also an apotropaic figuration of the phallus, though in a less directly evident manner. The sign of the horn refers simultaneously to the prowess of a bull (fecund masculinity) and to the horns that signify that a man has been cuckolded (his wife has had sexual relations with another man). The display of the fingers as horns wards off cuckolding while celebrating masculine empowerment. More recently it came to signify the rock-on rebel spirit of bikers, rock fans, and extreme sports enthusiasts. Phallic versions of the horn also adorn the necks of young men who wear them to proclaim their virility and ward off evil.

Although contemporary apotropaic devices may be less obviously genital, they still exist and are used to protect wearers and citizens. Devices such as crystals, evil eyes, and rabbits' feet combine luck with protection in ways that recall the genital origins of some of those devices.

SEE ALSO *Folklore.*

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Judith Roof

GENITALS, FEMALE

Though the female genitals (or genitalia) are often narrowly defined as only those tissues and organs involved in reproduction that are visible on the outside of the body (the external or primary genitalia), broader definitions include internal (or secondary) sex organs as well. Some definitions include the breasts (mammary tissue) within the scope of female genitals because of their function in lactation following childbirth. External genitalia includes the vulva (pudendum); the labia (Latin for lips) majora and minora; the clitoris (a small and highly sensitive organ composed of erectile tissue that engorges with blood and grows larger upon sexual arousal); the clitoral hood (or prepuce); the mons pubis; and the urethra (the tube that carries urine out of the body). The internal genitalia consist of the ovaries (female gonads); fallopian tubes (or oviducts, uterine tube, or salpinges); uterus (or womb); Skene's glands; Bartholin's glands; and the vagina (or birth canal).

PHYSIOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF THE INTERNAL FEMALE GENITALS

The internal genitals are located within the female pelvis between the bladder and the rectum. The uterus and vagina are situated in the midline of the lower abdomen. One of a pair of ovaries lies on either side of the uterus and connects to it by way of the fallopian tubes. These internal organs are supported by ligaments (notably the broad ligament).

The ovaries are a pair of small, almond-shaped glands with a puckered uneven surface. They are analogous to the testes in males in that they are the sex organ responsible for producing the gametes (or sex cells—the ovum in women and the sperm in men whose union, known as fertilization, is a necessary step for human reproduction). The broad ligament holds the ovary in the pelvis. This ligament is attached to the peritoneum, a membrane that separates the pelvic region from the abdominal organs. Two other ligaments support the ovaries: the suspensory ligaments which attach the ovary to the lateral wall of the pelvic region and the ovarian ligaments which attach it to the top part of the uterus. Veins, arteries, and nerves that supply the ovary travel through the suspensory ligament. The outer layer of the ovaries is made up of a dense connective tissue that contains the ovarian follicles, each of which encloses an oocyte (or egg, the cell that eventually becomes the ovum). Female infants are born with all the oocytes the body will use in a lifetime. These begin developing by dividing at the subcellular level (through meiosis) but will not complete the process until ovulation begins after puberty. These immature (or primary) oocytes and their surrounding tissues (granulosa cells) make up the primary follicle. At birth the ovaries contains roughly 1 million primary follicles. From then until puberty, that number falls to about 300,000 to 400,000. Of this number, only about 400 will continue the maturation process and be released from the ovary during a process called ovulation. All remaining follicles will eventually degenerate.

During childhood the ovaries remain inactive until the age of nine or ten when the anterior pituitary gland in the brain begins secreting hormones that initiate puberty. This is associated with the growth of the ovaries, which then begin secreting feminizing hormones (notably estrogens and progesterones). The dramatic increase in these hormones stimulates the growth and function of the primary sexual characteristics (including the ovaries, fallopian tubes, uterus, and vagina) as well as the secondary sexual characteristics (such as hair distribution and breast development). The external genitalia including the vulva and labia majora and minora also grow to mature size.

After puberty, fluctuations in hormone levels from the anterior pituitary cause one ovarian follicle each month to develop and a consequent increase in hormone secretion by the cells surrounding the follicle. This increase in turn causes the follicle to grow larger until changes in hormonal stimulation cause it to blister and rupture resulting in ovulation. What remains of the follicle becomes the corpus luteum, which secretes hormones that will support a pregnancy (should it occur) through the first three months (after which time its function is replaced by the placenta—a large gland that grows at the site of embryo implantation in the uterus). If no pregnancy occurs, the corpus luteum degenerates causing a subsequent drop in the level of hormones formerly secreted by the now-degenerating tissue. This triggers the start of menstruation—the sloughing of the inner (or endometrial) lining of the uterus. This cycle of hormonal fluctuation, ovulation, and menstruation continues on average every twenty-eight days until menopause (around the age of fifty) when the ovaries stop producing enough hormones to sustain the reproductive cycle.

After ovulation, the oocyte is released into the pelvic cavity adjacent to the end of the fallopian tube. The ovarian end of the tube flairs out, and its opening is fringed by long thin fimbriae that surround the surface of the ovary. Cilia on the fimbriae propel the ovulated oocyte into the fallopian tube where fertilization may occur if sperm is present. (Tubal ligation by surgically cutting away or tying off a portion of the fallopian tubes is an elective method of birth control, which works by preventing the sperm from reaching the egg.) After fertilization, the newly formed embryo continues through the fallopian tube to the uterus. Unfertilized ova also continue through to the uterus where they are expelled with the menstrual fluids.

The uterus is the major reproductive organ in females. In its mature and nonpregnant state, it is roughly the size and shape of a pear—with its upper and larger, rounded end (or body) connected to the fallopian tubes (at the uterine fundus), and its lower aspect, or the cervix, located at the bottom and opening into the vagina. The uterus is composed of three main layers: an outer (or serous) layer made of peritoneal tissue; a middle muscular layer (the myometrium); and an inner endometrium. The uterus' primary function is to provide a protective and nourishing environment for the fertilized ovum. Blood vessels from the endometrium specifically supply the placenta that in turn supports the embryo, which later develops into a fetus. It does this by going through cyclic changes that help improve the chances that an embryo will successfully implant in the lining of the uterine cavity. The inner two linings of the uterus undergo profound changes during the menstrual cycle due to the effects of the hormones estrogen and progesterone. Estrogen stimulates the rapid growth of both the myometrium and endometrium. Progesterone then stimulates the endometrial layer to thicken with an increased supply of blood vessels and to begin secreting a sugar-like substance in order to provide a hospitable and nourishing environment for the implantation of the embryo.

Beneath the uterus is the vagina, a three to four inch fibro-muscular tube that attaches to the lower part of the uterus and extends to the vulvar opening. Its opening is often covered by a thin layer of tissue, the hymen, which

generally stretches or tears during a female's first sexual intercourse (coitus), through the use of tampons, or as a result of trauma. The vagina is the female sex organ for intercourse in that it allows the entry of the penis that, when ejaculation occurs, provides a conduit for the sperm to travel up through the uterus and into the fallopian tubes to fertilize the ovum. The vaginal walls are much thinner than those of the uterus, and they are lined with mucous membranes that moisten and provide lubrication for the act of intercourse. The vagina also provides a canal through which the infant travels from the uterus to the outside during childbirth. When pregnancy does not occur, the pathway allows the monthly menstrual flow to exit the body. Though the vaginal walls are usually collapsed upon themselves, the outer muscular layer readily expands to allow the penis to enter into the vaginal canal. These muscles are capable of stretching enough to allow the passage of a full-term infant during childbirth. The presence of estrogen makes the lining of the vagina more resilient to trauma and better able to avoid infection. Inside the anterior (or frontal) aspect of the vaginal wall behind the pubic bone is an area of spongy and highly sensitive tissue known as the Gräfenberg spot (or G-spot, for the German doctor who identified it) that can be a source of sexual arousal when stroked or stimulated. It is associated with the Skene's glands, which open near the vestibule (the space into which the vagina and urethra open) near the urethra. These glands are homologous to the prostate gland in males and may be the source of a female ejaculate (though there is controversy in the medical community about the existence of both the G-spot and female ejaculation).

Another pair of glands, the Bartholin glands, is located just within the entrance and on either side of the vagina. These glands produce a waxy substance that may contribute to vaginal lubrication and may also produce pheromones (natural chemicals emitted to attract members of the same species).

PHYSIOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF THE EXTERNAL FEMALE GENITALS

The vulva is the external and visible part of the female genitalia that lies at the opening of the vagina. It is composed of the vestibule and its associated tissues and structures. The vulvar opening is lined by two thin, skin folds called the labia minora. These inner folds run longitudinally along the vaginal opening and meet at its anterior aspect to form a hood that covers the clitoris. Masters and Johnson (1966) point out that the clitoris is the only organ in humans whose sole purpose is to provide erotic pleasure). The inner labia also meet at the bottom of the vestibule at the fourchette, which is

next to the anus. The tissue between the anal opening and the vagina is called the perineum. This tissue is often surgically cut (in an episiotomy) during vaginal childbirth to help prevent tearing during the birth process. Next to the labia minor lie the outermost folds, the labia majora. These are generally larger in size and are usually covered with pubic hair. The labia minora may naturally be completely contained within the folds of the labia majora, or they may extend below. Labiaplasty is a controversial procedure where women surgically alter the appearance of the labia to make them appear more like an "aesthetic ideal."

The mons pubis is a soft mound of flesh made of fatty tissue and located just over the pubic bone. The function of this tissue is to protect the bone beneath it. Like the labia majora, it is usually covered with pubic hair.

The urethra in females functions only to transport urine from the bladder to outside the body. It is located in the vulva between the opening of the vagina and the clitoris. Because it is so close to the anogenital area, the incidence of urinary tract infections (UTI or cystitis) is common in females.

DISEASES OF THE FEMALE GENITALS

Adhesive disease is a condition that is usually the result of an inflammatory process, such as pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) or other intra-abdominal inflammations (such as Crohn's Disease or those resulting post-surgically). Other common causes are endometriosis or history of recurrent ovarian cyst ruptures. Symptoms may include pelvic pain; dysmenorrhea (painful periods); infertility; painful intercourse; and (in severe forms) bowel or urinary obstructions. Treatment is difficult because adhesions often reform after surgical excision.

Benign ovarian cysts are a common gynecologic condition that is generally ovulatory in nature (such as a hemorrhagic [or bleeding] corpus leuteum). Symptoms may include abdominal pain, nausea, vomiting, low-grade fever, and abnormal uterine bleeding. The condition is usually self-limiting with symptoms going away in a day or two. In more persistent cases, it can be treated with hormonal suppression (i.e., birth control pills or Depo-Provera) or surgical excision of the cysts.

Cervical cancer is one of the most common cancers of the reproductive system. The predominate risk factor for contracting this disease is infection with the human papilloma virus (HPV), a sexually transmitted disease (STD). In some women, infection progresses to cervical dysplasia (pre-cancerous cell change). From there it can develop into invasive cancer. The vast majority of cervical dysplasia is diagnosed and treated prior to becoming

invasive. Cervical dysplasia is diagnosed during routine Pap tests and further identified with a colposcopy-directed biopsy. Treatment includes cryotherapy (freezing), thermal ablation (burning), or surgical excision. The risk of cervical cancer increases with the number of sexual partners. Consistent and proper use of latex condoms offers only limited protection against developing HPV. A vaccine is available for young girls who have not yet had sex and for young women, even if they are sexually active, to convey immunity against HPV.

Ectopic pregnancy is a condition where the embryo implants outside the uterine cavity. Most commonly this occurs in the fallopian tube (tubal pregnancy), but it can also implant in the cervix, ovary, or abdominal cavity. Because these other sites cannot accommodate the growth of a fetus, left untreated, the site of implantation will eventually rupture and cause intra-abdominal bleeding (very rarely ectopic pregnancies in the abdomen progress to full term and must be delivered by Caesarian section—surgical removal of the baby through an incision in the abdomen). Treatment consists either of medication such as methotrexate (which causes regression of the embryonic tissue) or surgery to excise the ectopic pregnancy (with or without tubal preservation). Up until the end of the nineteenth century, ruptured ectopic pregnancy was a significant cause for the high mortality rate of pregnancy.

Endometriosis is a common condition where endometrial cells (which normally line the uterine cavity) are present in the abdominal/pelvic cavity and other areas of the body. This occurs mostly by regurgitation of menstrual fluid out of the fallopian tubes with subsequent implantation of the endometrial cells in the abdominal cavity. The main treatment is hormonal suppression or surgical excision (with or without removal of the ovaries). A family history of endometriosis is the main risk factor for developing the disease.

Infections may affect all areas of the female genitalia, but most gynecologic infections are limited to the vagina. These may consist of yeast, bacterial, as well as other STDs such as PID, chlamydia, gonorrhea, HPV, and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Depending on the causative agent, symptoms may be mild or severe (possibly leading to infertility), and treatments may vary. The most reliable method for 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 is ineffective in others.

Ovarian cancer is the ninth most common cancer in women and the fifth leading cause of cancer death. Benign disease (which does not spread beyond the ovaries) may be successfully treated by removing the affected ovary (oophorectomy). In more serious cases, surgery to remove the ovaries, fallopian tubes, and the uterus and/or debulking by removing tumors that have spread to other organs (such as the kidneys) is followed by chemotherapy and/or radiation therapy as indicated.

Primary infertility is a condition defined by a one year period during which unprotected intercourse does not result in pregnancy. Common causes are tubal damage or occlusion due to infection, endometriosis, and adhesion, among others. Problems may also arise due to ovulation irregularities (as with hormonal insufficiency), structural abnormalities (such as fibroid in the uterus or congenital defects), and cervical mucous incompatibility (where a woman builds up antibodies to her partner's sperm). Most common infertility problems can be successfully treated with current infertility technology including in-vitro fertilization (IVF) or drug therapy.

Uterine fibroids are not uncommon in women in general, but are more prevalent in African-American women. They may cause dysfunctional uterine bleeding (non-menstrual), pelvic pain, and (to a lesser degree) infertility, miscarriage, and cancer. Treatment includes surgical excision, hormonal suppression, and in some cases vascular embolization (blocking the uterine blood flow to the fibroid to make it shrink).

Vaginal cancer is a less common form of malignancy. Risk factors include age (it is more common in women sixty years and older); exposure to diethylstilbestrol (DES, a hormone that was prescribed between 1940 and 1971 to women with an increased risk of miscarriage); HIV or HPV infection; prior cervical cancer; and smoking. Treatment usually consists of surgery, radiation, and, possibly, chemotherapy in advanced cases.

SEE ALSO *Clitoris; Uterus; Vagina.*

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GENITALS, MALE

The male genitals (or genitalia) are those parts of the body or organs involved in reproduction. The genitals may include only those external, visible parts (primary genitalia) such as the penis or the scrotum, or they may also include the internal reproductive structures and organs (secondary genitalia) such as the testes, prostate, and urethra. Male genitalia consist of those organs and tissues that function to produce sperm (the male sex cell) and to transport it so that it can come in contact with the female egg (ovum). Their successful union (or fertilization) is what allows humans to reproduce.

PHYSIOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF MALE GENITALIA

The scrotum is the sac that contains the testes (an essential organ in the production of sex hormones and sperm—the male sex cell). It is divided into two compartments—each of which holds one of the pair of testes—by a connective tissue septum. The scrotum is visible externally and consists of skin covering a layer of smooth muscle (the dartos muscle which contracts in cold temperature and causes the skin of the scrotum to become firm and wrinkled). The scrotum functions to help maintain the testes at an optimum temperature for sperm production. Abdominal cremaster muscles cause the scrotum to contract nearer to the body raising the temperature of the testes. During relaxation or warm weather, these muscles relax and allow the scrotum to relax as well and become loose and thin which lets the testes descend further from the body and thus lowers their internal temperature. This is significant because spermatogenesis (the production of sperm) may not occur if the temperature of the organ is either too warm or too cold.

The testes (singular testis) or testicles are two ovoid glands about four–five centimeters (cm) long (also known as gonads) found in males. The left testicle is usually located about one cm lower than the right one. They are both suspended external to the body in the scrotal sac and supported by the spermatic cords (a collection of testicular blood vessels and nerves and ducts). Testes are analogous to the ovaries in females in that both are involved in the production of the reproductive cells (sperm in males) and the secretion of sex hormones (testosterone in males) which stimulate primary sexual characteristics (e.g., sex organs) and secondary sexual characteristics (including distribution of hair growth and body physique). The testes are formed during embryonic development and descend into the scrotal sac near the end of pregnancy or shortly after birth. Though present in a newborn, they are small and nonfunctional until puberty (around ten to fourteen years of age). Until then, secondary sexual characteristics are absent.

At puberty, the hypothalamus (in the brain) secretes a hormone which in turn stimulates the anterior pituitary gland to begin producing hormones that stimulate the production of testosterone (the primary masculinizing hormone) in the testes. This hormone is secreted from the interstitial cells (or cells of Leydig) which are present just after birth but absent during childhood. During puberty, these interstitial cells begin producing large quantities of testosterone which stimulates the growth of the primary and secondary sexual organs and tissue. During this time, the penis, testes, scrotal sac, and other internal and external genitalia begin to grow and function.

The mature testes are enclosed by a white fibrous capsule (the tunica albuginea) which radiates into the testes dividing it into 200 to 250 cone-shaped lobules which contain the seminiferous tubules, the site of spermatogenesis. At puberty, hormonal signals initiate the growth of the seminiferous tubules and the subsequent production of sperm. Microscopically each of the tubules is surrounded by clusters of the interstitial cells. Germ cells (precursors to sperm) and Sertoli cells (which nourish the germ cells and probably produce hormones as well) are located within the seminiferous tubules. It is at this site that the spermatogonia (an early stage of sperm development) undergo division to become primary spermatocytes which continue to divide to produce secondary spermatocytes. Further divisions produce spermatids which eventually become the sperm cells (spermatozoa).

The sperm cells then travel from the seminiferous tubules through a series of ducts that allow the sex cells to mature and ultimately exit the body during ejaculation. The sperm first travels through the rete testes (a tubular network connected to the seminiferous tubules), which then exits the testes by way of the efferent ductules. From there, the sperm enters the epididymis (a tightly coiled and narrow tube posterior to the testes) where it continues to mature. The vas deferens (or ductus deferens) is a duct that is a continuation of the epididymis and travels from the scrotal sac (where it can be palpated as a movable cord—one for each testes) to the pelvic cavity. Smooth muscle in the walls of the duct propels the sperm from the epididymis through the vas deferens. Sperm may remain in the vas deferens (depending on the frequency of ejaculation) over a month with no loss of viability or fertility (a vasectomy—cutting the vas deferens in the scrotal sac—prevents conception by interrupting the path that sperm must follow to reach the outside of the body).

As it continues along its path, the vas deferens becomes associated with the spermatic cord (the testicular artery and veins, lymph vessels, testicular nerves, and

cremaster muscle). The cord travels through the inguinal canal to the prostate gland. There, the end of the vas deferens increases in diameter and becomes the ampulla (named for the flask-like shape) of the ductus deferens. Next to each ampulla and connected by a short duct is the seminal vesicle. These sac-shaped glands were erroneously thought to store the sperm until ejaculation (and hence the name), but later it was discovered that these structures' function is to secrete large quantities of fructose, prostaglandins, and fibrinogen (to provide nourishment for the sperm and to facilitate fertilization) which contribute to the volume of the ejaculated semen (about 30%). The two ducts come together to form the ejaculatory ducts which are two short tubes that that pass through the prostate, a doughnut-shaped gland about the size of a walnut that lies directly beneath the bladder and in front of the rectum. The gland secretes an alkaline fluid into the urethra that protects the sperm from the acid environments of the male urethra and the female vagina (whose acidic environment would otherwise kill the sperm). Additional alkaline fluid is secreted by the Cowper (or bulbourethral) glands, which are located just below the prostate. Sperm leaves the vas deferens with the newly accumulated seminal fluids and continues through the urethra where it ultimately is expelled from the body.

The male urethra is a small tube about eight inches long that extends from the base of the bladder, through the prostate, and through the shaft of the penis. The male urethra is made up of three sections (the prostatic, the membranous, and the cavernous) and contains glands that secrete a mucus substance. The urethral tube exits the body at the urinary meatus at the distal end of the penis.

The male urethra serves dual purposes. It provides a pathway for both urine and seminal fluid to exit the body, though it does not allow the fluids to exit at the same time. When seminal fluid passes into the urethra, the urinary sphincter muscles automatically contract and prevent urine from passing into the tube.

The penis is the external male reproductive organ. Internally the penis contains three columns of erectile tissue which, upon sexual stimulation, engorge with blood causing the penis to grow in length and firmness resulting in an erection. The two columns on the sides and underside of the (non-aroused) penis are the corpora cavernosa, and a third and narrower column travels along the front and central aspect of the penis and is called the corpus spongiosum and includes the end of the penis (the glans penis). The urethra passes through this corpus spongiosum, through the glans, and opens at the external urethral orifice.

The penis is covered with skin that is loosely attached along its shaft and more tightly just below the glans. A well-developed network of sensory and nerve receptors is located just below the skin. A thinner layer of skin covers the glans making it particularly sensitive to stimulation. The foreskin (or prepuce), a loose fold of skin, covers the glans penis. The surgical removal of the foreskin (circumcision) is commonly performed in many cultures for religious and cultural reasons.

SEXUAL FUNCTION

Male genitalia functions ultimately for reproduction. For that to occur, the male sperm must be exposed to and fertilize the ovum. To this end, coitus (sexual intercourse or copulation) must occur. The penis must become erect. This is accomplished by a parasympathetic reflex that is initiated by sexual stimulation (tactile, visual, and/or mental). When aroused, the arteries in the penis dilate and flood the corpus cavernosum and spongiosum. This compresses the veins and prevents the blood from leaving the penis causing it to enlarge and become firm.

Emission is the reflex movement of the sperm and other secretions (from the prostate and other glands) from the vas deferens to the prostatic urethra (the portion nearest to the prostate). Ejaculation, another reflex, follows as a result of continued sexual arousal. This is associated with increased heart rate and blood pressure, hyperventilation, dilation of skin blood vessels, and intense sexual excitement. Ejaculation marks the climax or orgasm in males.

DISEASES OF THE MALE GENITALS

Cryptorchidism (or undescended testicles) is a condition where one or both testes fail to descend into the scrotum. Usually the testicles drop down at the end of pregnancy or shortly after birth. If they do not, the affected testis is unable to produce sperm and is functionally sterile. This is because it remains exposed to a higher internal body temperature compared to that of the scrotal sac. The condition is easily diagnosed at birth by palpating the scrotum and is treated by the administration of testosterone (or other hormones), which may allow the testis to descend. Alternatively surgery may be performed.

Another condition that may develop is an inguinal hernia. The inguinal canal narrows after the testes descend but creates a weak spot in the abdominal wall. If the inguinal canal ruptures (or enlarges), a hernia (a loop of intestine that protrudes through the abdominal wall) may develop causing pain and, in severe cases, a cutting off of the intestine. The condition can be corrected surgically.

Elective (or nontherapeutic) circumcision is a contested practice whereby the foreskin (or prepuce) is sur-

gically removed on newborn males. It is done for religious purposes (as in Jewish or Islamic faith) or for sociocultural and/or aesthetic reasons. At debate is whether the risks of routine circumcision are worth any potential benefits of the procedure. The most common risks of circumcision include bleeding or infection. Though these effects are usually mild, in rare cases they may result in excessive blood loss or sepsis (systemic infection). Less common risks include adhesions between the remaining foreskin and the glans or urinary retention. Removal of too much tissue may result in phimosis (a tightening of the foreskin that prevents it from being drawn back from the glans). Alternatively too little of the prepuce may be removed and thereby fail to achieve the aesthetic appearance intended. Serious side effects from the procedure are extremely rare, but may include partial amputation of the glans penis, fistulas, meningitis, and (rarer yet) death. Benefits include a reduced incidence of urinary tract infections in male infants, a decrease in the incidence of penile cancer in adults, and possibly a decrease in the susceptibility to certain sexually transmitted diseases including human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Despite the benefits, the American Medical Association (AMA) does not recommend routine elective circumcisions.

Hypogonadism may result when there is an absence of testosterone (or other male hormones) due to the failure of the testes to develop or a genetic lack of androgen (male hormone) receptor sites. The result is that male organs and tissues fail to develop and instead, normal female sex organs and tissues grow in their place. In rare cases, hypogonadism may be caused by the genetic lack of gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH) secreted by the hypothalamus and may result in hypothalamic eunuchism (or Fröhlich's syndrome). This is frequently associated with a hypothalamic disorder causing a person to overeat leading to obesity.

Impotence (the failure to achieve or sustain an erection) may be caused by multiple factors including physiological (such as low testosterone levels or diabetes which damages blood vessels necessary to elicit a penile response) or psychological. The condition may be treated by administration of erectile dysfunction drugs (such as Viagra©, Levitra©, or Cialis©) or male hormones. Medical grade vacuum pumps improve erectile function in some men. Surgical penile implants may be indicated in severe cases.

Prostate enlargement commonly develops as men grow older. If it grows large enough, the prostate closes off the urethra (which passes through the prostate) making urination difficult or impossible. Urine retention may result. If other treatments fail, prostatectomy (or the surgical removal of the prostate) can cure the condition.

The prostate can enlarge for many reasons including infections and tumors, both benign and cancerous. Prostate cancer is the most common form of cancer found in American males and the third highest cause of cancer death in men. Though one in six American men will develop the disease, only one in thirty-four will die of it (American Cancer Society, "All about Prostate Cancer"). Depending on the aggressiveness of the cancer, treatment can range from keeping a watchful eye on the tumor's progression to drug therapy, radiation, and/or surgery.

Sexually transmitted diseases (such as syphilis) may lead to the loss of fertility by damaging the tissues necessary for the production of sperm or male hormones. Further the presence of a sexually transmitted infection makes one more susceptible to acquiring HIV/AIDS, if exposed. Men with HIV have a slight increased risk of developing testicular cancer. Condylomata (or genital warts) varying in size between microscopic and as much as an inch in diameter may appear on the external genitals. Untreated, these benign growths may be readily passed between sexual partners.

Steroids (or synthetic androgens) use by athletes may result in a negative-feedback effect on the hypothalamus and anterior pituitary. This in turn decreases the hormones that normally stimulate the testes. As a result, the testes may atrophy and cause sterility.

Tumors, both cancerous and benign, may grow in the male reproductive tissue and organs such as the prostate, and more rarely the testicles and the penis. Testicular cancer predominately affects young men and is one of the most curable cancers (with only 1 in 5,000 males dying of this form of carcinoma in their lifetime according the American Cancer Society, "All about Testicular Cancer." Undescended testis (cryptorchidism) is one of the leading risk factors for developing testicular cancer. The condition can be treated with chemotherapy, radiation, and/or surgery. Despite the lack of conclusive studies that suggest that regular self-examination of the testes offers any defense against the outcome of the disease, many physicians recommend men perform manual self-checks monthly. Penile cancers are extremely rare. They may range in severity from very slow growing tumors to aggressive melanomas which may spread to other parts of the body. Treatment is through pharmacologic agents, radiation therapy, and/or surgery (often microscopic or laser surgery which is less disfiguring cosmetically and functionally than removal of the penis). Precancerous lesions and tumors may (rarely) appear on the foreskin. They are generally slow-growing and treatment will usually prevent their spread into the deeper tissues of the penis.

Tumors may rarely occur in the interstitial cells in the testes causing the organ to produce up to 100 times the normal amount of testosterone. When this condition presents in young males, the excess hormone causes the sex organs and tissues to develop prematurely as well as the bones and muscles leading to short stature due to the concurrent early fusing of the epiphysis of the long bones.

SEE ALSO *Penis.*

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Artemisia Gentileschi. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

GENTILESCHI, ARTEMISIA
1593–1652

Artemisia Gentileschi, who was born in Rome on July 18, was the most accomplished Italian woman painter of the modern era. As Mary Garrard has stated, Artemisia "suffered a scholarly neglect that is almost unthinkable for an artist of her caliber" (Garrard 1989). She died in Naples in 1652.

BACKGROUND AND EARLY WORKS

Artemisia, whose father, Orazio Gentileschi, was a renowned painter, was attracted to the art of painting from an early age and was encouraged by Orazio, who introduced her to the works of Caravaggio. His mastery of the chiaroscuro style influenced Artemisia's art. Some scholars believe that she introduced Caravaggism to Florence. At age six she handled her father's colors and posed for him.

In 1609, at age sixteen, Artemisia painted her friend Tuzia, who posed for the artist with her child for the painting *Madonna and Child.* In 1610 Artemisia depicted

Susanna and the Elders; she painted two other renditions of the theme in 1622 and 1649. Hers is an extraordinary interpretation of the biblical story because of its anatomical drawing, the mixture and modulation of light and shadows, the chromatic range and sensuous representation, and the markedly "human" hands. Artemisia's women have human hands that function as signs of female agency, whereas Orazio's women have feminine hands that signify female passivity (Garrard 1989).

MARRIAGE AND TRIAL

Artemisia's life and fame were marked by the events of the period 1611–1612. Her father took legal action against Agostino Tassi, accusing him of raping Artemisia repeatedly over a period of nine months. Tassi previously had been accused of raping his own wife and impregnating his sister-in-law. During the trial Artemisia accused Agostino of raping her repeatedly while promising to marry her. The transcript of the seven-month trial contains Artemisia's direct testimony: "And I scratched his face and pulled off his hair and before he put his member in me I squeezed it and tore off a piece" (author's translation).

Artemisia was subjected to humiliating accusations during the trial: She was not a virgin at the time of the sexual assault, she was a whore, and she had had an incestuous relationship with her father. She had to undergo an examination by a midwife to determine whether she had been raped recently. She was questioned under torture, and her thumbs were crushed, a torture that could have hindered her artistic production. It is noteworthy that the artist Pierre Dumonstier painted a work titled *Artemisia's Hand* (1625). Artemisia ultimately was vindicated when Tassi was found guilty and condemned to prison. The scandalous episode and the defaming publicity of the trial forced her to leave Rome for Florence in 1614, having contracted an arranged marriage with Pietro Antonio Stiattesi.

During the trial Artemisia worked on *Judith and Holofernes* (1612–1613), which clearly depicts her rage at the violence to which she was subjected. Judith's decapitation of Holofernes is an outstanding technical expression of the artist's sentiments. A gendered gaze and mode of representation can be seen in her work if this painting is compared with Caravaggio's rendition (1598–1599), or if Anton Van Dyck's *Susanna and the Elders* (1625) is compared with Artemisia's *Susanna*.

LATER LIFE AND WORK

Artemisia continued painting until her death and produced many masterpieces, the last of which, *Il Trionfo di Galatea* (1645–1650), was commissioned by Don Antonio Ruffo and executed in cooperation with Cavallino. Her admission to the prestigious Academy of Design under the sponsorship of Duke Leopold II gave her recognition as an artist. During her sojourn in Florence (1614–1620) she produced *Judith and the Maid* and *Judith Decapitating Holofernes*, among other works.

During her stay in Genoa (1621), having joined her father, Artemisia met Van Dyck and worked on a Lucrezia and a Cleopatra; the latter is an extraordinarily sensuous portrait of the queen of Egypt. Both works were attributed to Orazio for a long time although they clearly bear the mark of Artemisia's hand. During the Roman period (1622–1630) Artemisia was associated with Caravaggio's followers and painted another *Judith and the Maid with Holoferne's Head* (1625). In 1630 Artemisia moved to Naples and completed the *Autoritratto come Allegoria della Pittura* [Self Portrait as an Allegory of Painting], in which she portrays herself as a painter, an unusual practice among female painters of her time. In Naples she began an Annunciation and worked on the Cycle of the Pozzuoli Cathedral. In 1637 she joined her father again to work in London at the Royal Court on the paintings that make up the *Allegory of Peace and the Arts*. In

1641 Artemisia returned to Naples, where she died at age fifty-nine. Artemisia painted only one male portrait during her life, the *Ritratto di Gonfaloniere* [Portrait of a Papal Knight], executed in Rome in 1622.

The first critical recognition of Artemisia's artistry appeared in 1916 in an article by Roberto Longhi in which that critic affirmed that she was the only female painter in Italy who truly knew the art of painting and color, going far beyond the work of female colleagues such as Anguissola, Lavinia Fontana, and Galizia Fede. However, it was only in the 1970s that Artemisia received recognition as a great artist in books by Germaine Greer (1979), Susan Brownmiller (1975), and Mary D. Garrard (1989). The 2005–2006 exhibit ''Caravaggio and His Followers in Milan'' included four of Artemisia's paintings. Her life and work have inspired novels by Anna Banti (1988), the wife of the critic Roberto Longhi (1988), Alexandra Lapierre (1998), and Susan Vreeland (2002).

SEE ALSO *Art; Artists, Women; Cellini, Benvenuto; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Michelangelo.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

GIANTS

SEE *Dwarves and Giants*.

GIGOLO

A gigolo is a male who either supplies sexual or romantic services in exchange for money or other gain, or who works as a male escort or professional dancing partner. Other terms for a gigolo include *lounge lizard*, *escort*, or even *male prostitute*. The contemporary concept of a gigolo tends to focus on opportunistic gentlemen with refined manners and impeccable dress who troll for rich women who will pay handsomely for their services.

The stereotypical gigolo is a witty man dressed in impeccably designed clothing worn with flair and style. Gigolos have the ability to make and sustain entertaining and flattering conversation as they flirt shamelessly with potential clients. They also need ambition, a good support system of friends who help them promote their image as charming gentlemen, and even an elitist sense of whom to cultivate and where to hunt. Some fortune-hunting gigolos claim noble birth and display manners and breeding calculated to attract wealthy, upper-class women.

Although the term *gigolo* originally referred to males who worked as paid escorts for women, gigolos may provide sexual favors for both females and males, may be men out to marry rich women, or may simply serve as paid escorts and companions. Many gigolos can survive well only if they have multiple mistresses. They often leave a mistress as soon as the money runs out, and many enjoy a selectivity that prevents them from working for women they find distasteful.

Payment to gigolos is often subtle and indirect. Their dates give them money to pay for drinks or settle restaurant bills, assuming the gigolo will pocket the change. They receive gifts of jewelry, plane tickets, vacations, clothing, and automobiles. Their female clients pay for entertainments and also perhaps give them access to a bank account or other money.

ORIGINS OF THE TERM

The word gigolo comes from the French dance halls of the mid-nineteenth century, which employed or tolerated a dance hall pickup girl called a "gigolette." The term *gigolette* was derived from the combination of two meanings for the French word, "*gigue*" meaning "thigh, and "*gigue*" meaning jig or a type of dance. The "gigolo" referred to the pickup girl's boyfriend, her steady.

The origins of the term in both dancing and sex define the special character of the gigolo. As dance halls and popular dancing, especially the tango, became the rage in France in the early twentieth century, dance halls hired professional dancing partners, often Argentineans, who could perform the tango with women clients. Irene and Vernon Castle brought the tango to the United States around 1912 and with it the need for professional partners. World War I interrupted the dance hall craze, but after the war, café society renewed an interest in jazz and dance, commencing an active culture that provided a lucrative ground for professional dance partners. The Roseland Dance Hall in New York employed a cadre of male dancers called "huskies," who danced with female customers for a fee.

These male dance partners did not stick solely to dancing and provided the gist for fascination and scandal as well as a foothold for ambitious and handsome immigrants. In 1922 Edna Ferber published her novel "Gigolo," which Cecil B. DeMille made into a film starring Rod La Rocque in 1926. "Just a Gigolo" became a popular song. A young Italian immigrant named Rodolpho became such a successful dancing partner that he acceded to the rank of professional dancers, eventually going to Hollywood as Rudolf Valentino.

The dance halls were forced to close down during the Great Depression, though café society in France managed to limp along. In the 1930s Midwesterner Ted Peckham opened the Guide Escort Service in New York, which provided nonsexual male companionship for women willing to pay $10 for an evening's company. His service was successful enough to expand to London and throughout Europe, where he often established the service in a department store, which would bill and collect payment from his clients. His service was halted in 1939 by the red tape involved in New York labor laws.

PRECURSORS AND MODELS

Precursors of the gigolo go back at least to the seventeenth century with such figures as Beau Fielding, a favorite of the ladies who was of the entourage of Charles II, king of England. In eighteenth-century France, husbands who were off on exploits of their own hired professional male escorts called "chevalier servants" to amuse and guard their wives in their absence. In Italy,

husbands also hired paid male escorts called "cicisbei" to accompany, entertain, and guard their wives. The nineteenth century saw the emergence of the dandy, a well-dressed and witty male figure who made a life's work of style and elitism. Beau Brummell and Count Alfred d'Orsay number among these, d'Orsay being one who married for money.

Adventurers such as d'Orsay and Count Boni de Castellane, who married the wealthy daughter of the American financier Jay Gould, provide the model for the gigolo who marries rich women for their money. Often, as in the case of these two, neither the money nor the marriage lasted. Porfirio Rubirosa (1909–1965), an embassy representative from the Dominican Republic, was another of these nuptial-seeking gigolos. Rubirosa married four times for political or monetary advantage, marrying two of the richest women in the United States, Doris Duke and Barbara Hutton. His marriages did not last, but he derived from each financial benefit enough to enable him finally to marry a woman for love.

In the early twenty-first century, references are more typically made to male escorts and prostitutes than to gigolos. Gigolos still ramble the lucrative enclaves of such fashionable resorts as Palm Beach or Saint-Tropez, but escort services providing male escorts for male and female clients list ads in newspapers and on the Internet. In the United Kingdom, male escorts advertised as nonsexual still work for a nightly fee. In the United States male escort services pander to a gay male clientele, though there are web sites offering training to would-be heterosexual gigolos and heterosexual male sex workers. Many of these sex workers offer services to both sexes. Although there are many men who are kept financially by women, including unemployed husbands, boyfriends, and pimps, the gigolo retains its aura of seedy elegance.

SEE ALSO *Prostitution.*

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Judith Roof

GIRLS, CONSTRUCTION OF

Girl is a gender assigned to female children at or before birth. Though there is generally a biological basis for the assignment, children born with both male and female genitalia are usually surgically altered and, in most cases, assigned a female gender. By the age of two, most children have developed an awareness of themselves as boys or girls and understand other people—peers and adults alike—in these same terms. From early childhood on, children evince an acute awareness of the differing appearances, dress, and behaviors of boys and girls and utilize this awareness to construct their own gender identity and to police that of others. Research conducted in elementary schools has highlighted the active role that even very young children take in constituting themselves in relation to dominant frameworks of gender, power relations, and sexuality. Identification as a girl is thus a multivalent process: Female infants and children are designated and constructed as girls by family and health professionals alike, but quite quickly become active in negotiating the terms and meanings of this identity. Although the word *girl* is strongly associated with childhood and immaturity, it is commonly used—by girls and young women themselves, young men, and older adults of both sexes—to refer to women throughout their teenage years and into adulthood.

The various historical and contemporary connotations of *girl* form a nexus around issues of power, gender, and sexuality. In its earliest English usage, *girl* referred to both male and female children and youths. By the sixteenth century, its definition had narrowed to include only females, though through at least the nineteenth century, the term was commonly used to denote any unmarried woman. In spite of its association with physical immaturity, the word girl has often been and continues to be used to refer to adult women. Such usage associates the female with childhood and invokes a gendered power relationship that, in opposition, associates adulthood with the male (Renold 2005, p. 24). This power disparity manifests as well in a sexualization of female children and an infantilization of sexually mature women. Similar negotiations of power and gender can be seen in the use of the term by an older speaker to indicate a generation gap between two adult women, or in the use of *girl* by men to refer to adult females. These negotiations are overtly sexualized in the use of phrases such as "working girls" to refer to prostitutes and rendered in terms of race, class, and power in the use of "girl" to connote a maidservant or, in pre–World War II U.S. society, a black woman.

Sociological research in elementary schools in the United States, Britain, and Australia has emphasized the complexity of children's gender negotiations. As early as preschool and kindergarten, girls are more likely to engage in gender-stereotyped play, including playing house, pretend cooking, and dress-up activities; when boys and girls play together, each is likely to select and perform a role that accords with stereotypical gender

norms. In their interpretations of books that actively try to subvert gender stereotypes, even very young children have been found to rely heavily on gender stereotypes. Though many have suggested that very young children's reliance on stereotyped gender roles in their own play is a reflection of the gender roles they see at home, others have noted that even children from households with a working mother or a stay-at-home father evince an awareness of and often an adherence to more stereotypical gender norms. The situation is further complicated by the correspondence between gender and maturity that many schools demonstrate: in some preschools, the term "big girl" or "big boy" is used in opposition to "babies" to identify acceptable behaviors. Kindergarten and first-grade classrooms often continue this practice, encouraging mature behavior and attitudes by attaching approving gender identities to them. Though the use of "big boy" and "big girl" disappears by the fourth grade, teachers and administrators often make reference to adult genders (such as ladies and gentlemen) to request appropriately mature behavior. The correspondence between gender, behavior, and maturity is thus set up very early for children.

In classrooms, girls are often quieter than boys, are more likely to be rewarded for being quiet, and, when bored or disengaged, tend to withdraw rather than acting out. As a result, girls demand less, and are accorded less, class time and attention than boys. As a great deal of research has identified boys' lack of motivation and interest in reading, publishers and teachers alike tend to believe that adventure stories with highly active male protagonists are the only sort that will appeal to and engage young boys. As a result, girls are more likely to be presented with stereotypical gender roles in their school-assigned reading: male protagonists who are active, independent, problem-solvers, and weak, dependent female characters. Even books with strong, independent female characters tend to present them as anomalies whose rejection of social norms is the cause of their problems. While girls have been shown to read resistantly, finding positive female role-models and points of identification in gender-stereotyped texts, their exposure to more positive female role-models in their reading has been consistently limited by the perceived needs of boys.

Though boys and girls commonly interact a great deal in neighborhood and family settings, researchers have consistently noted the degree to which they self-select into gender-specific groups in schools. This tendency to separate by gender increases with age and peaks in early adolescence. Girls construct themselves as a group based on their difference from boys, and they police their own behavior and that of others according to group definitions of what it means to be a proper girl or boy. Playground spaces likewise tend to be divided

into boy and girl sections, with girls controlling much less physical space. Much definition and negotiation of gender identities occurs through the types of contact experienced between boys' and girls' groups. Girls are often excluded from boys' games (and vice versa) on the grounds that they are girls; invading the boys space and insisting on a place in a game can be a source of power for girls, but can also jeopardize their identities as girls. The more acceptance by boys that a girl experiences, the more likely she is to face others girls' opprobrium for acting too much like a boy. Girls are more likely than boys to devote time to discussing appearance and their bodies, and this too is often conducted with reference to gender expectations. Girls tend to be highly aware of the gender implications of their clothing and makeup choices, trying to adopt a look that proclaims their individuality and fashion sense, even as it walks a line between being acceptable to other girls and attractive to boys. As girls get older, this negotiation occurs more explicitly in terms of sexual attractiveness and availability; girls often use fashion as a means of exploring sexuality and femininity, but run the risk of being judged as trashy or slutty by their peers.

Many researchers have noted the degree to which gender norming among children is really a mechanism for enforcing heterosexuality. Until adolescence, girls are most likely to spend their free time in school in same-sex groups, but these groups are usually structured around interaction with boys. As early as kindergarten, children adopt a language of boyfriends and girlfriends that pairs different members of the class together. Boys and girls who spend too much time together risk teasing by their peers, but group pressure and intermediaries also often work to bring a couple together in a relationship. Interactions between boys and girls are thus fraught with a sense of heterosexual pressure, danger, and excitement: the attraction of games where boys and girls chase and kiss one another, games of contamination (such as "cooties"), and games of invasion (where girls or boys will invade each other's spaces) hinges on a sense of heterosexual interaction as risky, exciting, and promising.

Girls are particularly likely to position themselves and one another in terms of heterosexual norms. As they grow older, girls are increasingly likely to view their bodies and appearances in terms of social ideals and consider their bodies desirable only when validated by others. As they enter adolescence, much of girls' activities center on developing a femininity based in heterosexuality. Much discussion surrounds the question of which boys and girls are dating or breaking up, and significant energy is channeled to conducting and regulating relationships with boys. Girls are also more likely than boys to be positioned according to their relationships with boys, which often dictate the status and

nature of their relationships with other girls. The understanding of boy-girl friendships in terms of boyfriends and girlfriends is organized and maintained almost exclusively by girls, and in many cases schools place on girls additional responsibility for regulating appropriate sexual behavior. Boys' sexuality is often constructed as a response to natural and curious urges, while responsibility for controlling and reining in these urges is placed largely on girls.

SEE ALSO *Boys, Construction of; Femme; Gender Identity.*

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Maureen Lauder

GNOSTICISM

Gnosticism takes its name from the ancient Greek word *gnosis* ("to know" in the sense of having personal acquaintance with something or someone). It is a modern academic term that is used to refer to a religious movement that consisted of Gnostic groups that date to approximately the second through the third centuries CE and were situated throughout the Roman and Iranian empires. Gnosticism was not a unified religious tradition, but the various groups were linked through a distinctive mythology.

THE INFLUENCE OF GNOSITICISM

Gnosticism has a unique position in the study of religion. Most scholars agree that there never was a Gnostic church or a clearly defined Gnostic community. Some even have argued that Gnosticism never existed as a distinct, independent religious tradition. However, the ideas, motifs, and ethics associated with Gnosticism have had a profound effect on the development of several major religious traditions. Through its interaction with traditions as diverse as Christianity in the West and Buddhism in the East, Gnosticism has influenced the understanding of a wide array of topics related to sex and gender, including body image, sexual mores, the association of women with evil, and discussions about women's involvement in religious leadership.

THE GNOSTIC MYTH AND GNOSTIC ORIGINS

The definitive Gnostic myth is a creation story that contends that the world is a tragically corrupt product of a fallen or false god and that the original, ideal creation exists before and apart from this world in a spiritual universe ruled by the true, unknown god. According to the myth, humanity belongs to the spiritual universe but has been trapped in this world and imprisoned in physical bodies by the false god. Only those who are aware of the truth of creation and its implications will be able to escape the corrupt realm.

In addition to this distinctive myth a characteristic often associated with Gnostic groups is the belief that salvation is to be found through true knowledge (*gnosis*) of the divine and of the human condition, a dualistic worldview that leads to antimaterialism and a tendency toward the ethical extremes of asceticism (total denial) and libertinism (total indulgence). These are the defining traits of Gnosticism. However, Gnostic ideas about salvation, dualism, and ethics derive from the unique Gnostic creation story, indicating the centrality of the myth to the expression of Gnostic identity.

The Gnostic myth is also the basis for the connection of Gnosticism to other religious traditions. For example, Gnosticism is paired with Judaism because the Gnostic myth includes characters and imagery usually associated with the book of Genesis from the Hebrew Bible. The Jewish creation story appears in the Gnostic myth as the negative counterpoint to the true creation, and Yahweh, the god of Judaism, is denigrated by being equated with the myth's false god. The hostile treatment of material from Genesis suggests antagonism toward Judaism, but many scholars have interpreted it as a paradoxical proof that Gnosticism originated among a rogue sect of Jews. Kurt Rudolph (1983) has suggested that Gnosticism developed within the apocalyptic Judaism of the last centuries BCE as a religion of social protest intent on challenging cultural inequities. The repudiation of the creation of the earth and the antimaterialism embraced by the Gnostics were critiques of Roman society. According to this interpretation, Gnosticism represents a radicalization of Jewish belief.

Another theory about the origins of Gnosticism maintains that the tradition is rooted in early Christian sects, specifically the sects that were labeled heresies by the emerging Christian orthodoxy. In the history of early Christianity, Gnosticism is the foil against which official

Christian doctrine and practice was defined. The major schools of Gnosticism also constituted some of the major heretical movements within early Christianity. Denouncing Gnostics and disproving their ideas provided the Church Fathers, as the early leaders of the Christian community were known, with an opportunity to formulate official, or orthodox, Christianity.

One of the first individuals to be identified as a Gnostic heretic by the Church Fathers was Marcion. Originally a second-century Christian theologian, Marcion believed that the god of Christianity was the known god of Gnosticism and that the Jewish god was a false god. He also believed that because everything in the world, including people, was created by the false god, it was all evil. Marcion rejected worldly things and vilified sexuality, claiming that evil could only reproduce evil. In opposition to Marcion, orthodox Christianity insisted that the Christian and Jewish gods were one and the same, the world was not evil, and a more moderate approach to sexuality should be adopted. Although Marcion eventually was excommunicated, he and his followers, the Marcionites, established their own church in Armenia, which would continue to influence Christianity and other religions well into the medieval period.

Another figure who played a major role in the Gnostic heresies in the early Christian period was Valentinus, a Christian theologian from Alexandria, Egypt, who established a popular philosophical school for Christianity in the middle of the second century CE. Influenced by the Gnostic myth, Valentinus believed that the original spiritual universe of the unknown god, also known as the *pleroma*, was composed entirely of dynamic pairings of masculine and feminine principles. This cosmic ideal was lost when Sophia, one of the spiritual beings, tried to create without her masculine counterpart and produced the false (Jewish) god. The salvation of humanity relies on returning to the cosmic ideal of an androgynous masculine-feminine unity. To that end Valentinus advocated sex and marriage for the enlightened—those capable of knowing the truth of Christianity—but forbade it to those who were too materialistic to grasp the cosmic ideal. Despite Valentinus's Gnostic tendencies and excommunication for heresy, the Valentinian practice of using allegory to explain Christianity became a standard feature of Christian theology.

In the Iranian Empire the Mandaeans, an ethnic and religious community of unclear origins that made its home in the Persian Gulf, incorporated elements of Gnostic mythology—dualism and the notion of a fallen god—into their religious literature. More significantly, Mani, the founder of a religious movement known as the Manichaeans, seems to have shaped his worldview and ethics around the Gnostic myth. Manichaeism sees the world as an impure mixture of the spiritual (good) and the material (evil) created by a fallen god through a bizarre combination of sexual lust and cannibalism. The task of humankind is to help the true god defeat the fallen god by undoing the mixture of the spiritual with the material. These beliefs caused the Manichaeans to practice a strict asceticism that prohibited all forms of sexual activity, killing, and the eating of meat. Manichaeism flourished in the Persian Empire and parts of the Roman Empire during the late third century CE. Eventually it spread eastward throughout central Eurasia all the way to China, where Gnosticism and Manichaean ideas mingled and may have had an effect on Chinese Buddhism. Traces of Manichaean Gnosticism can be found in certain Buddhist sutras.

LATER INFLUENCE

Gnosticism ceased to exist as a religious movement by the fourth or fifth century CE, but Gnostic ideas have reemerged regularly to influence other religious traditions. For example, in Europe during the Middle Ages fringe Christian sects such as the Bogomils and the Cathars professed a strongly Gnostic dualism. It is believed that those groups were influenced by remnants of the Marcionites and other Gnostic communities that took refuge in Armenia during the fifth century CE. Medieval Jewish Kabbalah also is thought to have incorporated Gnostic ideas about the various dual manifestations of the divine through contact with the Marcionites and Manichaeans. Some scholars have suggested that exposure to Gnostic ideas about salvation may have helped shape the Shi'i Islamic notion of the hidden imam.

In the modern period Gnosticism has been affiliated with literary romanticism. The romantic mythology of humanity in need of salvation from a tyrannical god has some similarities to the Gnostic myth, but romanticism lacks the notion of a higher unknown god, suggesting that it is not Gnosticism in the classical sense.

RECENT DISCOVERIES

The most recent development in Gnostic studies was the 1945 discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codex in a cave in Egypt. That codex is a collection of writings dating to the first few centuries CE, many but not all of which have a Gnostic tone. Many of the works found in the Nag Hammadi previously had been known only in fragmentary form or in references from other texts. The writings include literature, poetry, mythology, and philosophical and theological tractates. They share a literary heritage with the New Testament, and this has led to the designation of the Nag Hammadi texts as the Gnostic gospels or scripture. The discovery of those texts has had a strong influence on the study of early Christianity, giving rise to

speculations about alternative forms of early Christianity that harbored unorthodox attitudes about the position of women and sex or sexual behavior.

SEE ALSO *Adam and Eve.*

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Jennifer Hart

GODDESS WORSHIP

Worship of goddesses is a global phenomenon, from its beginnings in the prehistoric era up until the present day. Archaeological remains from Upper Paleolithic and Neolithic cultures suggest that goddesses were frequently worshipped at important stages of the life cycle; figurines from the Neolithic Anatolian site of Çatalhüyük depict a goddess in the three forms of a young woman, a mother giving birth, and an old woman. Other images point to a human relationship with nature, including animals and agriculture. Ancient artifacts and texts from Greece and Rome, the Near East, India, and China and Japan demonstrate that goddess worship played a central role in the development of civilizational aspects, including agriculture, regulation of fertility and procreation, protection and defense, civic identity, and spiritual and artistic expression. There is evidence that goddess worship has had a continuous presence in Asian cultures as well as in the traditions of indigenous peoples from Sub-Saharan Africa and those of Native Americans across the Americas. In contrast, goddess worship appears to have been interrupted in cultures that came to promote a single male deity; contemporary goddess worshippers in these cultures view their spiritual practices as both recovery and innovation.

In cultures in which goddess worship is part of the social fabric, such as archaic Western traditions and traditions of Asia and indigenous peoples, goddesses have public status and significance and they are worshipped by both men and women. For example, the goddess Inanna (associated with Ishtar and Astarte) of the ancient Near East (c. 3500 BCE) was the subject of elaborate genealogical mythologies and numerous large temples. She was celebrated as a queen and a patroness of the people who allocated resources, such as the fruits of nature's fertility, to them. Medieval (c. 1100 CE) legends of the bodhisattva ("being of light"; one who saves others) Kuan Yin (or Kannon or Guanyin) in East Asian Buddhism present her as an enlightened being who, as the embodiment of merciful compassion, comes to assist all those who may call on her. These legends explicitly state that gender is no obstacle to enlightenment. Kuan Yin is widely worshipped in customary Buddhist ways, such as offering pure vegetarian food and the recitation of sacred texts, especially the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, which is dedicated to her; she is also associated with divination practices. Many of the Sub-Saharan African traditions have a figure of the Grandmother at the top of their pantheon of revered ancestral spirits. The Grandmother is a caretaker for the entire community and a personal guide for each community member.

Traditions that celebrate goddesses offer opportunities for women to assume publicly constituted active religious leadership, such as the role of priestess. Generally, priestesses have a mystically inflected liturgical function. For example, in ancient Greek tradition the Pythia, or priestess, presided over the Delphic Oracle (c. eighth century BCE –393 CE). The Pythia was responsible for communicating prophecies from Apollo, and the Oracle was consulted on all significant civic occasions. Some priestesses were also associated with the arts and letters, Sappho (fl. c. 610–580 BCE), the poet of love, desire, and beauty who was a priestess of Aphrodite; and Diotima of Mantinea (fl. c. 400 BCE), the priestess who through reason taught Socrates a theory of love. The foundational text of Japanese Shinto, the *Kojiki* (c. 712 CE), describes priestesses of the sun goddess Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami; from this precedent, priestesses became an established part of the extensive retinue entrusted with making material offerings and prayers to the *kami* (deities).

Ethnographic studies provide further detail on the practices of goddess worship. For example, Hinduism in India has traditions of worshipping the independent Great Goddess (Durgā) that are grounded in tenth-century texts in praise of the Goddess. One of the most popular celebrations is the yearly Bengali Durgā Pūjā. The pūjā style of worship invokes the presence of the deity into a visible image, who is then treated as an honored guest through offerings of food and praise. The images can be iconic, such as the weapon-bearing Goddess riding on a tiger, or aniconic, such as an earthen pot. Male priests, who perform elaborate rituals to purify themselves in preparation, carry out the liturgical functions, including the invocation, material offerings, and prayer. The prayers celebrate the Goddess's generative forces (*shakti*, or sacred creative power), her power to destroy evil, her protection of humankind,

King Aigius Consulting the Pythia at Delphi. © BETTMANN/ CORBIS.

and her ability to bring social and spiritual peace to her devotees.

Women participate actively in the Durgā Pūjā; their activities are directly tied to their life cycle and marital status. Virgin girls are worshipped during the festival (*Kumārī Pūjā*) as the Goddess's creative potential; they are considered a form of the Goddess, and they are entitled to prepare uncooked food for the Goddess. Unmarried postmenarchal women, whose creative power is not yet channeled and who thus are perceived as liminal in status, may not prepare or touch any food offerings. Married women are the organizational mainstay of ritual support and are also considered a form of the Goddess. They may prepare uncooked food for the Goddess and cooked food for festival offerings to other deities; postmenopausal married women may continue this participation. Generally, widows may not touch or prepare any food offerings. There is an exception, however, for initiated widows, as initiated married women and widows are entrusted with preparing the cooked food for the Goddess. Thus, initiated women have the highest status in the ritual idiom; for the uninitiated, their life cycle and social identities determine their ritual status.

Contemporary goddess worshippers in Europe and North America have sought to foreground and revalorize the identity of women at various stages of the life cycle, innovatively building on traditional formulations. For example, Goddess feminists sacralize female biology by imagining the changing body of the Triple Goddess as Maiden, Mother, and Crone; each phase is like the waxing and waning of the moon in a dynamic, cyclical relation to the other phases. Moreover, these phases describe women's creative potential and its actualization, so that women may experience any aspect of the Goddess at any stage of their biological cycle.

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Karen Pechilis

GODDESSES, EARTH

Earth goddesses have powers that range from foundational participation in cosmogonic processes of creation to sovereignty over specific aspects of nature, especially processes of cultivation. It is a widespread tendency to connect goddesses of any type with themes of motherhood; this association is particularly pronounced with earth goddesses because of the primacy of fertility motifs in their constitutive powers.

Sam D. Gill sounded a cautionary note regarding the study of earth goddesses in his 1987 landmark study of the concept of Mother Earth and its relationship to Native American religious cultures. He argued that "Mother Earth" was a construct born from the cultural contact among Europeans, Euro-Americans, and Native Americans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, the concept was not ancient, and in fact served to obscure the diversity of and complex interrelationships among Native American traditions.

Ancient goddesses who are specifically associated with the earth include the Sumerian goddess Ki (also called Ninhursag), the Norse goddess Jord, and the Vedic goddess Prithvi of India. Their stories have as a common theme the association of the goddess with the earth as distinct from a god associated with the sky, with whom she is nevertheless related by kinship, as a sibling, or by marriage. In these types of myths, the separation of the earth and the sky is a primal cosmogonic act.

Demeter. *Goddess Demeter appears with two Putti in this seventeenth-century painting.* GETTY IMAGES.

Ancient Greek mythology seems to support a widespread scholarly theory that cosmologically inclined earth goddesses were displaced by goddesses of cultivation. For example, the goddess Gaea, whose name means "earth," was celebrated as a cosmogonic force: She parthenogenetically (without male intervention) created the sea and the sky, and it was through her daughter Rhea that the gods and goddesses originated. Other goddesses, including Demeter/Ceres, became more popular in classical literature. Demeter was endowed with bringing forth the fruits of the earth, especially grains. She taught humankind sowing and plowing and thus was the patron of cultivation and settled culture. Greek mythology also describes numerous nature goddesses, including Maia, goddess of the mountains and fields, and Artemis, goddess of the hunt and forest.

Earth goddesses can also accrue a variety of powers, rather than delegate them. For example, the powers of the Aztec (or Nahua or Mexica) goddess Cihuacoatl (whose name means "snake woman") were differently imagined over the centuries, from preconquest imagery to roles developed during the sixteenth-century contact with Europeans that have remained influential to the present. She had both universal and particular powers that had to do with the earth and yet expanded beyond it, so that as Kay A. Read (2001) notes she cannot be subsumed under the "Euro-American stereotype" of "Great Earth Mother." As envisioned in the earliest stratum of beliefs, Cihuacoatl was a matron who formed humankind out of the ground bones of a man and a woman just as a woman makes tortillas from ground maize. She also offered assistance to women in childbirth on the "battlefield" of parturition and, analogously, offered support to men on the battlefield of war. Her powers to enact creation were complemented by her powers to destroy; for example, one story relates that the goddess warned all in the marketplace that she would leave the Mexica soon and that impending doom would follow. At the time of conquest, Cihuacoatl assumed new forms appropriate to an honored yet defeated warrior; for example, she was associated with a government office that counseled the city on war and political strategy, which drew on her traditional powers but did not accord her the leadership position.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, earth goddesses, especially Gaea, have received renewed global attention in the context of neopagan and ecological movements. Many neopagans and Goddess feminists view the earth as sacred, with the encompassing power of the divine intimately connected to the earth. Rituals are performed in honor of the earth's processes, including solstice and equinox celebrations. Many people in ecological movements suggest that the impact of scientific analysis could be enhanced if it could be related to traditional cultural ideas of honoring the earth. Ecofeminists, for example, are concerned with recovering approaches toward a sustainable ecology from traditional religions, often at variance with mainstream interpretations and practices. A case in point is Vijaya Rettakudi Nagarajan's 2001 work on the *kolam* ritual in south India. While mainstream interpretations view Hindu Indian women's honoring of the earth goddess Bhudevi through ritual rice flour drawings (*kolam*) as an embedded ecology that promotes conservation-oriented religious practice, the traditional ethos is really one of "intermittent sacrality," in which the earth is honored for the given time of the ritual in the context of expected future transgressions.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Goddesses, Mother.*

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GODDESSES, MOTHER

The *Mother Goddess* designation has both specificity and great elasticity. The specific set of characteristics to which it refers centers on earthly cycles and the biological processes of fertility, birth, and death. More generally construed, many goddesses who do not appear to exhibit such characteristics are considered *mother*; for example, the Hindu goddess Kali, who is described in classical mythology as forceful and fearsome, is called Mother in devotional prayers. Given the pervasive link between goddess and mother in many genres of descriptive literature, at this juncture a more compelling question may be whether or not there are any goddesses who are *not* linked with motherly attributes either in textual descriptions or in the minds of their devotees. Until this kind of study is undertaken, it seems advisable to attempt some classificatory distinctions among the connections between goddess and mother; for example, whether the connection is organic and physical or metaphoric and metaphysical, or perhaps both. All of the images of mother goddesses are, of course, symbolically rendered.

Examples of the organic and physical representation of mother goddesses are prehistoric figurines, such as those found across Europe from the Paleolithic Era, that emphasize the female breasts, bellies, buttocks, thighs, and pubic triangles. There has been much discussion over the significance of these images, which lack a clear context. Feminist authors and scholars have suggested that these images bear silent witness to an original matriarchy that existed before historical patriarchy was established. Other feminist scholars in recent times have questioned the historicity of such a perspective, and suggested instead that the idea of an original matriarchy may serve as an inspirational charter myth for modern goddess worshippers.

A related though much more recent example is terra cotta and stone images of Lajja Gauri that were made in central India from the second to the tenth centuries CE. There is an interesting evolution of this goddess through four forms. All of the forms share a prominent pubic triangle framed by legs positioned as though squatting. The earliest is a headless figure with a torso made of a brimming cooking pot bearing a lotus, a traditional symbol of fertile abundance; the second form has a human torso with female breasts but no arms and a lotus flower as the head; the third form is the same as the second with the inclusion of human arms bearing lotus buds; and the fourth is totally anthropomorphic. The changes in form could describe the trajectory of this mother goddess from village worship to imperially-patronized temple, lending support to the idea that images of organic mother goddesses were changed to normative standards of representation when brought into mainstream (patriarchal) worship.

Many goddesses are explicitly associated with the earth, with their powers primarily, though not exclusively, associated with fertility. For example, Demeter (Greece) is an agricultural goddess, as is the Corn Goddess (Hopi and Iroquois). Meanings of fertility could be expanded beyond agriculture, as with Gaia (Greece) and Ishtar (Babylonia), goddesses involved in cosmic creation. Fertility could also metaphorically suggest kinship or community, such as images of the Grandmother in traditional African religions and in Native American traditions, and Cybele, the Anatolian goddess worshipped in Rome as Magna Mater. Community identity also explains many of the goddesses' associations with war. Conversely, goddesses who were not originally connected with the earth could be brought into the orbit of fertility; for example, Isis (Egypt) was originally a royal goddess of wisdom who became known as a beneficial goddess of nature, and Hathor (Egypt) was a sky goddess who took on powers of fertility as a cow goddess and a tree goddess.

In the classical or classically inspired images of goddesses there is an incompatibility between metaphysical universal power and the bearing of children. Revealingly, many of the Greek goddesses associated with nature and nurture, including Artemis, Athena, and Hestia, are not represented as bearing children. The Christian Virgin Mary had a unique experience. The Great Goddess Devi in Hinduism is the Universal Mother of all, so that all members of humankind are understood to be her children. She is the supreme deity and is the subject of a complicated mythology and philosophy. It is also notable that twentieth-century Hindu female gurus, such as the internationally renowned Anandamayi Ma, tend not to have children but are known as Mother (Ma). Many contemporary goddess worshippers address this gap by asserting that the Mother Goddess is both universally

powerful and present in all physical processes, including childbirth, which they celebrate in ritual practices. Motherhood in its range of meanings from fertility to creativity is celebrated in the feminist Triple Goddess of Maiden, Mother, and Crone.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Goddesses, Earth.*

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GOLDEN SHOWERS

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

GONORRHEA

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

GOUGES, OLYMPE DE
1748–1793

In one of her most famous passages, Olympe de Gouges declared that "Woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum." (Landes 1988, p. 126). The French feminist pushed her way to the rostrum of pubic visibility; she ended on the scaffold, under the blade of the revolutionary guillotine.

Born as Marie Gouze, the legally recognized child of a bourgeois couple in the southern French town of Montauban, the future Olympe believed (as did others) that her true father was a minor nobleman. The young woman took from this a sense of entitlement to escape the traditional life of a provincial bourgeoisie. Married against her wishes in 1765 she effectively liberated herself after the death of her husband and took the name Olympe de Gouges.

Olympe de Gouges. KEAN COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES.

De Gouges moved to Paris where she cohabited with a well-off entrepreneur who supported her literary and social ambitions. De Gouges wrote numerous plays (some were performed) and received invitations to the most forward-looking salons.

An ardent supporter of the Revolution (which began in 1789), Citizen de Gouges remained a defender of the constitutional monarchy that was officially established in 1791. Her moderate royalist predilections seemed even to survive the unpopularity of the monarchs. De Gouges publicly offered to defend the King Louis XVI (r. 1774–1792) in his trial for treason; and her most famous treatise on women's rights was dedicated to Marie Antoinette (1755–1793) after the queen's disgrace (though before her trial and execution).

In the politics of the Revolution de Gouges worked most closely with the moderate Republicans of the Girondist movement. The more radical Jacobins were less sympathetic to women's rights and the whole symbolic world of the feminine and were not above making misogynist attacks in their polemics against the Girondists and other opponents. In July 1793, as civil war threatened to combine with foreign conflict, de Gouges publicly proposed that each French department

have the right to choose its own form of government. The ruling Jacobins had recently made the unity and indivisibility of the Republic a law and any challenge to it a capital crime. Denounced almost immediately de Gouges was tried, convicted, and guillotined in November, taking her place among a growing number of Girondist and royalist victims of the Jacobin Terror.

Though she wrote plays as a means of popular political education, de Gouges's most famous work is her 1791 *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* [Declaration of the rights of woman and the female citizen] (2003), a clear reply to the French Revolution's famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen." As did her contemporary, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), de Gouges sought to extend the notion of the equality of man to women and use the universality of reason as its chief justification. The constitutional monarchy of 1791 divided French people on the basis of property between active and passive citizens and then relegated all women to the status of passive citizens. The more radical Republican constitution of 1792 only exacerbated this difference by giving political rights to all men (but only to them). Complicating the problems for women's rights advocates was the reputation of the Old Regime as a government of women, through the (much exaggerated) influence of mistresses and of *salonnières*.

De Gouges called for full political equality for women (who would have their own co-equal national assembly), equality in marriage and divorce, and the right of women to publicly name the fathers of their children. Deceiving men could also be compelled to compensate the women they had exploited, as well as support their offspring. As with other radicals of the age, de Gouges firmly condemned African slavery and any form of racial discrimination, linking this cause with that of women, who were also victims of a form of commerce.

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GRECO-ROMAN ART

The premium placed on the classical body in the European tradition makes the art of ancient Greece and Rome a crucial factor in explorations of the ways in which gendered bodies and sexual difference are con-

ceived of and communicated visually. Whether active and muscle bound or soft and sinewy, the male bodies in post-Renaissance art and the masculinities that they express pulsate with antique energy. The female nude also is traditionally thought to have been invented by an ancient sculptor, Praxiteles (active c. 375–330 BCE), whose *Aphrodite of Knidos* is said to have inspired such devotion in its male viewer that it seduced him into having sex with the marble sculpture. This apocryphal story helps explain why the erotic attraction of that statue helped shape the female form as a male aesthetic ideal.

CRITICAL REACTIONS TO ANCIENT ART

In applying feminist and postfeminist theories to the art of Greece and Rome and to its reception, popular and scholarly literature is interrogating exactly how those bodies have worked as objects of empathy and desire for modern people, for the ancients, and for individuals as varied as the photographer Robert Mapplethorpe (1946–1989), the writer Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), and the art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768). It is also looking beyond the classical ideal to examine Greco-Roman representations whose power lies in challenging convention, including depictions of drunken old women, hermaphrodites, dwarves, and black Africans. This scholarship has highlighted differences and similarities between modern bodies and ancient ones and has accessed differing sexual cultures and constructions of identity.

In the three-part *History of Sexuality* (1985–1986), which was published in French between 1976 and 1984, philosopher and historian Michel Foucault elucidated the ways in which the Greeks and Romans regulated and constructed their sexualities, emphasizing the gulf between ancient and modern perceptions. Foucault's evidence was mainly literary and highly selective, but the force of his conclusions was far reaching. Homosexuality did not exist in ancient Greece. The sex of one's partner was far less relevant in shaping one's identity than it is in the early twenty-first century. In Foucault's description of Rome there is a move away from male–male desire as the dominant discourse and toward the privileging of the marital relationship. However, it is the issue of control of the self that is tantamount: whether one is the giver or the recipient of pleasure.

There is much in the visual record of ancient Greece and Rome that fits Foucault's conclusions. Images of sexual intercourse that seem both graphic and pornographic to the modern viewer are common on Greek and Roman drinking vessels and on wall paintings in houses and baths in Rome and the Vesuvian area as well as in other media. The fact that representations of the

phallus were displayed publicly throughout the Greek and Roman world and that boundary stones often were made in that shape strengthens the notion that people in antiquity had a very different attitude toward the display of the erect penis. At the beginning of the nineteenth century any of those artifacts that were not destroyed were locked away, for example, in the Secret Cabinet of the Archaeological Museum in Naples. A timed ticket lets visitors in, giving them a glimpse of the strangeness of its contents.

ANCIENT GREECE

In Greece the most salient icon is the image of the beautiful young boy. From the freestanding marble *kouroi* (youths) of the 650s to 500 BCE and the athletic cavalrymen on the frieze of the Parthenon in Athens (440s BCE), to the slimmer curves of Praxiteles's male bodies, to the more muscular figures made during and after the rule of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE), shifting concepts of the ideal, youthful, beardless male form served to preserve that image as something to be admired and interrogated. Pots from the late archaic and early classical period (550–470 BCE) have painted scenes showing sexual encounters between men and boys. Extrapolating from those images it is a logical step for viewers of an impassive *kouros* statue or the boys on the Parthenon to imagine themselves in the active role or to map their own vulnerability onto those impersonal contours. Those imaginings bring modern people closer to what it must have meant to be a man in antiquity.

The visual record also illuminates an area that Foucault neglected: women. Pots and fourth-century Attic gravestones in particular provide a window into ancient women's otherwise poorly documented lives and into markers of status such as dress and adornment. Whereas much of the power of the *kouroi* stems from their nudity, their female equivalents, the freestanding *korai* of the same period, wear elaborate jewels and ornate dresses. In grave markers the deceased females often are shown putting on their jewelry. The point seems to be that an ancient Greek woman is only as good as her beauty. On pots, wives are shown spinning or weaving, rarely escaping the constraints of the household except to participate in a funerary ritual or fetch water from the fountain, while their men recline at the drinking party, or symposium, attended by naked boy servants, scantily clad female musicians, and courtesans, or *hetairai*.

Rather than see those respectable and less respectable categories as separate, the viewer often is prompted to blur them: For example, a drinking cup may show a symposium or a scene of wild, drunken maenads on the outside and, once the wine has been drunk, display a modestly dressed woman in the interior. The ambiguities of that juxtaposition counter the idea that all Greek women did was sit in the house and sew by revealing that both versions are shaped by male fantasy.

ANCIENT ROME

The Roman conquest of Greece brought the Romans into a complex relationship with Greek artistic production. The Etruscans, who had dominated central Italy until the expansion of Rome in the fourth century BCE, coveted Greek pots and adapted their symposium motifs for funerary contexts. Wives rather than *hetairai* were now shown reclining next to the men. In the Roman republic the visual vocabulary of the conquered gave Roman generals the material for experimentation with new ways of expressing their masculinity and weighing their worth against that of their peers. Those statues often are considered by modern scholars to be only partly successful in their combination of a recognizably Roman head with a generic Greek torso. However, what works for a model such as the Farnese *Hercules* sculpture, first conceived by Alexander's court artist Lysippus (c. 370–310 BCE), works differently in a new context. Also, the Lysippan *Hercules* was made for the Baths of Caracalla and is as Roman as any statue of a general. If they are classified as Greek at all, those bodies were unlikely to have been dismissed as vain appropriations. They underline the fact that style was more than a by-product of an object, serving instead as a powerful vehicle.

Roman attitudes to relationships and the body were different from those of the Greeks. For example, sex between adolescent and mature males, which had been viewed as something of a rite of passage in classical Athens, was condemned as unlawful. To be seen as Greek was to run the risk of being judged overly luxuriant, effeminate, and un-Roman. When Octavian (63 BCE–14 CE) became the sole ruler and assumed the name Augustus, his statues and those of his wife, Livia, blended young classical male and Aphrodite prototypes with what traditionally were viewed as more modest Roman poses (e.g., the veiling of the head) that were intended to curtail sexual activity. Any Greekness in those statues raised them above the sea of senatorial families and made them seem superhuman. Augustus lived past the age of seventy but always was depicted as youthful. Whether he was emulated or adored, eroticism was part of the charisma.

Gardens, villas, and baths gave Romans room to relax and to experiment with a wide range of identities. The images of sexual intercourse described above shared the space with sensuous sculptures of hermaphrodites who lie languidly with their genitalia semiexposed or play fight with a Pan or satyr, as well as with mosaics depicting frequently hypersexual black Africans and hunchbacks.

Although the blackness of the Africans works as a distancing device, separating them from the ideal body type, as the hump does with hunchbacks, it is not imbued with abusive discrimination. Perhaps those images fulfilled an apotropaic function, protecting viewers from the evil eye. They were also images whose very difference forced viewers to confront their own bodies. They enabled viewers to indulge their fantasies in the exotic and examine the controls governing normative practice.

In light of the changing attitudes toward the body and the increased value placed on chastity that the spread of Christianity brought with it, one of the ways in which early Christian writers defined their religion in opposition competing cults was to condemn the indecency of pagan imagery. According to the bishop Eusebius (c. 283–371 CE), the emperor Constantine (c. 272–337 CE), after making Christianity the state religion, destroyed statues of Roman gods as stories of their sexual misdemeanors fueled the charge of idolatry. In reality, far from destroying them, he sent them to his new capital of Constantinople, realizing the power of continuity.

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GREECE

SEE *Ancient Greece.*

G-SPOT

The G-spot, or Gräfenberg spot, is an area on the front wall of the vagina. Located from 2.5 to 5 centimeters inside the vagina, the G-spot, or G-crest, is a highly sensitive area that, when stimulated, produces sexual pleasure. The G-spot on the vagina is not actually a part of the vagina at all, but the place on the vagina through which an area of tissue that surrounds the urethra can be felt. This is why simply touching the vagina will not necessarily produce a response; the G-spot is stimulated by pressure applied through the vaginal wall. The area of the G-spot is about the size of a pea, but when stimulated may enlarge to the size of a walnut. The texture of the G-spot area is not as smooth as other areas in the vagina, often having a corrugated texture. Stimulating the tissue may first cause a woman to feel that she needs to urinate, though continued pressure produces pleasure and may also contribute to the expulsion of a fluid called *female ejaculate*. The more sexually aroused a woman is, the more likely she is to feel and respond to stimulation of the G-spot. The G-spot may be located in slightly different places in different women.

Although ancient cultures seem to have known about the effects of G-spot stimulation, especially when documents mention several different kinds of fluid—the red and the white—that come from women, the G-spot was brought back to the attention of sexologists by the German gynecologist Ernst Gräfenburg, for whom the area is named. In a 1950 article, Gräfenburg discussed the region as a place where stimulation produced intense orgasms and occasionally the ejaculation of a substance that was not urine. Gräfenburg's rediscovery of the spot had little effect on contemporaneous notions of female sexual capacity, especially in light of William Masters and Virginia Johnson's later findings that attributed female orgasms exclusively to the clitoris. In addition, feminist theorists suspected that claiming a vaginal site for intense sexual response was a way to force attention to the vagina as a phallic complement instead of attending to the erotic responses of women that were focused in the clitoris.

In 1978 John D. Perry and Beverly Whipple published an extensive study of the G-spot and the responses it produces. Whipple has noted that clinical uncertainty about the G-spot stemmed from the fact that physicians rarely encountered the G-spot in regular pelvic examinations because it is not located in an area normally examined or palpated. In addition, physicians are trained not to provoke a sexual response in their patients, and stimulating the G-spot produces such a response. Difficulties in locating the G-spot have also perpetuated its mystery.

One confusion about the G-spot is that it is the same as an area recently identified as the female prostate in the twentieth century, an area first discovered in 1672 by the Dutch anatomist Reinier de Graaf and only recently added to official anatomical terminology. Usually thought of as unimportant and inoperative or vestigial, the female prostate is located in the same general area as the G-spot, but is not the same tissue. The female

prostate produces serotonin, and its fluids constitute a part of the liquid that comprises female ejaculate.

SEE ALSO *Genitals, Female; Orgasm.*

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Judith Roof

GTS (GIANTESS)
SEE *Dwarves and Giants.*

GUERILLA GIRLS
SEE *Artists, Women.*

GUGUM
SEE *Prostitution.*

GUILT

Guilt is considered to be an emotion secondary to doing what is perceived as wrong. Because it is a painful emotion, people try to act in a fashion to avoid guilt feelings. Guilt is classified as a negative emotion as opposed to positive emotions such as joy and happiness. Once a person experiences guilt from some perceived wrongdoing, there is usually an attempt to reduce this negative emotional state. Sexuality has been linked to guilt through the association of certain behaviors as evil or sinful. The prohibitions range from the universal taboo of incest to condemnation of masturbation, premarital or extramarital affairs, and sexual fantasies.

Throughout history cultures have institutionalized a number of methods to help individuals relieve guilt. Ancient cultures proscribed animal sacrifices or offerings of material resources. Over the course of time various forms of penitent behavior, including confession of one's sins, were developed by religious institutions to alleviate the emotion of guilt. In order to remove the guilt, individuals were asked by societies and religious institu-tions to complete good deeds, apologize, and endure a punishment or a penance for their sins and wrongdoings. Compliance to confess one's wrongdoings and make up for the transgressions reflected the need to remove the negative emotion of private guilt and restore self-esteem and a positive public image.

SEX GUILT

In the 1960s, Donald Mosher developed the concept of sex guilt to signify the negative emotion associated with sexual arousal. Sex guilt is defined as the expectation that a person will feel guilty if a standard of proper sexual conduct is violated. The concept was devised with the notion that individuals who were punished in their child-hood for interest in sexual matters or showed any behaviors that were interpreted as sexual would show significant sex guilt as adolescents and adults. Verbal admonishments or physical punishments would eventually lead to the child internalizing the message that sex is bad, dirty, or sinful. Consequently, those individuals showing curiosity, interest, or sexual arousal as an adult would have an increased likelihood of experiencing the negative emotion of sex guilt. Mosher has found that high levels of sex guilt among adults have been linked to an avoidance of sexual activities. Dennis Cannon found that females in general showed higher sex guilt than males and that this outcome was probably related to a societal tendency for parents to be more restrictive and critical of sexual matters with daughters than sons. Cannon also categorized people with sex guilt as: being devout in religious beliefs; subscribing to a higher authority; using denial to handle sexual feelings; accepting few variations in sexual behavior; following traditional gender roles; and being offended by explicit sexual material.

DEVELOPMENT OF GUILT

The interaction of guilt and sexuality was formally proposed in the theory of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939). He identified the libido as the force of the sexual instinct and included both the physiological foundations of the drive state and mental representations of sexuality. At birth, the child functions under the pleasure principle, which is defined as the innate tendency to seek pleasure and avoid pain. As a child observes or is taught that one must delay gratification or postpone pleasure, the reality principle takes over.

In Freud's theory, beginning in infancy children are influenced by the sex drive and are capable of erotic activity. The focus of the erotic activity follows a developmental pattern that moves from the oral zone to the anal zone and then to the phallic or urethral zone. In the oral stage of development from birth to eighteen months, the infant's libidinal energy has a focus on the mouth and

is expressed in sucking, chewing, and biting. The libidinal energy then switches focus in the anal stage from eighteen to thirty-six months of age. Elimination and bowel control are the focus of libidinal pleasure. Next, the phallic or urethral stage takes place from three to five years of age. Erotic activity is focused on urination, the penis, vagina, and clitoris. It is during this stage that the Oedipal complex emerges, which signals the development of sexual interests toward the parent of the opposite sex and subsequent feelings of aggression and jealousy toward the same-sex parent. It is also at this time that the superego or conscience emerges as the child internalizes parental values and standards. The child now is expected to act on the reality principle and give up the Oedipal fantasies. The superego acts as a censor of behaviors, thoughts and fantasies, and elicits anxiety and guilt over sexual matters.

The psychosocial theory of Erik Erikson (1902–1994) reduced the importance of the libido in development and focused on the social interactions experienced by a child. His stage theory is based upon the epigenetic principle, which means the development unfolds in a sequential and orderly fashion. For Erikson, the relationship between guilt and sexuality occurs during the third stage of development between the ages of three to five years. At that time the child must resolve the conflict between initiative and guilt. During this time of their lives, children show curiosity, competitiveness, aggressiveness, and genital preoccupations. The child seeks favored status with the opposite sex parent and develops fantasized possession of that parent. This possessiveness inevitably fails and the child feels guilt and anxiety. Now the child must learn to begin to look outside of the family structure for accomplishments. The child now forms a conscience or foundation for a moral perspective that serves as a guide. If a child is severely punished at this stage for the curiosity, competitiveness, and possessiveness, the formation of initiative is inhibited and guilt becomes the central feature of the child's emotional development. Independent expression of sexuality can then elicit feelings of guilt.

DEVELOPMENT OF GUILT AND SELF-REGULATION

According to developmental psychologist Suzanne Denham, guilt develops in a child during the middle childhood period between the ages of six to nine years. The child gradually gains an appreciation of the role of personal responsibility in one's actions. The socialization process takes place as children learn through instruction, observing the actions of others, the value systems of their parents, as well as from institutions and society.

Self-regulation or the capacity to control one's actions without outside influence is a goal of socialization. The child who has been socialized monitors personal actions based upon standards that have been internalized into a conscience or ethical philosophy. In relation to sexuality, a child learns certain moral standards that help to inhibit or direct instinctual urges. As the child grows and faces temptations to act upon sexual urges, self-regulation permits the child to follow moral rules. Violation of the moral codes induces guilt and the subsequent desire to remove the negative emotional state.

In developing the codes of morality, children proceed through several phases. Between the 1980s and early 2000s, Claire Kopp identified the phases beginning with what she termed the control phase at twelve to eighteen months in which the child relies on the cues of others to indicate acceptable behaviors. The self-control phase from around eighteen months to four years of age is indicated through an ability to comply with the expectations of others during their absence. The self-regulation phase begins around four to five years of age and is marked by the capacity to use strategies and plans to direct behavior and delay gratification.

Delay of gratification is particularly important in the control of sexual urges as it permits an individual to defer sexual satisfaction or avoid sexual arousal. Guilt or the anticipation of guilt serves as a deterrent to engage in sexual behaviors or expose oneself to sexually explicit materials when they are perceived to be a violation of a moral code. Styles of parenting influence the development of guilt. Physical punishment or power assertive discipline used by caretakers leads to a low level of guilt. These children do not develop strong internal controls for their sexual urges and try to avoid being caught for any misdeeds.

GUILT AND CHANGING ATTITUDES

The National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLS) of the early 1900s found that Americans could be grouped into three distinct moral perspectives. Approximately a quarter of the population viewed sex in the recreational sense and experience little or no guilt over sexual actions. Nearly a third of the people followed a traditional moral perspective, which emphasized sexual expression within a marriage. Guilt emerged for these individuals if they engaged in extramarital relations or nontraditional sexual behaviors. The remaining members of the American society subscribed to a relational moral perspective. This perspective permitted a wider range of sexuality as long as it is contained within a relationship that is long-standing and committed. This group would experience

guilt when engaging in recreational or casual forms of sexuality.

The NHSLS found membership in each moral perspective was somewhat related to certain demographic characteristics. Females were more likely to be relational than males, and older individuals were most apt to be traditional in moral perspective. Increasing education levels was associated with the recreational perspective. Members of most mainstream religious affiliations adhered to a relational perspective, whereas conservative Protestants and Baptists favored a traditional perspective.

The attitudes toward sexuality and consequently the experience of guilt in the American society have been changing significantly since the early 1970s. The General Social Survey has found a steady decline in the percentage of the population who believe that sex before marriage is wrong; extramarital sex, by contrast, continues to be seen in the negative. Attitudes about sexuality in the United States and other countries were surveyed by the Gallup Organization in 1997. Moral standards varied significantly around the globe with such countries as India, Singapore, and Taiwan showing the most restrictive attitudes of the countries surveyed. Iceland, France, Germany reported the most recreational attitudes about sexuality. The secularization of Western Europe has been seen as a significant factor in the development of recreational attitudes concerning sexuality. The moral perspectives of these secular societies have limited internalized prohibitions toward sexual behavior and consequently limited the expression of sex guilt.

SEE ALSO *Honor and Shame; Penance.*

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Frank Prerost

GYNAECEUM

The portion of an ancient Greek home designated as women's quarters was called the *gynaeceum* (a term that is the Latinate form of ancient Greek *gunaikon* (or *gunaikonitis*). The *gynaeceum* is associated particularly with the classical period (c. 500–323 BCE) and with Athens. It was distinct from the *andron* (or *andronitis,* "men's room"), the most public room in the house where all-male social gatherings called *symposia* were held. The only women allowed at these parties were courtesans hired for the evening.

The interpretation of the significance of the *gynaeceum* is closely tied to scholarly understanding of gender relations in ancient Greece. For example, modern descriptions of *gynaecea* as universally dark, unclean spaces where women did their work underline the notion of the low status of women in Athenian society. Artistic representations of women on classical Greek vases, however, show them engaging in a range of activities, such as weaving and child care, as well as more leisurely pastimes such as reading, visiting with other women, attending to their toilette, and playing games. It appears that some Greek women could enjoy a level of luxury and interaction with other women.

Another debated aspect of the *gynaeceum* is how isolated it was from the rest of the household. The *gynaeceum* has long been thought to function like a harem or seraglio, that is, as an area set aside for the segregation of female family members, perhaps even secluding them from their male relatives. This reflects the idea that ancient Greek society was rigidly divided along gender lines and is based largely on literary evidence, the most important of which is a passage from a speech, "On the Murder of Eratosthenes," written by Lysias, a professional speechwriter in late-fifth-century Athens. Here Euphiletos, who was defending himself against the charge of murdering his wife's lover, explains that his modest home had two stories of equal size, the upper reserved for the *gynaeceum*, the lower for the men's quarters. After his wife gave birth, he moved upstairs and she downstairs so that she could more easily wash the child; having access to the street allowed Euphiletos's wife to meet her lover more easily. Extrapolating from this statement and others, scholars have assumed that the standard Greek home had its public rooms on the ground floor, while women were relegated to the upper floor, which was separated from the lower level by a staircase and a locked door.

Archaeological excavation of a large number of private homes in Athens, Olynthus, and elsewhere in the Greek world, however, does not support this interpretation. First, there is rarely evidence to indicate that a home had a second floor. Furthermore, the rooms in an average Greek house were versatile, meaning they could be used for any number of purposes; it is almost impossible to

identify any room as reserved for traditionally feminine activities such as weaving or even cooking. In fact, the only readily identifiable room in most Greek houses is the *andron*, marked out by more expensive decoration and by the inclusion of permanent bases for the reclining couches required for proper *symposia*. Whether or not homes had second stories, economic necessity would suggest that only the very wealthiest families could afford rooms dedicated to a single purpose. In smaller homes, women may have withdrawn to more remote areas of the house only when visitors came to call. In sum, though the distinction between male and female space was important conceptually to the ancient Greeks, it does not seem to have affected the planning of the Greek house.

In light of this, scholars have proposed other interpretations of the *gynaeceum* that reflect a more nuanced understanding of male and female social spheres in ancient Greek society. At the broadest level, because women were strongly associated with domestic life (indeed, classical vase paintings portray women almost exclusively in interior settings) while men were linked to wider civic involvement, it is possible that the *gynaeceum* was in reality all interior spaces of the house other than the *andron*, including the interior courtyard where cooking and washing must have taken place. A more refined interpretation, put forward most forcefully by Lisa C. Nevett (1995, 1999) and since taken up by others, is that the *gynaeceum* refers to the family areas of a home that were off-limits to a male visitor, rather than to a portion of a man's own home that he was forbidden to enter. In other words, the separation of the sexes was probably accomplished by providing specific areas for male guests rather than by isolating the women of the household.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Family; Gender Roles:*
I. Overview; Harems; Marriage.

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Celia E. Schultz

GYPSY ROSE LEE
1914–1970

Gypsy Rose Lee (Rose Louise Hovick), who was born on February 9 in Seattle, was a successful burlesque performer whose life and relationship with her domineering stage mother, Rose Hovick, became the story for the musical *Gypsy*. Her humor and cleverness transformed burlesque into a more mainstream phenomenon, at least to the extent to which a burlesque performer could become a legitimate media figure. She died of lung cancer in Los Angeles on April 26.

Forced onto the vaudeville stage as a young child in an act with her younger sister June, Louise (as she was called in the act) worked in the chorus. Having left their salesman father, the Hovick family act known as Baby June and Her Farmboys toured the country on the sputtering vaudeville circuit. Looking toward the only type of traveling show that could still be successful, Rose turned the girls' act into a more risqué group called Rose Louise and her Hollywood Blonds. Working finally in burlesque houses, Rose turned the illness of another burlesque performer into Louise's big chance, as she volunteered her daughter as that performer's replacement.

Taking the name Gypsy Rose Lee, Louise began a long career as a performer. Her wit, humor, and intelligence transformed a striptease act into something more substantial and respectable, and she even appeared at high society functions. Her personality and talent made her one of the most popular burlesque performers of her time. The depression and the closing of many theaters that hosted live shows encouraged Gypsy Rose to shift her performances to the movies. She appeared in several films, including *Ali Baba Goes to Town* (1937), often cast as an exotic dancer or a burlesque performer but never achieving the success for which she had hoped. She became a mystery writer specializing in a genre she dubbed "the burlesque mystery" novel, publishing *The G-String Murders* in 1941. The book became the film *Lady of Burlesque* (1943) starring Barbara Stanwyck. Gypsy Rose Lee also published articles in *The New Yorker* and *Harper's*.

Her most successful writing venture came with the publication of her autobiography, *Gypsy*, in 1957 after her mother's death in 1954. A best-seller that focused on Gypsy's vaudeville years with her mother, the memoir became the stage musical *Gypsy*, with a book by Arthur Laurents, music by Jule Stein, and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim. The show premiered in 1959 with Ethel Merman as Mama Rose. The show became a film in 1962 with Rosalind Russell as Mama Rose.

Gypsy Rose Lee's romantic life followed the pattern of her career. Married briefly three times, she also had affairs with the producer Mike Todd and the director

Gypsy Rose Lee. *Gypsy Rose Lee transformed burlesque into a more mainstream phenomenon.* FREDERIC LEWIS/GETTY IMAGES.

Otto Preminger. Her son, Erik, was fathered by Preminger while she was married to William Kirkland.

In her later years Gypsy Rose Lee became a show business "personality" whose roots in vaudeville and burlesque made her a living symbol of a kind of entertainment whose day was past. She continued to appear in movies, including the 1966 *The Trouble with Angels* starring Rosalind Russell and Hayley Mills and the 1969 *The Over-the-Hill-Gang*. She also hosted a television talk show in 1965.

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H

HAIR

"Where there's hair, there's pleasure," notes the African-American writer Alice Walker, and such pleasure is inherently bound up with dynamics of sexuality, gender, and power. The fetishization of hair—head, facial, pubic, and other—crosses boundaries of time and place and often signals the making or marking of particular cultural boundaries as well, such as between a primitive and animalistic *nature* versus a refined and domesticated *civilization* or between fecundity, fertility, and sexual allure and their counterparts, asceticism, death, and detachment. Hair has likewise featured in gendered battles over class, ethnic, religious, and national boundaries throughout recorded history.

Practices associated with hair encode binary gender distinctions in most cultures, although different cultures assign similar phenomena, such as mandatory hair length, covering, or binding, or opposing gender categories. Traditional Muslim and Jewish practice, for example, calls for the covering of a woman's—though not a man's—hair during much of adult life, whereas traditional Asian cultures tended to relegate everyday hair covering exclusively to adult men. By the same token, long hair on contemporary European and North American men signals a countercultural stance against gender conventions in those nations; before such conventions gained hegemony in Korea, by contrast, long, uncut (albeit tightly bound) hair signified deep familial respect, whereas cropped male hair betokened abject shame and dishonor. Among the Masai people of Kenya and Tanzania, the women shave their heads; swinging tresses in that society are relegated to male warriors. The Christian savior Jesus is almost universally depicted with long, loose hair, notwithstanding the fact that Christian scriptures term *shameful* both long hair on men and short hair on women.

Body and facial hair are apt to be even more strongly and consistently gendered across cultures. Facial hair on women (eyebrows occasionally excepted) is almost universally taboo, and the removal of much or all body hair is widespread among women, especially the elite, in many contemporary societies. The nonremoval of leg and under-arm hair by women, although unremarkable in some cultures, commonly elicits disgust, particularly in North America and some European countries, and functions, along with *butch* or *crew cut* hairstyles, in popular iconography of feminists and/or lesbians. Male depilation of body hair is practiced in some cultures but is anathema in others. Male facial hair runs the gamut from compulsory (among Sikhs, Confucians, and some subgroups of Muslims and Jews, for example) to prohibited or severely circumscribed (under many military codes and other such regimes), to restricted to particular age or status groups (elders, for instance, as opposed to youth). Pubic hair (with notable exceptions) is strikingly absent from the great majority of nude images—both male and female—from ancient Hindu, Mediterranean, and African sculpture to Medieval and European Renaissance painting, to postmodern Japanese comic books. In actual practice, retention of pubic hair appears common to all sexes in European and North American societies, whereas its removal (by one or more sexes) appears equally common in many Middle Eastern, Turkish, South Asian, and African societies.

Perhaps more so than any other symbolic medium, hair displays the nexus of sexuality with spirituality in its supernatural associations with powers of creation and destruction; life and death. The most powerful and elemental of ancient

Delilah Cutting Off Samson's Hair. © HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS.

goddesses—Kali, the destroyer and transformer; Isis, creatrix and resurrector; and Gaea and Oshun, life-giving earth and water—are depicted with vibrant, unbound hair, as are Draupadi and Medusa in their manifestations as both victim and avenger of sexual violation. Many myths, such as those of Samson and Nisus, link male hair with virility and its loss with devastating weakness. Hair figures in an infinite variety of rituals associated with fertility and conception, birth, coming of age, mating, giving birth, killing, dying, mourning, and burial.

In the contemporary human realm, hair's entanglement with sexual desire and ultimate values is as well illustrated by Hindu and Buddhist ascetic practices as it is by corporate marketing strategies of the global economy. Shaving of the head has, for millennia, accompanied vows of celibacy and nonattachment to possessions and passions by Buddhist monks and nuns. Among Hindu ascetics, such renunciation or redirection of passions is often expressed through long, unkempt, matted locks of hair. In European and North American popular culture, both head shaving and dreadlocks, along with countless other hairdos, come and go as personal fashion statements at the same time that *sexy* hair—usually long, glossy, and highly styled—is enlisted in the marketing

of a vast array of consumer goods. These latter practices are emblematic of the individualism and materialism that have come to characterize post-Enlightenment culture. Hence, objectification of hair and its association with ego, sex, pleasure, and worldliness finds equal and opposite expression in age-old religious traditions of asceticism and modern, secular capitalism.

Hair is invariably and deeply ensnarled in politics, such that sexualized, gendered hair practices commonly serve as flash points in the negotiation of public identities within and among various cultures. Ongoing battles over Islamic veiling of women exemplify this phenomenon on a broad scale, whereas hair politics in African-American communities are an equally intense, if more localized, manifestation of the same. In both cases community convention and personal choice (or its lack) are entwined in a complex web of racialized, ethnic/nationalist discourses with historical roots in colonialist and anticolonialist projects. Hair comes to bear the symbolic and often physical freight of competing and interlocking oppressions as well as complicated expressions of resistance and affirmation. The presence or absence of the *hijab* (some manner of scarf or veil) in Muslim majority and minority societies, like *Afro* or *natural* versus *relaxed* hairstyles in

black communities, are highly gendered elements of larger identity formulations played out on the heads and in the daily lives of countless women.

Whether short or long, present or absent, dyed, bleached, curled, straightened, plaited, teased, spiked, bound and covered, or loose and unhampered, hair is a mode of human expression that carries as many messages and meanings as there are ways to treat it. These meanings vary across cultures and through time, but they are always and everywhere enmeshed, like hair itself, in constructions of gender, sex, sexuality, and power.

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Cynthia M. Baker

HALL, RADCLYFFE
1880–1943

Marguerite Radclyffe Hall, born on August 12, 1880, in Bournemouth, England, is best known for *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), the first English novel to focus on female homosexuality. Hall had an unhappy childhood but inherited a fortune that ensured her independence. After several lesbian affairs she settled down, at age twenty-eight, with fifty-two-year-old Mabel Batten. Known to friends as John and Ladye, they considered themselves married. Batten introduced Hall to Catholicism, and Hall converted in 1912. In 1915 Hall, who had published six books of poems and begun writing fiction, fell in love with Batten's cousin, twenty-eight-year-old Una Troubridge, who was married to a man twenty-five years her senior. When Batten died in 1916, the guilt-ridden pair began years of séances through which they claimed to communicate with her. Hall and Troubridge lived together until Hall's death in London on October 7, 1943. In her last years she fell in love with a Russian emigrant, Evguenia Souline, which damaged but did not destroy her relationship with Troubridge.

Hall was a highly successful novelist, publishing *The Unlit Lamp* and *The Forge* in 1924, *A Saturday Life* in 1925, and *Adam's Breed*, which won the Prix Femina-Vie Heureuse and the James Tait Black Memorial Prize, in 1926. She and Troubridge became well-known figures among the literati and also in homosexual circles in London and Paris; photos and caricatures of Hall, in stylish manlike attire, appeared regularly in fashionable magazines.

Hall had discreetly addressed the subject of women's attraction to women in her first novel, *The Unlit Lamp*; she said that she decided to write *The Well* from a sense of duty, in defense of the defenseless. She knew she was jeopardizing her career—her homosexual colleagues, such as Noël Coward, Virginia Woolf, E. M. Forster, Somerset Maugham, Katherine Mansfield, and even the flamboyant Lytton Strachey and Vita Sackville-West, wrote about homosexuality only indirectly in works published during their lifetime.

The Well, dedicated to "our three selves" (Batten, Troubridge, and herself), tells the story of Stephen Gordon, a noble, upright Christian woman, who, from childhood, feels and acts like a boy. After an affair with a married woman, Stephen is exiled from home. She becomes a famous novelist, and fights heroically in World War I, during which she falls in love with Mary Llewellyn. They settle down in Paris and make many homosexual friends. Among the characters based on Hall's contemporaries is Valerie Seymour, based on the American expatriate lesbian writer Natalie Barney. Their rejection by the mainstream world, however, depresses Mary, who becomes attracted to Stephen's friend Martin. Realizing that Mary would marry Martin, but for her loyalty to Stephen, Stephen pretends to have an affair so that Mary will feel free to leave with Martin, which she does. The novel ends with Stephen dedicating her talent to oppressed homosexuals, and crying out to God to acknowledge and defend his homosexual children.

Refused by three publishers, *The Well* was published by Jonathan Cape, with a preface by the sexologist Havelock Ellis, whose model of homosexuality as inversion Hall had adopted. For a month the book was favorably reviewed; then, James Douglas, editor of the *Sunday Express*, wrote an editorial titled "A Book That Must Be Suppressed," traducing it for purveying moral poison. The book became an overnight bestseller, and the British government's home secretary ordered its withdrawal. Several celebrities, including Forster and Woolf, protested this censorship. Cape transferred publication to Paris and imported copies into Britain.

The British government then prosecuted *The Well* under the Obscene Publications Act of 1857. Refusing to hear expert witnesses in its favor, including doctors, clergymen, and novelists, Judge Chartres Biron banned the book as an obscene *libel* (from Latin *libellus*, a little book). A huge public controversy followed during which

Hall and her work were caricatured and parodied. But *The Well* became an instant success around the world. The Society for the Suppression of Vice tried unsuccessfully to get it banned in the United States, and it is Hall's only novel to have remained continuously in print. The ban in England was lifted in 1949.

The Well was condemned because it represented homosexuals as worthy people, innately inverted through no fault of their own, and deserving sympathy and respect. Until then most fiction had depicted them as criminal perverts who ended up either dying or converting to heterosexuality. *The Well* brought to life a range of homosexuals, male and female, from different classes, races, religions, and professions, all unjustly persecuted but surviving and contributing to society.

Following the rise of lesbian feminism in the 1970s, many critics have condemned *The Well* for depicting Stephen as a self-hating lesbian who masochistically sacrifices her own happiness by driving Mary into Martin's arms. Others argue that *The Well* is written in the style of Victorian social realism, drawing both on well-established tragic conventions and on Biblical language to elevate its protagonist and evoke readers' empathy for her as a victim of injustice. Either way *The Well* remains an undisputed lesbian classic, the work that paved the way for subsequent explicit lesbian writing.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Gender Identity; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview; Literature: I. Overview; Literature: V. Lesbian, Creative; Manly (Masculine) Woman; Passing (Woman).*

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Ruth Vanita

HARASSMENT, SEXUAL

Sexual harassment is primarily a legal construct in the United States. It is defined as a form of workplace sex discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a form of sex discrimination in the school setting under Title IX of that act.

TYPES OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Workers are protected against two types of sexual harassment: quid pro quo and a harassing environment. Quid pro quo harassment was the first type to be recognized legally. This type of harassment generally includes unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other sexually related verbal or physical conduct when submission to such conduct is made a term or condition of employment, explicitly or implicitly, or submission to or rejection of the conduct is used as the basis for an employment decision. It is considered an egregious abuse of power by a supervisor who has control of the job benefit involved, and because of its seriousness, an organization generally is held strictly liable for a single incident because it gave the supervisor that power and control. However the advance or request must have been unwelcome for liability to ensue. If the relationship is voluntary, it is not considered harassment.

The second type of harassment, recognized by the U.S. Supreme Court in the landmark case *Meritor Savings Bank* v. *Vinson* in 1986, is a sexually harassing environment. This involves conduct that has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment. Unlike quid pro quo harassment, which can be committed only by someone with authority over an employee, a harassing environment can be created by coworkers or a supervisor. It usually requires a series of incidents to reach the level of severity needed for a claim. The range of behaviors that can create a harassing environment is large. Pin-up posters, obscene jokes, demeaning comments, leering, and sexist cartoons, if sufficiently severe and pervasive, can create a hostile, intimidating, or offensive environment. The courts use a reasonable person or victim standard to determine whether the behavior was sufficiently severe.

PUBLICITY AND ENFORCEMENT

The 1991 Senate confirmation hearings concerning Clarence Thomas's nomination for the Supreme Court was a watershed event for sexual harassment because of the publicity and attention it brought to the issue and the anger created by the treatment by the senators. Publicity greatly increased awareness of the issue and generated greater intolerance of harassment among women. Additionally, the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which made proving harassment easier and increased awards for damages, resulted in large numbers of sexual harassment lawsuits being brought successfully against employers. That led employers to adopt measures that can help insulate them from lawsuits. If an employer educates its employees about harassment, sets up a meaningful complaint system, investigates complaints in a timely manner, and takes appropriate action against the harasser when harassment is found, the employer can escape legal liability for a sexually harassing environment. The employee must use an employer's procedures, if reasonable, before bringing a claim.

In quid pro quo cases it is difficult to prove whether a relationship is voluntary. Thus a large number of employers ban supervisors from having a sexually oriented relationship with anyone they supervise. Other employers may require only that the relationship be revealed and require the employees involved to sign a statement that it is voluntary.

Although federal law protects employees from harassment on the basis of gender, it does not protect them from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Thus homosexuals who are harassed because of their orientation have no remedy unless they are in one of the states, counties, or municipalities that bar discrimination against homosexuals. In *Oncale* v. *Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc.* (1998), the Supreme Court allowed a man to sue his male coworkers for harassing behavior that was based on his perceived unmasculinity.

Sexual harassment in schools has a shorter legal history and generally is recognized, reported, and litigated less frequently. For example a 2006 study of students on college campuses suggested that two-thirds of college students have encountered sexual behavior that was unwanted and unwelcome. However, most did not report it. Despite its lower level of recognition, most schools now have some rules designed to forestall or deal with sexual harassment.

EFFECTS OF AND PROTECTION FROM SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Victims of sexual harassment can suffer in many ways. However there is no single impact of sexual harassment, and its symptomatology is determined multiply. It is considered a workplace stressor that is related to increased odds of illness, injury, accidents, and assault as well as decreased morale, loss of concentration, absenteeism, loss of confidence, and leaving a job. How strongly and in what way an individual reacts depend on a complex combination of personal variables, including the victim's perceptions and appraisals of the experience. Nevertheless evidence suggests that negative effects are exhibited by victims whether or not they perceive themselves as harassed. Similarly, high-level sexual assault is not a prerequisite for psychological or physical trauma. Research shows that repeated low-level sexual harassment has significant consequences for a woman. Sexual harassment also has been shown to have an ambient demoralizing effect. Employees witnessing workplace harassment viewed the workplace as less desirable than did nonobservers, even though the observers were not the target of the harassment.

Victimization produces immediate effects, which are categorized as a generalized distress response, or state of shock, including symptoms of emotional numbing, anxiety, depression, and repeated reexperiencing of the trauma through dreams or waking images. Physical symptoms can include gastrointestinal problems, jaw tightening, tooth grinding, dizziness, nausea, diarrhea, tics, muscle spasms, weight loss, weight gain, increased perspiration, cold feet and hands, loss of appetite, binge eating, decreased libido, delayed recovery from illness, sleep disruption, increased respiratory or urinary tract infections, recurrences of chronic illness, ulcers, irritable bowel syndrome, migraines, eczema, and urticaria. Negative long-term effects such as dealing with the repercussions of sexual harassment alone or with health and/or mental health services have been documented as late as two years after the initial victimization. Victims have been found to be more likely than nonvictims to have future problems with depression, alcohol and drug use and abuse, generalized anxiety, obsessive-compulsive disorder, suicide, self-harm, panic, somatization, schizophrenia, and posttraumatic stress disorder. Sexual harassment is estimated to cost employers millions of dollars per year in lost productivity, increased absenteeism, increased hiring and training costs, and medical and insurance costs.

Protection from workplace harassment is not unique to the United States, although the protection tends to encompass more behaviors in the United States. European Union countries, Australia, Japan, and Canada, among other countries, extend protection, although the remedies vary. Developing countries generally do not address the issue.

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Terry Morehead Dworkin

HARD-CORE PORNOGRAPHY

SEE *Pornography.*

HAREMS

The harem is central to western popular perceptions of women and sexuality in Middle Eastern societies. In this context, it is often incorrectly perceived as a glorified brothel where a Muslim ruler or grandee keeps numerous women to slake his sexual desires. While some modern-day minor princes in the Persian Gulf and the Pacific Rim do maintain such establishments, the harem has historically been a far more complex institution geared toward family reproduction and preservation. A classic example of gendered space, it extended, under a variety of names, to Europe and Asia.

DEFINITION

The word harem derives from the Arabic *harim*, referring to a place that is off limits, sacred, and/or taboo. Accordingly a residential harem is an interior space off limits to persons who do not belong to the household. In private residences and royal palaces alike, it is occupied by women and young children. However, the palace of a Muslim royal family in the medieval and early modern eras contained both a female harem and a male inner sanctum, accessible only to members of the family and personal aides. Behind such spatial arrangements, which were common to royal palaces throughout Asia in the Byzantine Empire, and in parts of Africa, lay the notion that a ruler demonstrates power through seclusion and inaccessibility rather than public visibility. Most Western European courts contained separate women's quarters, as well, although the degree of seclusion was generally not as pronounced.

Residents of the female harem included the ruler's mother, unmarried daughters and sisters, and wives. Islamic law permits a man to take up to four wives provided he can treat them all equally, although opinions differ as to what constitutes equal treatment. To these wives were added numerous concubines, usually slaves imported from non-Muslim lands and converted to Islam. A large staff of celibate female attendants, many of them slaves of the ruler's wives and mother, performed chores ranging from bookkeeping to washing clothes.

FUNCTIONS

Contrary to popular stereotypes, the premodern harem was not a den of iniquity but resembled a separate female household run by the ruler's or householder's consort. In a royal palace, the harem regulated dynastic reproduction by supplying the ruler with women of reproductive age while providing a space for the rearing of progeny. A hierarchy prevailed, with the ruler's first wife, favorite concubine, or mother playing a major role in choosing other women for the harem and determining the ruler's access to sexual partners. The ruler could not enter the harem whenever he liked but ordinarily required the permission of the female household's head. Children, both male and female, were raised and educated within the harem until their teenage years; princes were then often sent to govern provinces whereas princesses were prepared for marriage, often to high officials or foreign rulers.

A harem in a private home or in the residence of a subordinate government official replicated the ruler's harem on a smaller scale, although it was not a major arena for reproductive politics. It could, however, serve as a political and economic safe haven. If the male household head ran afoul of a political rival, he might hide in the harem or deposit part of his wealth there. While an enemy might ransack the public areas of the house, he would usually

Arabi Pasha and His Harem, Egypt, c. 1880. © BETTMAN/CORBIS.

refrain from violating the harem. As for a wife's property, under Islamic law, it remained hers throughout her life.

HISTORY

The tradition of a secluded quarter for royal women dates to antiquity in the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean. The concept was well-established in the Byzantine and Sasanian (Iranian) empires, which ruled the region at the time of Islam's advent in the early seventh century CE. In Iran, in fact, such quarters date back to the Achaemenid Empire (c. 550–330 BCE). Elite women in the Byzantine Empire lived in restricted quarters, were served by eunuchs, and apparently veiled their faces during their rare public appearances. Far less is known about Sasanian harems apart from the fact that Byzantine and Sasanian chronicles alike mention thousands of wives, concubines, and female entertainers living in specially designated quarters of the Sasanian royal palaces.

The early Muslims probably adopted the harem institution from these prototypes after they began to conquer the territories of these two empires during the 630s. The harem remained largely an institution of the elite; for the lower and even the middle classes, it was economically unfeasible.

The first Islamic rulers known to have instituted a royal harem were the Abbasids (750–1258), who ruled the Middle East and North Africa from Baghdad. All subsequent Islamic polities before the twentieth century followed their example. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and Iran's Qajar dynasty in the early twentieth century, however, the royal harem became a historical memory, although numerous conservative Muslim royal and elite households continue to maintain separate women's quarters. The closest contemporary analog to the Middle Eastern royal harem were the *hougong*, or inner quarters, of China's Qing dynasty. These were separate palaces for imperial concubines, as well as their female staff and eunuchs, located behind the palaces that served as private quarters for the emperor. This institution, however, came to an end with the Qing Empire in 1911.

Evidence on the structure and functions of the royal harem is most abundant for the Ottoman Empire. The sultan's harem was installed in Istanbul's Topkapı Palace during the reign of Süleyman I (1520–1566). By the end of the sixteenth century, it occupied an enormous complex on the western side of the palace; although figures are imprecise, its population at the time totaled perhaps 400, guarded by a nearly equivalent number of largely African eunuchs. Following Süleyman I's death, sultans no longer married but relied entirely on concubines to sustain the dynasty. In the early seventeenth century, the Ottomans abandoned the practice of sending princes to govern provinces, along with the custom whereby the new sultan had all his brothers killed. Ottoman princes now resided in a special suite of rooms known as the *cage* at the rear of the harem complex until they either took the throne or died. In this milieu, their mothers and the harem eunuchs were the chief influences on their education and attitudes.

EUNUCHS

The use of eunuchs, castrated male slaves, as harem guardians is seemingly as old and as widespread as the harem institution itself. Again the early Muslims would have adopted the practice from the Byzantines and Sasanians. The rationale for the custom went well beyond the alleged effects of emasculation on the male sexual drive. A eunuch could not found a family that would compete with the ruler for his loyalty, nor could he bequeath his wealth; when he died, the state confiscated it. Since all eunuchs in Islamic societies were imported slaves, they likewise lacked ties to the surrounding community. In theory, these qualities rendered the eunuch unfailingly loyal and trustworthy.

While the Byzantine and Chinese courts employed eunuch harem guardians who were ethnically similar to the harem residents, the Abbasids apparently set a precedent in employing eastern African eunuchs; meanwhile, eunuchs from Central Asia and Eastern Europe attended to the emperor's inner sanctum. This model was adopted to varying degrees by most Islamic empires, up to and including the Ottoman Empire. A variety of complex ethnoregional issues underlay this division of labor; it was not a simple matter of racial prejudice. The customs of the kingdom of Ethiopia may also have played a role that has thus far been ignored.

HAREM INTRIGUE

Inevitably the royal harem became an arena of political competition, giving rise to the misogynistic stereotype of *harem intrigue*. Competition was particularly fierce among wives or concubines who gave birth to sons. In an attempt to ensure her son's accession to the throne, a wife or concubine occasionally took measures against her

rivals, even to the extent of having them killed. The mother of a daughter likewise sought a prestigious marriage for her child and might try to facilitate her son-in-law's professional advancement, as when Süleyman I's wife conspired with her daughter and son-in-law to have the grand vizier executed so that the son-in-law could succeed him. The chief harem eunuch served as a conduit of information into and out of the harem; thus, the ruler's consort or mother might ally with him to influence imperial appointments and policy.

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Although reliable accounts of earlier harems are rare, the Ottoman harem is described in the reports of numerous European diplomats, few of whom ever gained access to it. Many of these are imbued with misogynistic prejudices, as are depictions by Orientalist painters such as Eugène Delacroix (1798–1868). However a handful of accounts by female visitors, notably Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), provide a more balanced perspective. Ottoman statesmen wrote of imperial women with some degree of respect, but their opinions of the harem eunuchs varied from admiring to contemptuous, often depending on the political factions to which they belonged. Ottoman religious functionaries took a more misogynistic view of the harem women's influence.

Among modern-day secondary sources, N. M. Penzer's *The Harem* (1936) echoes certain of the misogynistic attitudes of the European diplomats, depicting the Ottoman harem as irremediably decadent. Turkish historians began to grapple with the Ottoman harem in the 1950s; though grounded in institutional history, their studies typically treat the influence of harem women as an obstacle to modernity and progress. Investigations of Muslim women that emerged from the women's studies movement, beginning in the 1970s, give a more sympathetic and nuanced picture of the harem, while Leslie Peirce's landmark *The Imperial Harem* (1993) is the first work fully to contextualize the harem as part of the Ottoman political system. Creditable recent studies likewise analyze the inner quarters of imperial China and palace eunuchs in the Byzantine and Mughal empires.

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Jane Hathaway

HARLEM RENAISSANCE

The Harlem (New Negro) Renaissance was an African-American cultural movement between the World War I (1914–1919) and World War II (1939–1945) that saw a flourishing of black literature, drama, dance, art, and music. Shaped by a multiplicity of beliefs and motives, the Harlem Renaissance was a complex and often contradictory movement that was unified by a shared sense of racial self-determination and self-definition. With institutional support from black journals such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's *Crisis* and the Urban League's *Opportunity* and white philanthropists and publishing houses, the Renaissance encouraged literary and artistic works that would reshape notions of blackness in American popular consciousness and counter dominant stereotypes of black inferiority.

A MIDDLE-CLASS MOVEMENT

Harlem Renaissance leaders envisioned an educated, middle-class cultural vanguard that would lead the race in the twentieth century and bring about social change. The most exceptional and educated fraction of the race, those the black national leader W. E. B. DuBois (1868–1963) called the *Talented Tenth*, were called upon to set an example for the rest of the race by producing morally and racially validating art and demonstrating high cultural achievement to the rest of the nation. This vision of the movement privileged middle-class norms and advocated a politics of respectability that insisted on *positive representations* of black life: exemplary racial characters who exhibited middle-class aspirations and proper sexual and gender comportment. Yet at the same time, this guiding ideology was constantly challenged by writers who produced literature that reflected the experiences and values of the black working classes and those others left out of the talented tenth's normalizing program, including sexual and gender dissidents. The Harlem Renaissance thus constituted a field where the very meanings of blackness were contested in the literary public sphere.

WOMEN WRITERS OF THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

Most of the prominent women writers of the Renaissance came from the educated middle classes, and their literature reflected their worldview. Jessie Redmon Fauset, for

Poet and Critic Jessie Redmon Fauset. © CORBIS.

example, published a number of poems, essays, and novels during the Renaissance. Each of her four novels (*There is Confusion*, 1924; *Plum Bun: A Novel without a Moral*, 1929; *The Chinaberry Tree: A Novel of American Life*, 1931; and *Comedy: American Style*, 1933) depicts professional men and women of Negro society as they struggle against race prejudice. Highly conventional in style, they primarily advanced the politics of respectability and substantiated middle-class values. The novelist Nella Larsen similarly set her two novels, *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929), in the environments of the educated black elite, though her depictions are more critical of normative constructions of gender, race, and class than are Fauset's. Focusing more on self-alienation than on self-determination, Larsen's novels draw from the author's experiences as a biracial woman to explore how the color line limited black women's subjectivities. The poet and playwright Georgia Douglas Johnson was the only woman poet of the movement to publish her

own poetry collections (*The Hearts of a Woman and Other Poems*, 1918; *Bronze: A Collection of Verse*, 1922; and *An Autumn Love Cycle*, 1928). The role of women in the literary public sphere was expanded by a number of other poets, playwrights, and short story writers, including Marita O. Bonner, Anne Spenser, Helene Johnson Alice Dunbar-Nelson, and Angelina Weld Grimké.

In addition to their literary work, many of those women played a central role in shaping the direction of the Harlem Renaissance. As the literary editor of *Crisis* magazine, Fauset was an important mentor to aspiring writers. Georgia Douglas Johnson also mentored new writers and hosted a well-known literary salon at her Washington, DC, home that provided creative support and literary networking between Harlem and Washington. The poet Gwendolyn Bennett's regular column in *Opportunity*, "Ebony Flute," chronicled and publicized the literary works of younger writers. Through such contributions middle-class women were able to influence emerging work and guide the Renaissance to reflect the values of the Talented Tenth. Although their literary works often enforced racialized class, gender, and sexual norms, they also challenged existing stereotypes by enunciating the experiences and desires of a black economic and social class that rarely was represented in popular or literary culture.

CHALLENGES TO MIDDLE-CLASS VALUES

A number of other artists challenged those racial, sexual, and gender norms in their work and repudiated the elitism of the Talented Tenth. Drawing from blues culture, folk culture, and black working-class culture, writers such as Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Zora Neale Hurston, Wallace Thurman, and Richard Bruce Nugent were praised for their racial consciousness, but their refusal to affirm the values of the black middle-class and the patriarchal order of family in their prose and poetry—not to mention their personal lives—earned them dissaprobation and criticism. Hurston, one of the most significant artists of the movement, took up the practices of the rural folk rather than the black bourgeoisie, in her writings. A novelist, essayist, dramatist, and anthropologist, Hurston spent much of the Renaissance years traveling through the South, Haiti, and Jamaica, documenting folk cultures. In addition to numerous stories and plays, she published two collections of folk tales (*Mules and Men*, 1935; *Tell My Horse*, 1938), several novels (including *Jonah's Vine Gourd*, 1934, and *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, 1937), and an autobiography (*Dust Tracks on a Dirt Road*, 1942). Writers such as McKay, Thurman, and Nugent, meanwhile, all wrote works with significant queer content that explored the less respectable terrain of the urban underworld.

Although the individual poems, novels, and short stories of those writers articulated new possibilities of black masculinity, femininity, and sexuality in the public sphere, their collective rebellion of this *other* Harlem Renaissance can be seen best in the avant-garde literary journal *Fire!!* (1926), which was edited collaboratively by Thurman, Hughes, Nugent, Hurston, Bennett, Aaron Douglas, and John Davis. *Fire!!* offered a counterpoint to the literary politics espoused by magazines such as *Crisis* and *Opportunity*. Although only one issue was published, it included fiction about prostitution, internalized color prejudice, and homosexuality and poetic and prose explorations of folk and blues culture. The importance of blues and jazz to those writers requires that they be considered in relation to blues performers such as Mamie Smith, Bessie Smith, and Ethel Waters. In songs about extramarital relationships, domestic disillusionment, bisexuality and lesbian relations, and women's social oppression, blues performers articulated working-class black women's experiences and enunciated queer possibilities.

Many of the contributions of women and sexual minorities to the Harlem Renaissance were overlooked, minimized, or forgotten in the decades after the movement. The recovery of those histories, begun in the 1970s by black feminist scholars and writers, continues to be performed. For example, lesbian feminist critics have read queer meanings in the works of women authors such as Grimké and Larsen, and Hughes's poetry has been taken up by queer critics to explore the construction of black sexuality. Similarly, as films such as the black British filmmaker Isaac Julien's *Looking for Langston* (1989) and the African-American filmmaker Rodney Evans's *Brother to Brother* (2004) demonstrate, the Harlem Renaissance remains an important resource for cotemporary queer of color history and identity formation in the United States and Europe.

SEE ALSO *Blues; Gender Identity; Jazz; Literature: I. Overview; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Shane Vogel

HATE CRIMES

The expanding definition of hate crimes often changes to include violations against specific groups based on race, sexuality, creed, and national origin and now protects persons with physical and mental disabilities in addition to the elderly. The history of antibias crime law begins with post-Civil War restrictions against groups such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Although not termed *hate-crime laws*, these federal codes attempted to prevent and punish crimes motivated by racial hatred. An overview of hate-crime legislation, culminating in the civil rights era and garnering governmental support in the 1980s, provides a history of state and federal involvement in cataloging, preventing, and prosecuting hate crimes in America. Some of the more visible hate crimes, such as lynching and antigay violence, are examined more thoroughly in this entry. In addition, specific hate crimes, with names, dates, and descriptions, serve to catalog the range of crimes perpetrated against people based on group association. Finally, a summary of the debate between lawmakers and legal scholars outlines the opposition to hate-crime legislation on the grounds that it invalidates the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

To begin, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), an organization created to fight anti-Semitism and racism, was the first to create hate-crime legislation in 1981. This legislation, while directed to anti-Jewish crimes, also covers hate crimes committed against any minority group. Every state except Indiana, Georgia, South Carolina, and Wyoming has enacted hate-crime laws that address crimes based on race, gender, or sexual orientation. Typically, the punishment for hate crimes is an enhanced sentence or increase in jail time. Hate crime laws also hold parents responsible for hate crimes their children perpetrate and allow for punitive damages for vandalism of churches, cemeteries, schools, religious centers, and community centers.

Congress passed the Hate Crimes Statistic Act on April 23, 1990, requiring the attorney general of the United States to compile statistics about hate crimes, or crimes committed because of bias or prejudice against a person because of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or religion. In conjunction with local and state law agencies, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) provided data to the Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR), which in turn created a database for recording and analyzing hate-crime statistics. The UCR's first publication of their findings, *Hate Crime Statistics, 1990: A Sourcebook*, contained data from eleven states but did not succeed in offering uniform data. By 1992 the UCR, in conjunction with law enforcement officials, developed their own means of collecting data, generating a comprehensive collection of hate-crime statistics. In 2004 more than 17,000 law enforcement agencies in all fifty states offered the UCR information and statistics on hate crimes. The collaborative efforts of the FBI, law enforcement agencies, and the UCR provides valuable information on the types and numbers of hate crimes being perpetrated in each state. The statistics not only help law officials track hate crimes but also provide valuable information to activist and advocacy groups who in turn educate communities, mobilize support, and lobby for hate-crime legislation.

HISTORY OF HATE-CRIME LEGISLATION

Early legislation that seeks to punish hate crimes can be traced to the close of the Civil War (1861–1865) and was created to combat renegade groups such as the KKK and their mob law. The first United States Federal Code made it unlawful to conspire against citizens with the aim of depriving them of their constitutional rights, but issues of race, religion, sexual orientation, or national origin are never mentioned:

> If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate an inhabitant of an State, Territory, or District in the free exercise of enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same; or If two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with the intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured; They shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both; and if death results from the acts committed in violation of this section or if such acts include kidnapping or an attempt to kidnap, aggravated sexual abuse or an attempt to commit aggravated sexual abuse, or an attempt to kill, they shall be fined under this title or imprisoned for an term of years or for life, or both, or may be sentenced to death.

(18 U.S.C Section 241)

Hate Crime Statistics

Year	Total Hate Crimes	Driven by Victim's Sexual Orientation
1995	7,947	1,019
1996	8,759	1,016
1997	8,049	1,102
1998	7,755	1,260
1999	7,876	1,317
2000	8,063	1,299
2001	9,730	1,299
2002	7,462	1,244
2003	7,484	1,239
2004	7,649	1,406

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation. Available online at http://www.fbi.gov/hq/cid/civilrights/hate.htm.

Hate Crime Statistics 1995-2004. THOMSON GALE.

Not until decades later, when the Civil Rights Act of 1968 was enacted, would race become a factor in hate-crime legislation. Because the federal government was under constant pressure during the civil rights era to ensure and defend the rights of black Americans, the Civil Rights Act was created not only to ensure voting rights and access to juries, but also to protect students who attended public universities, safeguard travelers using public transportation or interstate highways, and desegregate restaurants, theaters, motels, and other public facilities where countless hate crimes occurred.

The Hate Crime Statistics Act outlines the specific responsibilities of law enforcement agencies in regards to hate-crime statistics. Agencies must compile statistics from crimes that manifest prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity. This information must be summarized and published by the FBI in January of every year. The benefits of the act, according to the ADL, is that law enforcement agencies can trace certain patterns of hate crimes, anticipating new ones and bolstering authority in cities where hate crimes are most prevalent. The ADL also believes that publishing a report of hate crimes will make victims more apt to report crimes that happen to them.

In 1994 the Violence against Women Act confirmed that persons within the United States shall have the right to be free from crimes of violence motivated by gender. As part of this act rape crisis centers and domestic violence shelters received support and sentencing for crimes against women that included punitive and compensatory settlements.

Although rape is not considered a hate crime, some prosecutors and women's rights organizations, such as Hadassah, are lobbying to expand the definition to encompass sexual crimes against women. Those interested in reclassifying rape as a hate crime argue that the term *sexual crime* implies passion when, in fact, rape is about power and hatred of women. Certain cases of multiple or violent rapes have been tried as hate crimes in an effort to obtain lengthier prison sentences. Opponents of the reclassification argue that men accused of rape should not receive enhanced prison sentences simply because they target someone of a protected group.

LYNCHING

The term *lynching* is typically used to describe renegade punishments performed without the law's consent. Acting outside of justice in the role of judge and jury, lynch mobs arbitrarily deliver sentences and dispense violent retribution with little or no consideration of factual evidence or eyewitness testimony. Lynching black males for the alleged crime of raping white women became a widespread practice at the close of the Civil War during the period of Reconstruction. When Southern men were far away fighting the war, leaving their wives alone with scores of black males, the crime of rape was scarcely reported. But after slavery was abolished and black males were given citizenship, their free presence threatened the bedrock of white supremacy, and the accusation of rape was a common occurrence in many Southern towns. This racial threat, originating after emancipation, is linked to competition in the job market, infiltration of political spheres, and initiation of sexual relationships with white females. The Tuskegee Institute's records state that 3,446 African Americans were lynched from 1882 to 1968 and that 23.5 percent of these victims were lynched for supposedly raping white women. In almost every instance the crime of rape was never tried in a court of law; instead, violent crowds, in league with law enforcement officials, took matters in their own hands and wrestled prisoners from jail cells to administer mob justice.

The history of lynching, recorded in *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (2000) by Hilton Als, Jon Lewis, and Leon Litwak, shows a disturbing connection between violent punishment and eroticism, specifically voyeurism. This collection of photographic images is perhaps the most abject record of torture and punishment in America, offering visual evidence of eroticism, or more specifically, impressions of magnetism, fascination, attraction, fetishism, and desire. In the countless photographs of black males with their genitals exposed or mutilated, one must wonder how this form of punishment assumed such a sexualized nature. In lynching photographs of white males or Hispanic males included in the collection, only one photograph shows a man with his pants ripped from his body. In sharp contrast many photographs of African-American males

Signs Protesting Against Gays. *Vigils and protests as the trial for the killers of gay student Matthew Shepard begins.* © ADAM MASTOON/CORBIS.

reveal exposed upper or lower bodies, and some victims are stripped completely naked for a group of white onlookers. Many spectators took *souvenirs* from the bodies such as bone fragments, hair strands, and articles of clothing. The souvenirs once covering the genitals of young black males were turned into fetish objects as the crowd of fascinated onlookers took visual reminder of the lifeless naked bodies. These photographic records seem to verify that ritualized lynching fulfilled a sexual desire for the white voyeur. Black men are shown with their genitals mutilated or completely severed from their bodies, with a bloodied sheet covering the wounds. The practice of lynching black males, in combination with photographic evidence, bears witness to the psychosexual pathologies of white spectators and reveals a fascination with eroticized scenes of torture and death.

ANTIGAY VIOLENCE

Before 1990 and the passing of the Hate Crime Statistics Act, federal and state law simply ignored the problem of antigay violence. Only in the last few decades have

violent crimes against lesbians and gays been referred to as hate crimes. In 1986 the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Justice met to discuss antigay violence. At that meeting psychologists, physicians, sociologists, and other members of the medical community compiled evidence of antigay violence and shared testimony revealing a systemic national antigay sentiment that pervaded schools, churches, courtrooms, and other public spaces. In 1984 the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force compiled statistics from about 1,500 gay males and more than 650 lesbians to gather data on antigay violence. Nineteen percent of the participants described being physically assaulted as a result of their sexual orientation; 44 percent suffered verbal threats of violence, and 92 percent of those threatened admitted to persistent harassment.

When comparing governmental and law-enforcement statistics of antigay violence to those collected from private agencies, a striking trend is obvious; the figures reported from law enforcement agencies are drastically lower than those of advocacy groups and nonprofit agencies. Groups such as the National Coalition of Antiviolence Programs

reported 2,212 crimes against gay men in 1995, whereas the FBI estimated only 1,266 offenses, pointing to either a gross miscalculation or a great deal of underreporting. Because lodging a formal complaint requires a police report with identification of the victim, some gays and lesbians choose to remain anonymous rather than call attention to their sexual orientation. In some cases homosexuals would rather suffer antigay violence than disclose sexual orientation to family members and the larger community.

Historically, the relationship between law officials and homosexuals has been volatile, culminating in a massive protest staged by gays, lesbians, and transvestites in 1969 called the Stonewall Riots or Stonewall Rebellion. In June 1969 police raided the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village, a popular gay bar that served liquor without a license. Police and more than 1,000 protesters clashed in the streets, marking the first of many protests staged by gays and lesbians in the days to come. Most credit the Stonewall Riots as the beginning of the gay rights movement, the mobilization and organized protest rallies signaling a united front against homophobia and antigay violence. Gay Pride Week—typically held during the last week in June and marked by parades, costumes, marches, and rallies—celebrates gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, and transvestite lifestyles while also commemorating the events at Stonewall and the struggle for gay rights.

SPECIFIC HATE CRIMES

What follows is a list and description of some of the more notable, or well-known, hate crimes that occurred in the United States between the years 1955 and 2006:

> August 28, 1955: Emmett Till (b. 1941), an African-American male, disappeared from a small town in Mississippi while visiting relatives. Till, a native of Chicago, allegedly whistled at a white woman outside of a grocery store, infuriating the white citizens who witnessed the event. Allegedly, the white woman's husband and brother-in-law kidnapped Till from his family's home, beat him to death, tied a heavy metal fan blade around his neck, and threw his body in the Tallahatchie River. Till was only fourteen years old at the time of his death and his mother asked for an open casket so that the world could see what they did to her child. The trial gained national attention, with both accused men acquitted of the crime by a jury of all-white males. Many argue that Till's brutal murder generated a great deal of momentum for the civil rights movement.

> June 12, 1963: Famed civil rights leader Medgar Evers (b. 1925) was shot and killed at his home in Jackson, Mississippi. The sniper shot Evers in his driveway, though Evers was able to crawl to his front steps before collapsing and later dying at a local hospital. Byron De La Beckwith (1920–2001), a KKK member, was charged with the murder, but two Jackson juries deadlocked on the decision to convict. It would be thirty years later, on February 5, 1994, when Beckwith would finally be convicted of Evers's death; he spent the rest of his life in prison. The film *Ghosts of Mississippi* (1996) tells the story of Beckwith's final trial and conviction.

> June 21, 1964: Three civil rights workers were arrested for allegedly speeding in Philidelphia, Mississippi. Micheal Schwerner (b. 1939), James Chaney (b. 1943), and Andrew Goodman (b. 1943) were part of the Freedom Riders, a group of college students protesting segregation in the South. After the three men spent the day in jail, police officers released them in the evening, ignoring their requests to stay at the facility until morning. Waiting in the dark were several KKK members who systematically shot each man on a country road and hid their bodies in an earthen dam. The case pointed to a conspiracy between Klan members and police officials, and the trials reflected the segregationist leanings of judges and juries. Most of the men responsible for the attack escaped any punishment, and the strictest prison sentence for the murderers was six years. The motion picture *Mississippi Burning* (1988) chronicles the FBI search for the missing boys.

> April 4, 1968: A sniper in Memphis, Tennessee, fatally shot Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. (b. 1929) as he prepared for a scheduled demonstration. Riots broke out across the entire country in a wave of violence that left forty-six people dead, 2,600 injured, and 21,270 in prison. In the wake of mob violence estimated damage from vandalism and arson was more than $45 million.

> October 19, 1973: A group of militant black Muslims called the Death Angels attacked two white victims, Richard and Quinta Hague, with machetes in San Francisco, California. Quinta Hague died from the attack and her husband was severely injured. By killing white men and women the Death Angels *earned their wings* and became prominent members of the gang. After six months and fourteen deaths, the Death Angels' killing spree finally ceased.

> August 19, 1980: Notorious member of the KKK and American Nazi Party, Joseph Paul Franklin, shot two black joggers in Salt Lake City, Utah. The victims, David Martin (age twenty) and Theodore Fields (age eighteen), were allegedly

shot for running beside two white women. Franklin was also charged with bombing the Beth Shalom synagogue in 1977 and in May 1980 of attempting to assassinate Vernon Jordan (b. 1935), the once National Urban League director. Franklin only targeted interracial couples or Jews and before his capture was responsible for killing twenty-one people.

August 7, 1998: James Byrd, a forty-nine-year-old African American, was dragged to death by two white supremacist members of the Aryan Nation. On an asphalt street in Jasper, Texas, Byrd was chained to a pickup truck and dragged for almost two miles. The men purportedly told Byrd: "We're starting the *Turner Diaries* early." A revered text amongst neo-Nazis, *The Turner Diaries* encourages the slaying of African Americans and Jews. One of the murderers, John William King (age twenty-four), was convicted of the murder and sentenced to death.

October 6, 1998: Matthew Shepard (b. 1976) left a local college bar in Laramie, Wyoming, with two men who claimed, as did Shepard, to be gay. After driving to a deserted rural area, the two men tied Shepard to a fence, severely beat him, and left him for dead. Almost eighteen hours later Shepard was discovered by a cyclist who found him unconscious and suffering from hypothermia. Shepard remained in a coma for five days before dying from massive head trauma that made it impossible for doctors to operate. In response to their son's death, the Shepard family created the Matthew Shepard Foundation to encourage diversity and support education and tolerance.

Friday July 28, 2006: Naveed Afzal Haq, a Muslim American claiming to be angry with Israel, walked into a Jewish community center in Seattle, Washington, and opened fire, killing one woman and wounding five others.

Critics of hate-crime legislation argue that people charged with hate crimes are essentially punished for holding certain opinions, something that tramples on the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution. Even though the First Amendment guarantees freedom of speech, some forms of personal expression, such as libel, obscenities, and language that either provokes violence or causes injury, are not sanctioned under the First Amendment. How to interpret whether some forms of hate speech fall under the protection of the First Amendment has some lawmakers uncertain. Legislators also cite the Fourteenth Amendment, which delineates equal protection under the law, as proof that enhanced penalty laws are unconstitutional.

Under the Fourteenth Amendment, each individual tried in court for a crime must be treated in the same manner as others tried for similar crimes. If a person charged with murder is given an enhanced penalty for a hate crime, critics argue that punishments are not assigned consistently or in line with equal protection. In addition, some argue that victims of hate crimes receive increased protection under the law simply because they meet the criteria of a protected group.

Susan Gellman, attorney in the Ohio public defender's office, writing in the *UCLA Law Review*, makes clear the positions of legal scholars against hate-crime laws:

> Those who oppose ethnic intimidation laws, or at least who question them most vigorously, do not disagree that bigotry (and certainly bigotry-related crime) is a serious problem. On the contrary, they are also from the ranks of the most civil rights-conscious thinkers and activists. These critics focus on threats to constitutional liberties under the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Their concerns are that these laws tread dangerously close to criminalization of speech and thought, that they impermissibly distinguish among people based on their beliefs, and that they are frequently too vaguely drafted to provide adequate notice of prohibited conduct.

> *(1991, 30: pp. 333–396)*

Although critics argue that hate-crime legislation might infringe on the rights of citizens and turn law enforcement officials into a thought police, many believe that strict deterrents—jail time, restitution for families, and community service, for instance—make perpetrators of hate crimes aware of the penalties for their actions.

SEE ALSO *Homophobia; Rape; Shepard, Matthew Wayne.*

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Melissa Fore

HELOISE AND ABELARD

Although Heloise (c. 1101–1163) and Peter Abelard (1079–c. 1143) had distinguished careers in the medieval Church, they are best known for their intense and dramatic love affair. The events of that affair are recorded in a series of letters they wrote between 1130 and 1134 in which they recount the course of a relationship that occurred more than a decade earlier. Those letters, which were composed in Latin prose, offer a remarkable account of their affair between 1116 and 1119, and in them Heloise employs the rhetorical practices of medieval letter writing to express masochistic forms of desire.

THE LOVE AFFAIR: 1116–1119

In a letter written to a friend in 1130 that came to be known as the *History of His Misfortunes*, Abelard describes how he became disenchanted with the celibate life of a cleric that he had led up that point and set out in 1116 to make Heloise his lover. At that point Heloise was approximately fifteen years old and lived in the home of her uncle, Fulbert of Chartres, a canon. Part of Heloise's attraction for Abelard was her reputation—even at that age—for learning, an unusual achievement for women in the twelfth century. Abelard notes that because Heloise, unlike most women, knew how to read and write Latin, their love affair would be facilitated through the exchange of letters; as Abelard puts it: "[W]hen apart, we would be allowed to be present through written mediators, and to write many things more audaciously than we could speak them." Abelard proposes that they can express and enact desire more boldly in writing than in person; he does not consider their textual relationship—enacted through the exchange of letters—to be secondary to their physical relationship.

Abelard persuaded Fulbert to appoint him to be Heloise's tutor; in that position Abelard would enjoy proximity to Heloise and be empowered to give her private lessons and punish her physically if he deemed it necessary. As Abelard tells it he and Heloise quickly became sexually involved. Part of their relationship involved a level of physical violence under the cover of pedagogical violence. Abelard states: "[I]ndeed, to attract less suspicion, I sometimes gave her blows, but out of love, not fury, out of kindness, not anger—blows that surpassed the sweetness of all ointment." Both Abelard and Heloise suggest that erotic violence was a significant component of their passionate affair.

Abelard and Heloise managed to keep their relationship a secret from Fulbert until Heloise became pregnant, at which time Abelard sent her to Brittany to be cared for by his sister until their son was born. To placate Fulbert, who felt strongly that Abelard had wronged him, Abelard offered to marry Heloise as long as the marriage was kept secret. Fulbert agreed, and although Heloise was reluctant to marry and thus compromise Abelard's career in the Church, they secretly married. Their clandestine marriage failed to satisfy Fulbert, and in revenge for the wrong Abelard had done to him in seducing his niece, he had Abelard castrated. Abelard and Heloise both entered religious orders at that point. Though Heloise thrived as a nun and eventually became a highly respected and influential abbess, she never ceased to love or desire Abelard.

THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS: 1130–1134

Although Abelard and Heloise refer to letters they composed during their love affair, the letters that definitely can be attributed to them all date from a later period after they had entered religious life. Those letters enact the form of textual desire that may have supplemented their physical performance of sexuality at the beginning of the affair and that became the sole means for them to enact their erotic desires after Abelard's castration had caused their separation.

Both Abelard and Heloise consider verbal abuse more painful than physical abuse, and the letters they exchange repeat the erotic violence of their affair. Heloise's letters verbally perform masochistic desires in the face of Abelard's indifference toward her after his castration. For Heloise, Abelard's *History of His Misfortunes* situates her as an abject lover, and in her first letter to him she exquisitely describes her suffering. Like the physical violence she experienced from Abelard as his student lover, the rhetorical violence of his letters allows her to create an identity as a lover who experiences Abelard's indifference as a form of pleasure. In response to the implicit violence of Abelard's rhetorical indifference, Heloise develops a language of suffering and pain that is self-consciously aware of its status as performance. Abelard responds to Heloise by sending her a letter in which he addresses her as a religious authority and ignores her emotional and erotic investment in him.

Tomb of Heloise and Abelard Pere Lachaise Cemetary in Paris, France. NAT FARBMAN/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

Although Heloise's first letter was shaped by her insistent pleas for a response from Abelard that would recognize her, as she puts it, as his slave, her second letter expands on her erotic desires: She sees herself as the cause of Abelard's sufferings and states a desire to be the one who suffers. She reiterates her need for recognition as the submissive partner in their relationship and insists that Abelard not praise her. This letter dwells on pain and pleasure as well as her memories of pleasure: "[S]o sweet were the pleasures of lovers to me that they cannot displease me nor be loosened from memory. To whatever place I turn, always they put themselves before my eyes with their desires nor do they spare me their illusions in sleep . . . so that I do all things in those places with you." Although this passage often is interpreted as an example of Heloise's repression, Heloise here describes an auto-erotic experience, not a repressed form of desire.

Heloise's letters perform a sexuality shaped by the submissive and even masochistic role she played in the affair: The letters Abelard and Heloise exchange textually enact forms of dominance and submission. Heloise's extraordinary skill in Latin prose and brilliant reputation in Latin scholarship enabled her to use letters as an erotic performance through which she could take pleasure in her subjection to Abelard.

SEE ALSO *Canon, Revising the; Castration; Domination; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Manliness; Middle Ages; Monasticism.*

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Marilynn Desmond

HEPATITIS

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

HERA

SEE *Ancient Greece; Ancient Rome; Goedess Worship.*

HERMAPHRODITE

Hermaphrodite refers to a being, human or otherwise, that possesses both female and male sexual organs. In humans that being is distinct from the *androgyne*, who may not have a double set of distinctly opposed sexual organs but whose overall physical appearance is so ambiguous that it makes sexual identification impossible. In contrast, the hermaphrodite may develop one set of sexual traits more than the other and pass for either male or female.

The term *hermaphrodite* derives from the Greek mythic tale eventually set down sometime between 1–8 CE by Ovid as *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*. In this tale the adolescent son of Hermes and Aphrodite comes across a fountain that belongs to the nymph Salmacis. Upon seeing the boy the nymph falls in love with him and asks him to either marry her or to love her in secret. He rebuffs her so she pretends to leave him alone but hides behind a bush. When he takes off his clothes she cannot contain herself and runs back to him. She holds him fast with her entire body and begs the gods to clip him to her like this forever. The gods grant her wish and so "they grew one body, one face, one pair of arms and legs (…) so two became nor boy nor girl,/neither yet both within a single body" (Ovid 1958 [1–8 CE], p. 122).

Alongside mythic literary renderings as in Ovid, European philosophical, medical, and legal conceptions of the hermaphrodite, from antiquity to the premodern era, can be traced back to two contrasting theories of dual-sexed beings: one originating with the Hippocratic writers and the other with Aristotle. The Hippocratic, or gender-spectrum, model conceived sexual identities along a continuum from ultramale to ultrafemale beings. In this view both maternal and paternal seeds could contribute maleness or femaleness. Sexual identity resulted from a combination of factors, including which seed dominated and whether it was implanted on the male or female side of the uterus. Along the spectrum of sexual determination, the hermaphrodite occupied the precise, and perfectly ambiguous, middle of that range.

In contrast, for the Aristotelian or gender-dichotomy model, no such ambiguity existed at the level of the organism. Beings were fundamentally either male or female. Sexual identity was determined by the heat of the heart, and any indeterminacy was strictly superficial. Aristotelians conceived of hermaphroditism as a deformity localized at the genitalia, a result of excess maternal matter that formed an additional sexual organ, according to Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park (1996).

Whereas the Hippocratic model has the potential to challenge the social and sexual order with various possibilities for sexual identity, the Aristotelian model tends to reinforce this order. Furthermore, the Aristotelian insistence on *true* and singular gender also laid the groundwork for later conceptions of the hermaphrodite as dissembler and deceiver, constructions that were critical to social and legal controversies of the premodern era.

THE MIDDLE AGES

Although medieval medical discourse through the twelfth century tended to be Hippocratic, the resurgence of Aristotelian texts in the thirteenth century complicated physicians' views (Daston and Park 1996). For instance, Albertus Magnus, a friar and German philosopher in the late thirteenth century, betrays his uncertainties when he claims that the "complexion of the heart" should determine sexual dominance, but immediately acknowledges that there are times when this complexion "is so intermediate that it is hardly possible to determine which sex should prevail" (1996, p. 121).

Despite medicine's difficulties in determining sexual identity in some hermaphrodites, medieval law still expected a person to adhere to the sexual identity he or she had been assigned at birth. Transgressing this law was not only morally condemnable but also a criminal act, for, as Peter de Chandler (d. 1197) argued in *Verbum abbreviatum*, sexual alternation could be seen as a "sign of sodomy" (Miri Rubin 1994, p.103–104).

Other discourse on the hermaphrodite cited by Miri Rubin (1994) included reworkings of Ovid's—interpretations that ranged from cautionary tales to young men regarding excess in worldly pleasure, to images of harmony and mutually beneficial contributions, to Christological allegories of Christ Hermaphrodite fusing with the nymph, Humanity, in the pool of the Virgin Mary.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Whereas the debate over the nature of the hermaphrodite in the early modern period seems to settle on the Aristotelian model, albeit with moments of Hippocratic resurgence, late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century discourse became increasingly sexually and morally charged, shifting from determining the nature of hermaphrodites to considering them *preternatural* (wondrous creatures worthy of discussion in medical treatises such as those published by Ambroise Paré in 1550, Jacques Duval in 1612, and Jean Riolan in 1614), *unnatural* (as sodomites were considered), or *artificial* (changing sex or having same-sex relations with the aid of devices) (Daston and Park 1996). Thus, hermaphrodites were subjected to more severe scrutiny and condemnation. Not only were the births and marriages of dual-sexed persons noted on the local town registries, but their livelihoods and, in fact, their lives were threatened when allegations of sodomy hovered over them.

This was the case for Marie le Marcis, who was accused of sodomy in 1601 for abandoning female dress and changing her name to Marin, with the intention of marrying a woman. She was saved from being hanged and burned when Jacques Duval testified that Marie/Marin possessed a male organ that "emerged from her/his vagina only when aroused" (Daston and Park 1996, p.124). Another case was that of Marguerite Malaure, a maidservant who, in 1686, had been identified as a "predominantly male hermaphrodite." (Daston and Park 1996, p. 125). She was forced to take male dress and the name of Arnauld Malaure, thus losing her livelihood. Marguerite was jailed when she tried to reassume her female identity, and it was not until she beseeched the king that she was ultimately reinstated as a woman.

What modern scholars have identified as an increased fascination with hermaphrodites in the early seventeenth century may have been a reaction to the political and religious turmoil affecting France in the second half of the sixteenth century. In addition to the above-mentioned medical treatises, a sudden flow of political pamphlets and literary satire on the part of religious extremists demonized Catherine de Medici (1519–1589) and her sons Charles IX (1550–1574) and Henri III (1551–1589) for their behavior at court. Some portrayed Catherine as a virago, Charles as a king castrated by his mother, and Henri as a sodomite. All of these seem to reflect a desire to reestablish the order of sexual dichotomy at court as well as in the nation. However, this desire may have been complicated by the resurgence of the works of Sextus Empiricus (second and possibly third centuries CE), such as his *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, which was translated by Henri Estienne in 1562. As Kathleen P. Long (2006) suggests, the revival of Sextus's ideas on suspending judgment about reality initiated a phase of questioning of

fundamental truths that pervaded much of the epistemological thought of the late sixteenth century and is reflected in satirical texts such as that of Thomas Artus's *Description de l'Isle des Hermaphrodites, Nouvellement Découverte* [Description of the island of Hermaphrodites, newly discovered] (1695 [1605]).

Published sixteen years after the death of Henri III, infamous for cross-dressing, Artus's text sets up a realm populated by men who dress as women. Despite its title the focus of the text is on their accouterment: dress, hairstyle, makeup, gestures, speech, and even the laws by which they constitute and identify themselves. The absence of direct references to these men's anatomies indicates that, to the author, hermaphrodites are not the product of nature but are the result of counterfeit appearance and performativity (Long. 2006). To the extent that these markers are also those of the transvestite, sodomite, and of any deviant behavior; Artus's text may read as a conservative satire of Henri III's court and an attempt to denounce boundary transgressions that threatened the fabric of the social order. Nevertheless, contemporary readings note carnivalesque potential in the fact that, in the text, gender is not grounded in anatomy but rather oriented around language and performativity and thus vulnerable to the play of signification. For instance, the section titled "Articles of Faith of the Hermaphrodites" declares that "from now on and forever we abolish those names of father, mother, brother, sisters, and others, and only want to use those of Monsieur, Madame, and others of similar honor, according to the customs of the countries" (Artus 1695, p. 68). Here and elsewhere the text signals the disruption of social hierarchies and traditional familial relations. Moreover, gender roles, such as Madame and Monsieur are put on and taken off as easily as clothing: "each one may dress according to his/her whims, as long as it is done bravely, superbly, and with no other distinction or consideration for his/her rank or privilege ... because on this Island, the clothes make the monk, and not the other way around" (Artus 1695, p. 88). Artus's text is indicative of the pyrrhonic crisis that began with the revival of Sextus. In this brief period, prior to the Enlightenment (1600–1800) quest for singular scientific certainty, the hermaphrodite became emblematic of a perpetual undecidability that resonates with postmodern relativity and the principle of uncertainty.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Body, Theories of; Gender, Theories of; One-Sex Theory.*

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HERPES

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

HERRENFRAGE

The term *Herrenfrage* (the question of men) was coined by historian Jo Ann McNamara as a counterpoint to the better-known *Frauenfrage* (the question of women) to express a crisis of masculinity in the Christian West at the end of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Expanding populations created new conditions, especially in urban centers, where the high status of the warrior class diminished and a higher premium was placed on learning, creating new professionals with high stakes in the leadership of all Church institutions. A campaign waged to extirpate marriage among secular priests and impose celibacy throughout the clergy met fierce resistance. The 1074 Roman Synod proclaimed the degeneracy of Nicolaite (married) priests, but that same year, the Paris synod rejected clerical celibacy as contrary to reason and human nature (Dalarun 2006). Bernard of Tiron (1046–1117), preaching celibacy in Normandy, was almost killed at the instigation of the wives of the priests (Dalarun 2006). McNamara observed that monastic orders rejected the presence of women among the monks, as women in clerical texts of all types were depicted as polluting, aggressive, and dangerous. Whereas *Frauenfrage* refers to the sudden "surplus" of women in Christendom, as a result of enforced clerical celibacy turning many women out on the street, and of the mobilizations of large numbers of men for the Crusades, *Herrenfrage* refers to male efforts to reshape threatened masculinity. For McNamara, "the newly celibate clerical hierarchy reshaped the gender system to assure male domination of every aspect of the new public sphere" (1994, p. 11).

The Aristotelian model of gender and the sexed body posited maleness at the core of the human person and defined women as an accidental deviation or defective male. But women would then be justified in returning to "natural maleness" by shedding all their "womanly" functions, in particular, having sex with men and conforming to the imperative of procreation. Some medieval women could thus "renounce" their inferior status as women, and, acquiring a "manly" status, could rule, lead troops, or be included in the praying order. In the early eleventh century, women still had opportunities within the Church; women ruled convents while secular canonesses of cathedral chapters shared the functions of male canons, except for sacramental activity. In the early Middle Ages, celibacy was the purview of women as a virtue of sexual abstinence leading to sainthood. Now, men were claiming celibacy as their own. As monks rose in the clerical hierarchy and the monastic orders were clericized with the co-option of monks into ordained priesthood, nuns were disqualified from access to higher orders of learning, and, beginning in 1059, then in the 1120s, canonesses were attacked and chapters dissolved (McNamara 1994).

Yet some saw sexual renunciation as a means to free all, men and women, from traditional gender roles. The number of women hermits, anchoresses, and recluses multiplied, including repentant prostitutes and abandoned priest's wives. For men, abstinence was a way out of the burdens and corruption of government (McNamara 1994). Hermann of Tournai, regarding women adopting the Cistercian rule, said women were fit for the hardest ascetic practices and manual labor, and in 1131 young women gathered around Gilbert of Sempringham (c. 1083–1189) to cultivate a piece of land so unyielding that monks had abandoned it (McNamara 1994).

The Breton priest Robert of Arbrissel (c. 1047–1117) renounced his former sins, became an apostle for celibacy and purity (Dalarun 2006), and, in 1095, went "to the desert" in the forest of Craon, at the Anjou-Brittany border, to implement his own doctrine of ministering to women, including the most destitute (Dalarun 2006). He formed a mixed monastic community at Fontevraud where men and women were separated by walls, and women became leaders, ruling over men (Venarde 2003). He also spearheaded a bold syneisactic experiment in which a mixed community lived side by side. This term refers to women and men living chastely together for religious purposes, or more precisely, cohabitating to test their chastity (Ranft 1997, p. 1445). As Duby puts it, "at night the men slept on one side, the women on the other, and the leader in between, presiding over an exercise in self-control that had spread to France from Britain." This was a community "in which men slept near women in order to defy the lusts of the flesh" (Duby 1983, p. 157). However, Robert was fiercely attacked and had to desist. A letter to him from Bishop Marbod of Rennes lambastes

him for underestimating the evil of women and the power of lust, for taking pleasure in women's company, and for committing the cardinal sin—pride (Venarde 2003).

Church authorities reinstated the idea of man's "raging uncontrollable lust" against women (McNamara 1994, pp. 15–16), whom Marbod characterized as poisonous snakes (Venarde 2003). Around 1136, Bernard equated syneisactism with heresy: he could not prove wrongdoing on the part of pious women and men, but declared himself scandalized and thus that these men and women were "heretics subverting the Church through scandal." Men began deserting the cause of women in droves, leaving syneisactic communities they had founded, shutting down mixed orders under stricter claustration, and enforcing the gender order (McNamara 1994). Thus, when the lady Ermengarde (c. 1067–1147), daughter of Foulques Rechin (or Fulk IV of Anjou), repudiated by William of Aquitaine (1071–1126), was married again to the count of Nantes, she tried to leave him and take refuge in Fontevraud, seeking an annulment of the marriage. It was denied, and Robert had to return her to her husband, with admonishments to "accept her lot in life, her 'order' as a wife and mother" (Duby 1983, p. 159). Thus, by the middle of the twelfth century, gender and male dominance were, for the time being, reconfigured and shored up.

SEE ALSO *Gender Roles: II. History; Gender Stereotype; Gender, Theories of; Middle Ages.*

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HETEROSEXUALITY

Heterosexuality is a sexual identity in which sexual and erotic desires are directed exclusively toward members of the opposite sex. The term *heterosexuality* emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century in the context of the rapidly expanding field of sexology: the medical, psychological, and social study of sex. The origin of the term is closely linked to the pathologizing of sex that occurred during that period; the concept of heterosexuality came into being largely to distinguish the *perversion* of homosexuality (also known as sexual inversion or the contrary sexual instinct) from other-directed sexuality. In its early usage the word heterosexuality often was allied with notions of perversion both by its close association with abnormal sexuality and by its frequent use to denote *unnatural*, or nonprocreative, sexual inclinations. By the 1889 publication of Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, along with its influential 1892 English translation, however, heterosexual often was used also to connote *normal* sexuality, thus setting up a heteronormative understanding of human sexuality that persists today.

Although the term heterosexuality has been dated with some precision; tracing the concept of heterosexuality in the genealogy of human sexuality has been much more difficult. Because heterosexual union requires the coming together of two differently sexed biological bodies and because human procreation depends on the mating of those bodies, the study of heterosexuality has been complicated by the tendency to consider heterosexuality a natural biological fact rather than a cultural or historical construction.

Beginning in the 1970s, most notably with Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1976), gay and lesbian historians began interrogating the *naturalness* of human heterosexual desire, often as part of a project of recuperating an alternative queer history. Foucault's argument that human sexuality is a culturally constructed concept that emerged from the discourse of the nineteenth century was crucial to the project of rethinking heterosexuality as a cultural specific rather than a biological fact. Debates raged, however, about whether sexuality is completely constructed or whether modern sexual identities were visible in other forms in earlier epochs. Thus social constructionists argued that before the emergence of homosexuality and heterosexuality in the nineteenth century, sex was understood in terms of the type of sexual act performed rather than in terms of sexual identity. A sodomite in earlier times was a person who committed a criminal sexual act; after the nineteenth century a sodomite was a person whose very identity was bound up in an exclusive desire for sexual relations with other men.

Researchers with a more essentialist outlook argued that although homosexuality might have been understood differently, identifiable subcultures of men who had sex with other men and who constructed their sexual identities around certain types of clothing, manners, and behaviors have existed throughout history. Those cultures,

according to some, prove the prior existence of identities (such as homosexuality and heterosexuality) structured around the choice of sexual object.

Social constructionists have critiqued more essentialist theories on the grounds that they unfairly impose a modern understanding of sexuality on a sometimes remote past. Social constructionism, however, has been criticized for its tendency to regard the physical body as a blank slate on which culturally specific notions of biology, sex, and gender are constructed. In some cases this has led to a modified social constructionism that envisions the physical body as limiting the possibilities for social constructions of sexuality.

In the 1980s and 1990s many studies of sexuality concerned its imbrications in constructions of gender and gender relations. For feminist and queer scholars the ways in which heterosexuality structures, informs, and legitimates genders norms has been problematic and thus has been a focus of attention. Until recently those studies tended to focus on challenges to heteronormativity, such as alternative sexualities and the explosion of gender norms. Increasing attention, however, has been paid to the question of heterosexuality itself. Recent scholars have begun to examine the means by which the assumption of heterosexuality has rendered it monolithic and invisible. Those scholars have studied the degree to which the heterosexual ideal underlies social structures and institutions, public policy, power structures, and matrices of personal identity.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Sexuality in Antiquity The prevalence of male sexual relationships in ancient Greece and Rome has been held up as evidence for the long history of homosexuality. Some researchers have highlighted the ways in which certain subcultures constructed a social identity that was based on a sexual object, arguing that such subcultures are proof of Greek and Roman analogues to the modern notion of homosexuality. Others, however, have contended that same-sex relationships in antiquity were conducted as a performance of social dominance: What was important was not the choice of sexual partner but the act that was performed. Penetration was understood as an assertion of power that was performed by an adult male citizen. To be penetrated was the purview of women, slaves, and adolescents because it connoted a passivity that was at odds with ideas of citizenship. Sexuality thus was understood in terms of action and passivity rather than sexual difference. Sex required an active partner and a passive one rather than a male and a female.

This understanding of sexuality is mirrored by ancient conceptions of gender difference. Rather than being possessors of radically different bodies and sexual organs, men and women were thought to have similar bodies in different stages of development. A woman's body was not substantially different from a man's—merely less developed. Because gender was conceived as essentially undifferentiated, it mattered little what kind of body a citizen had sex with, only whether a sexual act was a fitting assertion of the powers of an active citizen. Sex in antiquity produced not heterosexuals and homosexuals but citizens and noncitizens.

There is some historical evidence for a category of effeminate men in antiquity that preferred the passive position. Some historians have argued that the existence of such groups refutes the contention that Greek and Roman cultures had no concept of exclusive same-sex desire that correlates to the modern notion of homosexuality. Opponents have argued, however, that such men took both active and passive roles in sex and that social intolerance reflected their flouting of gender norms rather than the choice of a sexual partner.

Christian Sex In both Christian and pagan cultures the early centuries of Christianity saw a rise in the importance of sexual austerity. In contrast to the understanding of sex as a means of asserting social dominance in the classical period, sex in late antiquity became a means of relating to the self. Thus Roman society saw an increased focus on self-control and the ill effects of overindulgence. That concern was mirrored in early Christian society, which placed great emphasis on self-control and the regulation of sex. Christian theology regarded sexual desire as a manifestation of evil and the primary site of sinful temptation; overcoming sexual desire thus became central to transcending the material world and attaining the world of the spirit.

Christian faith thus idealized celibacy and chastity and regarded marriage as a second-best alternative for those who were unable to remain chaste. Appropriate sexual behavior within the confines of marriage thus became a primary site of the regulation of sexuality by the Christian Church. In Greek and Roman societies of antiquity, sex between men was regarded as an improvement over nature. Adolescent boys were considered to express an ideal of youth and beauty, and to copulate with a young man was thus an idealized form of sexual behavior that was enabled by a civilization's advances over nature. By the year 1000, however, in the Christian Church nature had come to serve as a legitimating mechanism, a touchstone that helped determine whether a sexual act was sanctioned by God and nature or was perverse and unnatural. In that purview natural sex was construed as procreative; unnatural sex was sex done solely for pleasure or without a chance of procreation. Certain forms of heterosexual sex thus were condoned by the Church, whereas masturbation, anal sex, and homosexual sex were deemed to be unnatural and therefore sinful.

The act of confession and penitential handbooks were used to aid the Church in its regulation of sexuality. Parishioners were encouraged to name and describe their sins of the flesh, providing a discursive framework for the regulation of sex. In tandem with the religious regulation of sex, however, there was a flourishing literary culture of romance and seduction that encouraged a more liberal view of sexuality. Despite the proscriptive nature of Church guidelines for an ideal marriage, historical evidence suggests that premarital sex, adultery, concubinage, and prostitution flourished and that in secular culture, sex and sexual desire were considered normal.

Because of the emphasis of the Church on nature as a legitimating mechanism for sexual desire, heterosexual vaginal sex—the only sort that could result in procreation—within the bonds of marriage was the only type of sanctioned sexual activity. There is some disagreement, however, about whether that emphasis on heterosexual sex correlates to the conception of heterosexuality as it is understood in the early twenty-first century. Some historians have interpreted the existence of an early Christian framework for acknowledging exclusive male unions as evidence for a medieval homosexual culture. Evidence suggests, however, that this was one of many ways in which the early Christian Church tolerated and accommodated the social and sexual mores of lay society even as it officially encouraged sexual renunciation. By the end of the first millennium CE, the Church had consolidated its hold on the religious and social life of Europe. Attitudes toward women had taken the form of a binary opposition in which women were idealized as the Virgin Mary or viewed as corrupters of the flesh. In either case sex between men and women was always fraught, and homosocial male friendships were encouraged as an ideal form of intimacy.

By the early Renaissance the regulation of sodomy had become a matter of increased concern to both Church and secular authorities. The term *sodomy*, which previously had connoted unnatural sexual acts of any variety, increasingly was applied to sex between men, and legal documents suggest that there was widespread practice of sodomy in certain regions in Europe. Some scholars have argued that the increased concern with regulating sodomitical behaviors and the sometimes widespread prosecution of men for those actions suggest the existence of communities of men structured around a homosexual identity. Others, however, contend that such men routinely engaged in sex with both men and women; this suggests that a sexual identity structured around exclusive desire for a particular sex had not arisen.

The Creation of Heterosexuality With the rise of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, religious communities began to rethink the relationship between sex and marriage. Protestants differentiated themselves from the Catholic Church, in part by insisting on marital sex as a natural and normal part of marriage. Sexual intimacy was considered desirable in a marriage because it strengthened and solidified the relationship between a man and a woman. Although sexual renunciation no longer was considered necessary to spiritual enlightenment, Protestant churches continued to exercise regulatory influence over the types of sexuality permitted in a spiritually correct marriage.

In the eighteenth century the single-body notion of gender that had been prevalent throughout the Middle Ages was replaced by the notion that men and women are biologically different. The prevailing idea of sex as an act between passive and active partners thus was replaced by the notion of sex as an act occurring between males and females; sex was redefined as the mating of difference rather than sameness. In tandem with that biological reconceptualization of gender difference, women's roles in the eighteenth century were undergoing a certain amount of redefinition. Women increasingly were vocal on the subject of their political rights and were beginning to demand inclusion in the rising democratization of Western European societies. In response, social norms reflected an increased emphasis on the domestic and childbearing responsibilities of women, duties that appeared to be legitimated by new understandings of biological gender difference.

The eighteenth century saw an increase in fertility rates after centuries of relative stability. Although the reasons for increased fertility were various, some scholars have suggested that in societies that increasingly were extending political power beyond the bounds of the nobility and the upper classes, the ability to define women in terms of their difference from men provided a scientific, biological justification for their exclusion from political participation and their relegation to the domestic sphere.

The eighteenth century also saw the cementing of the notion that sodomites preferred sex exclusively with men as well as the belief that those men were necessarily effeminate. By the end of the seventeenth century a group of men who arguably could be considered a third gender had appeared. Those men, known as *mollies*, adopted mannerisms and styles of dress that marked them as effeminate in the public eye. Public concern with and prosecution of sodomites—a term used almost exclusively to refer to sex between men—rose sharply in that period, and mollies, who were visibly different, were scrutinized and condemned.

The degree to which mollies constituted a definable subculture created around a sexual identity has been discussed by scholars who argue that sodomy was an

accepted sexual activity among the upper classes. Nonetheless, sodomy increasingly was policed during that period, and men who dressed and behaved effeminately often were persecuted as sodomites, creating a link between effeminate behavior and sodomy. That construction of male sexuality encouraged the expression of proper masculinity to coalesce around the exclusive sexual preference for women. In place of centuries of relative tolerance of sexual interest in both genders, the eighteenth century saw the rise of an emphasis on sexual desire directed exclusively toward one gender or the other. What the nineteenth century would term heterosexuality thus arose in response to the link established between disrupted gender norms and exclusive same-sex desire.

In the Victorian era of the nineteenth century, family life increasingly was conceived of in terms of two interdependent spheres. The private sphere was the realm of female domesticity and was understood as the moral training ground for children and the primary source of emotional and domestic support for the male head of the household, who sallied forth into the public sphere of business and politics. In contrast to an earlier Protestant emphasis on the importance of sex to a harmonious marriage, bourgeois Victorians were schooled in the importance of self-control, moral rectitude, and sexual restraint.

Sexuality in that period was highly gendered. Men were thought to be driven by a natural animal appetite and sexual instinct that had to be controlled rigidly by the man and tamed by his wife. In contrast women often were thought to be passionless and devoid of interest in sexual pleasure. Even among dissenters who contended that women did experience passion, the nature of that passion conformed to the gender norms of the period: Male sexual desire was forceful and active and required constant vigilance and mastery; female passion was thought to be gentle, nurturing, and passive and often was referred to as a passion for motherhood and family. Properly masculine behavior thus was characterized by mastery of the sexual instinct, whereas femininity required reticence and decorum with regard to sexual matters.

Victorian sex increasingly was thought of in medical and biological terms, and that period saw a marked increase in public discourse about appropriate sexual behavior. Some doctors believed that sexual energy is finite and cautioned against sexual behaviors, such as masturbation, that might deplete it. In a culture that valued thrift and self-control, masturbation was viewed as licentious, wasteful behavior. Much literature was published on the dangers of masturbation and infant and childhood sexuality, which were believed to sap the nervous system. Doctors and charlatans alike prescribed

elaborate remedies for spermatorrhea, or the excessive loss of semen, which was characterized by impotence, lethargy, and frailty of the nervous system. In women masturbation was believed to worsen natural nervous tendencies and undermine interest in bearing children.

Coupled with medical discourse surrounding the anxieties of proper sexuality, the Victorian era saw pervasive prostitution, venereal disease, and pornography. Although those social problems attracted the attention of social reformers and public policy makers who wished to contain sexual expression in its proper place and modality within the family, prostitution and pornography often were regarded as a necessary evil. Because men were believed to possess an overwhelming animal sexual instinct and because the Victorian marriage was designed to control rather than allow the expression of that instinct, many considered it inevitable that a significant number of men who were unable to exercise sufficient self-restraint would resort to prostitutes to relieve their urges.

Mainstream Victorian society thus included multiple levels at which the topic of sex was addressed. Proper sexual behavior was viewed in the context of bourgeois family structure, moral restraint, and appropriate gender roles. Because the sexual passions of men and women were so distinct, appropriate sexual behavior automatically was coded as coitus between two different sexes. Rising interest in the study of perverse sexual behaviors, including homosexuality, cemented that association. The nineteenth century was marked by an interest in medical solutions to social problems such as crime, alcoholism, prostitution, and vagrancy, and the study of sexual deviancy progressed with the same interest in finding a medical solution. The rise of sexology in the nineteenth century thus was influenced by the notion that sexual perversion was a disease that required a cure.

That understanding of sexuality as pathology was crucial to the way in which heterosexuality was constructed as an identity. The interest in treating or reforming (rather than simply deterring or punishing) deviant or socially problematic populations allowed for the establishment of numerous insane asylums, prisons, orphanages, and juvenile reform schools. Scientific disciplines such as criminology, psychiatry, and sexology were born out of the availability of the inmates of those institutions as objects of study. The identity of the inmates increasingly was constructed by the institutions in which they resided and the scientists who observed them. As Foucault (1976) and others have suggested, it was the gaze of the criminologist that created people who were identified as criminals.

That equation of behavior and identity became increasingly important to sexology in the nineteenth century. Same-sex erotic behavior earlier had been seen

as a sign of sexual inversion, or the display of characteristics of the opposite gender. A woman's sexual attraction to another woman thus was considered to be a sign of gender confusion because she was displaying a masculine desire for the female sex. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, the terminology of sexual inversion was replaced by that of sexual identity, such as homosexual or heterosexual. Sexual preferences increasingly were thought to be expressive of some internal essence, and the choice of sexual object or the preference for particular sexual acts thus was believed to indicate something fundamental about one's personality.

That understanding of sexuality involved a certain reconfiguration of previous understandings of same-sex friendships. Female friendships in the nineteenth century, for example, were considered by contemporaries to be both normal and desirable. Confinement to the domestic sphere enabled intense friendships among women, and letters of that period reveal the degree to which those relationships were expressed in terms of love and romantic passion consistent with Victorian romanticism. In some cases the women in those relationships lived together, conducting their domestic arrangements as though they were married. Such friendships were accepted by the friends and families of those women, regardless of whether the women occupied a traditional household or were single women living together.

Some researchers have suggested that Victorian understandings of female sexuality, which posited a passionless female whose only desire was directed toward procreation, allowed a great deal of leeway for women to explore intense female friendships without social opprobrium. Some historians have claimed that even in cases in which one member of a couple adopted more masculine clothing, sexual contact was rare. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, as discourse about sexuality began to focus on deviance and perversion, such friendships between women were viewed with increasing suspicion. As late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sexologists came to regard the mannish woman in terms of sexual identity—as a lesbian who must necessarily exhibit unnatural, voracious sexual instincts and a have corrupting influence on innocents—women's friendships became more constricted.

Heterosexuality Normalized The understanding of sexual identity in terms of object choice in the late nineteenth century was developed through an interest in defining and treating perversity, including same-sex desire, fetishes, and other sexual fixations. Those desires, however, inevitably were compared with normal sexual function, which already had been defined as male–female vaginal sex. In the early twentieth century Sigmund Freud (1989) conceived of sexual dysfunction in terms

of overall mental health, advancing a theory of consciousness and human development that posited certain types of psychological disorders, such as hysteria and neurosis, as indicative of abnormal or problematic sexual development. Although Freud also focused his studies on perverse or abnormal sexual behavior, he utilized his research to help articulate a theory of normal sexual behavior.

In the 1920s and 1930s sexologists became increasingly interested in exploring normal sexual function. Criminologists, psychiatrists, and other researchers studied the connections between abnormal sexual development and a person's propensity for criminality, prostitution, delinquency, and other deviant behaviors. Queries about the sexual mores of the lower classes raised the question of whether those mores were substantially different from middle- and upper-class norms. Additionally much of the medical practice of sexology was dedicated to improving and normalizing sexual relations between married persons. Many reformers argued for the importance of education in establishing desirable sexual behavior, thus opening a discourse of sexuality that was founded on the notion that appropriate sexual activity was heterosexual and involved vaginal penetration. Studies of sexual dissatisfaction in marriage assumed the importance and centrality of vaginal intercourse, and theories of sexual pleasure espoused the necessity of the vaginal orgasm, conceiving female sexual pleasure solely in terms of vaginal stimulation. Even as sexual culture in the early twentieth century was liberalized by notions of sexual freedom and pleasure, ideas of normal sexual behavior were narrowed and increasingly assumed to be self-evident.

In the 1940s and 1950s sex research in the United States was revolutionized by the work of Alfred Kinsey (1948, 1953), who conducted interviews with an enormous sample of the American population. Kinsey's work was groundbreaking in the degree to which it demonstrated that many sexual practices that were considered morally or socially unaccepted were commonplace. Although his work placed great emphasis on the orgasm as a marker of sexual satisfaction, Kinsey denounced the vaginal orgasm as a myth. He also provided evidence that many men and women had engaged in same-sex practices at one time or another, illustrating that homosexual behavior was not confined to a deviant subclass.

Kinsey and other researchers of that period noted a widespread liberalization of sexual attitudes in men and women born after the turn of the century. The practices of dating and premarital sexual experimentation became widespread. In the 1960s and 1970s sexual liberation proceeded along multiple fronts: Young men and women adhered to an ethic of sexual pleasure and permissiveness that allowed for multiple sexual partners before or instead

of marriage. The invention of the contraceptive pill and the availability of reliable contraception in the 1960s, as well as abortion reforms in the early 1970s, enabled permissive heterosexual relationships that apparently had no adverse consequences. The feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s began to examine the political nature of the private sphere, arguing that norms of sexual behavior, marriage and domesticity and child rearing had material impacts in the struggle for women's rights and equality.

The 1960s and 1970s also saw increasing political and social agitation for gay and lesbian rights. Gay and lesbian activism became highly public and involved a certain consolidation of homosexual identity. Activists asserted their right to express same-sex affection free from police harassment and social discrimination and insisted that older notions of homosexuality as a disease be overturned. Gays and lesbians often framed their arguments in terms of sexual identity, claiming that homosexuality was more than a sexual orientation; instead, it was an identity and a lifestyle with intrinsic validity and value. For some, asserting the right to a gay or lesbian lifestyle entailed an implicit rejection of heteronormative assumptions about the proper course of a life that placed great value on marriage, family, and homemaking.

In spite of the liberalization of sexual behaviors, however, such heteronormative assumptions remained largely unexamined and often difficult to discern. Early feminist criticism of the social roles of marriage and family, for example, often assumed the normality of a heterosexual union even as it critiqued the means by which that union was conducted. Movement toward a more sexually explicit cultural milieu was initiated and furthered by men's magazines such as *Playboy*, *Esquire*, and *Penthouse*, which promoted a sexually licentious bachelor culture that centered on stimulating and fulfilling heterosexual male desire. Thus, although lesbians and gay men increasingly were encouraged to form their own identities around the question of sexual orientation, heterosexuality remained an identity that necessarily existed counter to homosexual identities but was itself rarely interrogated.

THEORIES OF HETEROSEXUALITY

The gay liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s prompted an interest in exploring histories of sexuality. Early examinations of sexuality, however, tended to assume the immutability of sexual desire and object choice; sexuality often was considered a natural instinct that was historically and culturally constructed. Foucault's work on sexuality in the 1970s proved to be seminal in its understanding of sexuality as the product of power and discourse in a specific time and culture.

According to Foucault (1976), sexuality was constituted in the Victorian era through a proliferation of discourses about sex; those discourses did not, as Freud later claimed, repress a natural sexuality but instead brought sexuality into being as an object of inquiry. Sexual identities, then, arose from new discourses that classified and studied sexual behavior.

That understanding, which suggested that heterosexuality is not a biological given, provided a lens for understanding the structuring of sexual relations in other cultures. Jonathan Katz (1995), for example, listed several social orders for which sexuality was not the primary structuring principle, including early Puritan society in America; for the Puritans, Katz argued, sexual behavior was understood not in terms of what gender one had sex with but according to whether the act in question had procreative potential.

Many scholars have critiqued the degree to which heterosexual norms help further patriarchal power. Kate Millett (1970) and Gayle Rubin (1975) examined the ways in which heterosexuality underpins the patriarchal power system and male dominance over women. Adrienne Rich (1980) argued that heterosexuality is a political institution that establishes and legitimates men's physical, economical, and emotional power over and access to women. Women, she claims, may have no innate preference for heterosexuality, but heterosexuality is imposed and enforced by a multitude of social, cultural, and political mechanisms that constitute heterosexuality and its institutions (marriage, motherhood, family, etc.) as natural and efface alternatives such as lesbian or women-identified households and communities.

Building on Rich's attempt to denaturalize heterosexual identity, Judith Butler (1990, 1993) utilized Foucault's notions of discourse and power to formulate a theory that accounted for both sexuality and gender. In Butler's conception gender and sexuality are always produced; heterosexuality is not a norm against which the abnormal homosexual is contrasted but instead is always being constructed by performances that establish its norms and limits. Those performances have the effect of establishing as natural something that is always constructed.

Although earlier work on sexuality often treated heterosexuality as a monolithic construction against which to examine other forms of sexuality, more recent scholarship has attempted to examine the different ways in which heterosexuality exists and functions. Some scholars have noted the degree to which heterosexual identity is taken for granted and rendered invisible even as it underpins other identities that are available to both men and women (husband, wife, mother, father, son, daughter). Other scholars have continued to examine

the ways in which heteronormative assumptions underpin gender roles, family structure, social institutions, public policy, cultural forms, and sexual behavior.

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Maureen Lauder

HIERARCHY

It is well established in sociology that, since time immemorial, societies have cultivated and sustained hierarchies of power, privilege, and prestige. Before the turn of the twentieth century Max Weber (1864–1920) posited that with the development of capitalism and modernity, such hierarchies would come to be institutionalized in bureaucracies and justified by a legal-rational mind-set. Weber's description of bureaucracy, with its hierarchical chain of command, was grounded in his observation of the Prussian army, a clearly and exclusively male organization. Thus, his theory of bureaucracy, upon which all subsequent bureaucracy theory and research has been based, contains this gender bias. With the exception of the studies of grassroots, collectivist-democratic organizations that began to come to print in the late 1970s, the entire multidisciplinary field of organizational theory and behavior emanating from departments of sociology, political science, management, and public administration can be said to be an extensive elaboration of Weber's original theory of bureaucracy, which included an ideal typical exposition of its characteristic features and an explanation for its spread and permanent nature in all modern societies. The gender bias in the hundred-year study of bureaucracy and hierarchy since then emanates from its beginnings.

However, ever since the consciousness-raising groups of the 1960s and 1970s that marked the beginning of the contemporary women's movement, feminists have been developing a challenge to hierarchical relations and their manifestation in bureaucracy. Key to the feminist case against bureaucracy is an understanding of how women end up subjugated in hierarchal control structures (Ferguson 1984) and how gender-based inequities of treatment have been the outcome in both industrial and service sectors of the economy and cross-nationally. In addition, Acker (1990) has shown how bureaucracy theory itself rests on masculine images and biases and urges organizational scholars to explore these further, while searching for alternative, less hierarchal modes of organization.

The search for a way out of women's relegation to the lower rungs of organizational hierarchies has taken three tacks: First, many researchers have examined various social movement activities that have tried to achieve greater gender equality at the organizational level.

A second and rich vein of research has searched, not for how women might improve their lot in existing hierarchal structures, but for how women might create *alternative* organizations that would eliminate hierarchies of skill, influence, and privilege. In this regard, many examples have been found, and over the last decades of the twentieth century thousands of grassroots feminist enterprises were built along self-managing and democratic lines.

Based upon Kathy Ferguson's (1984) argument that feminism and bureaucracy are incompatible and on Joyce Rothschild-Whitt's (1979) conception of a collectivist-democratic form of organization that could stand as an alternative to bureaucracy, many researchers have asked whether there is an empirical connection between feminist values and collectivist-democratic organizational structures. For example, feminist beliefs were translated into egalitarian and democratic innovations in the National

Women's Studies Association studied by Robin Leidner (1991) and in the numerous feminist collectivist organizations in Quebec studied by Jennifer Beeman, et al (2005). The rape crisis centers and battered women's shelters studied by Nancy Matthews (1994) and Claire Reinelt (1994), respectively, continued to use many collectivist, anti-hierarchal practices even after they received state support for their organizations. Kathleen Iannello (1992) found many feminist organizations that are developing a process of consensus-based decision-making that she calls "modified consensus," which allows them to make decisions without hierarchy but also without the requirement of unanimous approval. Darcy Leach (2006) finds that the contemporary movement organizations in Germany *assume* a collectivist-democratic form, but still vary in terms of how they go about resolving conflicting points of view. Additionally, some of the American communes like Twin Oaks have developed some creative devices to overcome hierarchy and achieve equality in both work and gender relations (Rothschild and Tomchin 2006).

Not all studies, however, have found a direct correlation between feminist beliefs and the development of egalitarian or democratic practices. Sherryl Kleinman (1996), for example, finds that gender-based inequalities of influence persist even in a feminist health center she studied. In a study of 113 women's non-profit organizations in New York City, Rebecca Bordt (1997) challenges whether the previously asserted affinity between feminist ideology and collectivism exists, finding that organizations with an unspecified feminist ideology are more than twice as likely to be bureaucratic as collectivist. Bordt argues that most of these organizations present a hybrid, blending both professional and collectivist elements into one. Similarly, Sarah Oerton (1996) finds little reason to believe that work in flatter organizations will improve women's position in workplace hierarchies. Given the existence of these anomalous findings, more research is needed on the circumstances that can give rise to more egalitarian and less hierarchal organizational forms and on the specific effects more democratic structures may have on the material position of women and on power relations at the organizational level.

A third vein of scholarship looks at bureaucratic workplaces that are developing flatter team structures from within. Self-managing teams are spreading, particularly in engineering, manufacturing, and service enterprises. The research question is whether these new teams can bring about a new division of labor in which workplace decisions are made on an egalitarian footing, competencies are cross-trained, and tasks can be rotated and shared on a gender-equal basis.

One study of a team structure in a bank setting indicates the positive potential teams may have for cross training and thus upgrading the skills of those who previously occupied the lower rungs of the organizational hierarchy (Smith 1996). Another study of teams, also in a bank context, suggests that men in technical professions may be not very interested in learning what they see as the content of "women's work," presenting a major obstacle to egalitarian relations arising out of team work (Ollilainen and Rothschild 2001). The jury is still out on whether these new team structures within corporate settings will in fact bring more egalitarian relations to the workplace.

In sum, substantial social science research has been pursued on how to bring more egalitarian gender relations to the hierarchal organizations and institutions that dominate modern societies. Some of this research has focused on campaigns to bring more equal opportunity to conventional workplaces; other research has focused on the prospect for developing egalitarian teamwork and flatter structures within the bounds of large-scale bureaucracies. Choosing neither of these avenues, thousands of female-centered enterprises have been created around the turn of the twenty-first century, wherein the aim is to make decisions and accomplish tasks without recourse to hierarchal command structures. The edited volumes by Myra Marx Ferree and Patricia Yancey Martin (1995) and Joyce Rothschild and Celia Davies (1994) contain analyses of dozens of such organizations. Only time will tell the extent to which these pioneering organizations will prefigure the widespread development of counter-hierarchical structures in postmodern society.

SEE ALSO *Patriarchy.*

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Joyce Rothschild

HIJRĀS

*Hijrā*s constitute a religious community of sexually charged and sexually ambiguous men who dress and act like women. They are religious ascetics who are required to be celibate servants of the goddess Bahucharā Mātā. Many undergo castration, and some work as homosexual prostitutes. One of the stories told about Bahucharā Mātā is that she cut off her breasts to avoid being raped by thieves; this suggests that her male priests should castrate themselves in imitation of her act. Of equal religious significance is the fact that *hijrā*s identify with the sexually ambivalent god Śiva, who is both the great ascetic and the virile husband, particularly in his *ardhanāriśvara* form of half man–half woman and in the legend of his self-castration.

RELIGIOUS ROLE OF HIJRĀS

In many ways *hijrā*s seem to mimic *devadāsī*s: women dedicated to the temple who enact the role of divine courtesans, each of whom usually has a male patron who is her lover. As with *devadāsī*s the ritual roles of *hijrā*s center on temple festivals, births, and marriages. In the temples of Bahucharā Mātā they act as her servants, tell stories about her, and bless her worshippers. After the birth of a male child *hijrā*s visit the child's home to sing and dance, examine the child's genitals, and demand money for blessing him with fertility, prosperity, and a long life. *Hijrā*s who have lost masculinity or who represent the third sex (*tritīya prakriti*), such as hermaphrodites, transvestites, and homosexuals, seemingly are perceived as individuals who have intimate knowledge of changeable or inadequate sex organs. If the infant's genitals are ill defined or are those of a hermaphrodite, the *hijrā*s have the right to claim the baby as one of them. To the families they serve *hijrā*s embody fears about losing masculinity—they can take the child away—yet they have the power to give what they do not have: the power to create new life by blessing the fertile masculinity of the infant. They receive this power from the mother goddess Bahucharā Mātā, who is the bestower of life or death, but their powers cut both ways: They can curse as well as bless, and their curses are feared greatly.

At weddings they bless the married couple for fertility. Unlike *devadāsī*s, who go to the bride's house, *hijrā*s perform at the groom's house; like the *devadāsī*s, they attend with or without an invitation. While they sing and dance the *hijrā*s tell various family members that "you will have a son," or "you will have a grandson" (Nanda 1990, p. 4). Often the bride is not allowed to be present. *Hijrā*s are presented as a masculine concern, a concern of the patrilineal family that must have sons who will be capable of siring sons of their own. Brides are outsiders, merely the vehicles for male fertility, in that viewpoint.

HIJRĀS AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF SEXUALITY AND SPIRIT

*Hijrā*s are connected ritually to the maintenance of patrilineal descent. It is as if having surrendered their masculine fertility, they can confer it on others, and the power of their austere asceticism is sufficient to assure male babies. Their actual or rumored homosexuality, though frowned on, increases their contact with semen, thus increasing their power to confer patrilineal fertility. Many people believe that loss of semen reduces a man's power. Male south Asian ascetics act on that belief by building up their spiritual power through celibacy. Castrated *hijrā*s cannot ejaculate even if they want to or by accident, such as nightly emission. They are ascetics par excellence, yet some are also prostitutes; they encapsulate within themselves a sexual-ascetic tension and use that power to bless or curse the fertility of others. The complexity of the sexual and religious ideas and activities that define them are ancient and reveal other aspects of south Asian concerns about the relationship of sexuality and spiritual power and the uses and abuses of fertility for secular and religious ends.

SEE ALSO *Eunuchs; Ladyboys (Kathoeys); Transsexual F to M; Transsexual M to F.*

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Serenity Young

HIMES, CHESTER
1909–1984

Chester Himes was born into a Southern, middle-class African-American family in Jefferson City, Missouri. The youngest of three sons, Himes was raised by his father, Professor Joseph Sandy Himes, who taught blacksmithing and wheelwrighting at various agricultural and mechanical colleges in the South, and his mother, Estelle Bomar Himes, a light-skinned, caste-conscious woman and professed descendent of white English nobility. Himes explained in his memoirs that his father, whom he obeyed, was "born and raised in the tradition of Southern Uncle Tom," and that his mother, whom he loved, "looked white and felt that she should have been white," instilling in him a hatred "for all manner of condescension from white people" and from "black people who accepted it." Himes enrolled in Ohio State University in 1926 to study medicine, but he was demoralized by the Jim-Crow environment, did poorly in his studies, and was promptly expelled. A self-proclaimed sensualist, Himes was drawn to the nightlife of Cleveland's black ghettoes. There his job as a janitor in a nightclub frequented by prostitutes provided a sort of sexual apprenticeship and a gateway to his brief career as hustler and petty criminal. In 1928 he was convicted of armed robbery and sentenced to twenty to twenty-five years of hard labor in the Ohio State Penitentiary, of which he did seven and a half years before being paroled.

In prison he launched his prolific career as a writer, publishing stories about criminals and prison life first in black newspapers and magazines, and then in *Esquire*. He would eventually write eighteen novels, two short-story collections, and a two-volume autobiography. Himes's first published book, *If He Hollers Let Him Go* (1945), was a loosely autobiographical social protest novel written in a naturalist mode and rooted in the crushing everydayness of institutional racism that he experienced firsthand as a Los Angeles shipyard worker during World War II. Himes's path to literary fame came on the heels of the critical failure of his second protest novel, *The Lonely*

Chester Himes. AP IMAGES.

Crusade (1947), a searing critique of communist labor organizations. As Himes put it, "The whites rejected me, the blacks didn't want me. I felt like a man without a country, which in fact I was." In April 1953 he left America, joining Richard Wright, James Baldwin, and the thriving black American expatriate community in Paris. There, between 1957 and 1969, Himes wrote his "Harlem Domestic" detective novels for *La Sèrie Noire*, Marcel Duhamel's hard-boiled crime series at the prestigious French Press Gallimard. The ten-novel series transformed Himes into an international literary celebrity. After 1955 Himes only visited the United State twice, and briefly. In 1968 he settled in Spain with Leslie Packard, whom he married in the late seventies. Himes and Packard lived in Spain until his death in 1984.

Himes's sensationalistic "Harlem Domestic" series suited the expectations of his French readership perfectly. Here ontological absurdity and eroticized violence was the very existential terrain of black urban modernity, deformed by the dehumanizing pressure of America's systemic racism. With the quintessentially hard-boiled cops Coffin Ed Johnson and Grave Digger Jones as protagonists, the novels combine the familiar, stylized poses of noir masculinity with the saleable cool of urban blackness. The tight narratives are characterized by lurid sociological detail that often crosses into dreaminess and

caricatural excess, highly fetishistic physical description, and a veritable catalogue of the bizarre sexual hijinks and erotic imbroglios of Harlem's black denizens.

While catering to the prurient interests of his largely white readership (invited to slum in Harlem's libidinous cityscape), Himes's detective fiction, like his social protest fiction, investigates the circumscription of sexual relations and erotic life by racist ideologies whose fraught internalization produces the self-destructive affects of his characters. The hyperbolic sangfroid of his masculine protagonists dissolves into uncertainty, frustration, and simmering self-loathing. Or, alternatively, their seeming sexual self-possession erupts in fits of misogynistic rage— scenes of stereotyped racial and sexual performance whose violently choreographed scripts and often disastrous outcomes they are powerless to avoid. Often, Himes's fascination with the sexual "perversions" of Harlem conceals a real sympathy with erotic transgression, as is evident in his portrayal of the transvestite hustler, Goldy, in *A Rage in Harlem* (1957), the first novel in the series. And the stunning finale to the series, the experimental *Blind Man with a Pistol* (1969), offers a parodic critique of the masculinist ideologies of Black Power and its shrill rhetoric of self-mastery and purity.

The spectrum of erotic life on display in Himes's work does much to gainsay his own claim in *BLACK ON BLACK* that "black protest and black heterosexuality" (Himes 1973, p. 7) were his "two chief obsessions." In fact, the 1998 publication by Norton of Himes's autobiographical prison novel, *Yesterday Will Make You Cry* (1998; first published in expurgated form as *Cast the First Stone* in 1952), has silenced those nagging critical views of Himes as a salacious naturalist trading in sexist and racist caricature, or a shrewd writer of pulp exploitation fiction. A profoundly affirmative homosexual love story between two prison inmates, the book is also a powerful *Künstlerroman* that offers a realist portrait of the artist as a young felon with strikingly modernist investments in the erotic vicissitudes of temporality and memory. Quite possibly Himes's greatest novel, *Yesterday* will likely remain at the forefront of early twenty-first century critical reinvention of Himes as a seminal figure in that transatlantic crucible of aesthetic sensibilities that helped voice the racialized experience of mid-century alienation and displacement. Between naturalism and impressionism, between urban sociological realism and an excessive, avant-garde aesthetics of caricature and grotesquerie, between surrealism and existentialism, and somewhere within that constellation of affective unease that is called *noir*, we rediscover Chester Himes, the vernacular modernist.

SEE ALSO *Gender Identity; Literature: I. Overview; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Justus Nieland

HINDUISM

The history of gender and sexual ideologies in Hinduism is complex. In thinking about the topic as it relates to the ancient world, one must consider both ideal relations between gods and goddesses, ideal relations between

men and women described in legal, narrative, and philosophical texts, in addition to facts on the ground about actual practices that can be discerned from these texts. In thinking about the topic in the colonial and postcolonial world, one must consider the distortions of the colonial accounts about gender and sexual practices, as well as the complexity of the postcolonial situation, where anxieties about the global status of Hinduism and its gender ideologies compete with feminist discourse, inspired by both Western and secular Indian sources.

This survey begins with what can be gleaned from the ancient world. It is widely known that the Indus Valley civilizations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, in what is now present-day Pakistan, used seals and figurines that featured women prominently. While it is impossible to ascertain without doubt whether these were goddesses, their postures and proportions suggest that the society placed a great deal of emphasis upon fertility.

The Vedic period, spanning roughly from 1500 BCE to 200 CE, includes evidence from the very oldest texts of the Vedas, and their ritual philosophical texts (the Brahmanas) as well as the ritual manuals (the Sutras). It is known that gender roles were symbolically coded in the form of sacrificial performance. Whereas many other gender ideologies in the ancient world do see women as a repository of both sexuality and fertility, the Vedic sacrificial world also involved a public assertion of the necessity of the woman's role in the working of the cosmos. No patron of a sacrifice could perform a ritual without being married and his wife being present. The model householder tended the domestic fire, and recited mantras at home that his wife was also required to recite. No sacrifice was complete without both a woman and a man present. In addition, many Vedic rituals required the sacrificer's wife to participate in some symbolic offering or in a staged dialogue.

It is also well known that in the early period, women were able to participate in the practice of renunciation and meditation, as well as in elite debates. These debates are depicted in texts called the Upanishads, where smaller schools of renunciants who had removed themselves from the bustle of society were able to practice meditation and reflect upon the power behind the sacrifice, called Brahman. These women were probably the exceptions to the rule, but worth noting nonetheless. The stories of Maitreyi and Gargi in the Upanishads show the women as thoughtful participants in the discussion about the power and nature of Brahman, who challenge husbands and rulers alike. There are also brief references to *brahmavadinis*—or women who speak about Brahman.

In addition, the Vedic world involved certain goddesses who, while not as prominent as the other male gods, were powerful agents within the sacrificial world.

Agni, the god of fire, and Soma, the god of intoxicating and eloquence-inducing drink, and Indra, the warrior god, were understood as some of the main actors in the divine world during this period. In addition to minor female deities, such as the goddesses of Night and Dawn, abstract qualities, such as Medha (intelligence), and concrete ideas, such as Ida (the sacrificial offering itself), were understood as female powers.

But by far the most important female deity in the Vedas was Vac, the goddess of speech. Vac is seen as the creator of the world who inspires the sacrifice. In later texts of the Brahmanas, she is seen as the consort of the creator Prajapati. Indeed, in the numerous accounts of creation found in the early Indian texts, the symbolism of the male and female principles working in concert with each other is prominent. Sky and Earth, for instance, combine as male and female principles to create the world as we know it.

From late Vedic domestic manuals called the Grihyasutras, women's rituals relating to menstruation, marriage, and study were described as part of the ideal life of the person who was twice-born—the three upper castes who were initiated (born again) into the study of Vedas. Marriage rituals involved a series of symbolic statements about harmony in marriage, the producing of sons, and the auspiciousness of the wife as a fertile and faithful keeper of the household. Once married, women were able to recite some mantras having to do with domestic life, and one Grihya-sutra (Ashvalayana) mentions that the older married women in the community are the ritual experts concerning marriage and fertility, and should be consulted whenever there is doubt in these matters.

While there are intriguing ways in which ancient gender representations included women's participation in the public sphere, it should not be assumed that women were understood as equal to men or having rights in the contemporary sense. Indeed, gender roles were circumscribed; men were the main performers and agents of sacrifice, and women were understood primarily as sources of auspicious fertility.

In the classical and epic period of early India (200 BCE onward), there was a gradual shift in gender ideologies. Women's roles became far more circumscribed within the domestic sphere, and their access to traditional Vedic education became far more limited. Male priests oversaw worship (*puja*) in the newly emerging temples that were replacing Vedic sacrifice; men understood this leadership as their exclusive domain. In the legal texts called the Dharma-sutras, there is evidence for a large codification of women's roles and responsibilities in the domestic sphere. In the contemporary world, the most famous passages concerning gender roles are from the laws of Manu. In it, there are several different kinds of

statements about women; they are extolled as the source of great auspiciousness and reviled as uncontrollable forces that need to be curtailed at all times by men.

In addition, these legal texts show a clear patriarchal point of view in marriage. While the most auspicious kind of marriage is where the families negotiate and the woman consents, there were also forcible marriages as well as marriages of mutual consent of the partners without the participation of the families. In each of these cases, it is clear that the marriage contract could be based on either social standing or desire, but social standing was the preferred mode. Moreover, it is also clear that forcible taking of a woman was not an unthinkable option. In these early legal and later texts, it is clear that dowry was practiced among high caste Hindus, as well as patrilocal marriage. As early as the Vedas, and quite pronounced in the classical texts, the idea of a woman leaving the home to go to her husband's family was a crucial part of the life cycle of a woman.

And yet gender ideologies are not simply to be understood as patriarchal oppression. Epic heroines such as the Ramayana's Sita and the Mahabharata's Draupadi are both described as the dutiful wife who takes her husband as a god. That both heroines exemplify the wife's faithfulness and ability to undergo great suffering on behalf of her husband (or husbands) is quite sharply forgrounded. However, to understand this as simple patriarchy would be erroneous. In the Ramayana, for example, Sita explicitly argues with her husband Rama before his exile in the forest, and insists on going with him. In that passage, she makes her case as if she were an expert in dharma, citing texts and challenging his masculinity. Throughout the Mahabharata, Draupadi engages in similar argumentation. Indeed, through her use of wit, remarkably used at the height of a public humiliation, she is able to save the Pandavas, her husbands, from complete ruin. Moreover in other passages, she explains her great strength and control over the Pandavas' kingdom of Hastinapura, and this competence is part of a very complex gender ideology in which strength and mental prowess matter greatly; women's weakness and submission are only part of the equation.

During the first few centuries CE, the classical Hindu pantheon emerged, which involved: Shiva, the god who alternates between being an ascetic and being a householder; Vishnu, whose earthly forms come into being in specific cases where the world needs to be saved; and Brahma, the creator god who is somewhat removed from the daily goings-on of the universe. In the first few centuries CE, the Devi Mahatmya was formed as a significant text in this classical pantheon.

The story of the goddess in that text narrates how the buffalo demon Mahisha was tormenting the world, and none of the gods could stop him. The gods got together and emanated their very essence to create a being powerful enough to conquer the demon. As a result, the goddess was formed, and emerged seated on a lotus, with the great weapons of all the gods in her hands. She then went on to conquer the demon in battle. Some traditions say that the demon, at the moment of being killed by the goddess, became her devotee.

There are many other legends of the goddess in addition to this basic one. From her very ancient and pluralistic history, the goddess goes by many names and has many forms: Durga rides on a lion or tiger and is fierce in battle; Kali is the protectress who is also terrifying in form; Gauri is the beneficent "golden" one who is often seen as a "consort" figure to the gods. Lakshmi is also the consort of Vishnu, and is present with him as he rests between the *yuga*s, or cyclical ages of the universe. Many would argue that there is no "singular" goddess as such, but rather that she has her origins in local female deities, such as the goddess who presides over a cross roads, or at the meeting of rivers in a forest. What is more, many would see her origins in the female figurines of the Indus Valley, the civilization which existed and probably co-mingled with the Aryan one from approximately 3500–1700 BCE.

What kinds of gender ideologies do stories from the classical Hindu world represent? Some have argued that, unlike the male gods, the goddess is split in her affinities, either as a powerful virgin prone to anger, or a domesticated female consort who is more benevolent. This analysis may not truly be the case when it comes to the actual ritual worship of gods and goddesses. Frequently, the more terrifying form of Kali is understood as a protectress and a crusader against evil, whether it be the evil of illusion or the more concrete evils of attackers or demons. In addition, recent fieldwork has shown that many women as well as men identify their earthly female power with Shakti, the divine power that resides in and through the goddess. Shakti is a very pervasive idea in Indian myth and ritual. Shakti resides in men, women, animals, and plants—particularly the *tulsi* plant, which in many contemporary rural festivals is seen to the incarnation of the goddess.

There is a frequent Western misconception that shakti is equivalent to female political empowerment and the so-called liberation of women from confinement to the domestic sphere. While the concept is used even in medieval philosophical systems, it does not necessarily follow that those who worship the goddess or praise the power of Shakti automatically have some kind of proto-feminist gender ideology.

It would be remiss in an article about gender ideology and Hinduism not to mention tantra, the practice in

Durga Fighting Buffalo Demon. *This thirteenth-century painting show the Hindu goddess Durga battling the buffalo demon.*
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different strands of Hinduism that became fully emergent during the classical period. Tantra inverts the established rules of sexuality, purity, and social hierarchy. Some tantric practices involve explicit sexual symbolism and sexual practice, where copulation becomes a means of union with the divine. The male and female principles are embodied in the male and female partners, and together in coitus they represent a kind of cosmic coincidence of opposites. The question of Hindu tantra has been widely controversial in the colonial and postcolonial era, where Hindu nationalists have protested what they perceive to be a practice that exists outside of the Hindu norm.

In the classical premodern period, when this ideology of the goddess was established, there is very little evidence for the large-scale empowerment of women as most would conceive it in the early twenty-first century. Certainly there is some evidence for individual holy women, whose exemplary devotion made it possible for them to be freer of certain kinds of roles. Also there is some inscriptional evidence in the medieval period for women patrons of South Indian temples. Finally, evidence exists of courtesans and temple dancers who dwelt in and near temples, and whose ritual roles in the worship of the temple gods also gave them a certain ability to own property, choose their partners, and develop abilities in the arts.

The early modern and colonial periods involved very protracted debates about women's role and gender ideologies, which continue in their postcolonial form to this day. It is important to remember, however, that while the colonial and postcolonial frames of analysis are helpful and give more data about gender than the precolonial period, precolonial forms of law themselves were not fossilized, but had their own flexibilities and forms of internal debates about gender.

The Moghul period is a good place to begin. Once they had established rulership, the Muslim emperors

(between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries) tended not to interfere in Hindu practices of worship, marriage, and domestic arrangements. Some rulers even made alliances with Hindu princesses. But the British rulers and Christian missionaries engaged in a very different modality of governance, in which issues of gender played a central role.

First and foremost, debates about four different practices involving women emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: widow remarriage; child marriage; the status of *devadasis*, or temple dancers, and *sati*, or the immolation of the widow upon her husband's funeral pyre. In each of these cases, the British attempted both to make use of and undermine traditional Indian law codes. In the complexity of the colonial scene, Hindu elites, missionaries, local rulers, and British administrators all played different kinds of roles.

The issue of widow remarriage was essentially concerned with rules and regulations about whether widows were inherently polluted, and marginal to society, once their husbands died. This practice was particularly difficult for the child who had been promised to someone before puberty, and whose betrothed husband died before she reached puberty. In that case, many young girls were permanently confined to widows' homes or to lesser accommodations within the joint family system. Women gained the legal right to remarry in the 1856 Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act; one hundred years later, women gained inheritance rights through the Hindu Succession Act of 1956. In some areas of India these rights are fully utilized and realized, whereas in other parts, there are different views within communities about the roles of widows. The practice of sati spawned a large debate in the early nineteenth century between reformers and traditional Hindus, and was outlawed by the British in 1829. Extremely rare and controversial cases have occasionally surfaced in the intervening centuries.

The related issue of child marriage concerned the legal age that a girl could be betrothed, and have sexual relations with, her husband. Despite the British's attempt to present themselves as noninterfering in the arena of Hindu custom, the Age of Consent Bill was nonetheless passed in 1891, which made marriage or forced sexual relations with a woman under twelve an act of rape. While many upper caste reformists championed it, some Hindu nationalists protested this move greatly, and argued that it neither protected children nor honored the Indian male.

The debates about *devadasis* were also intense. In the colonial period, the practice of dedicating women to temples, and hence to the god of the temple in marriage, was protested by both Hindu social reformers and mis-

sionaries alike. The colonial rulers saw such practices as a thin guise for prostitution. However, the argument for maintaining such practices was that, traditionally, women have had more choice in the matter than many suppose, and have protections, artistic prestige, and independence that many married women do not.

These and other debates within the colonial period created a lasting legacy about masculinity within the context of colonial rule. Many recent scholars have turned their attention to the idea that the Indian male was understood as effeminate by the ruling class, and the British elite more masculine, and that much anticolonial Hindu rhetoric, and anti-Western nationalist rhetoric of the early twenty-first century is bound up with an attempt to restore a lost Hindu masculinity. Relatedly, Bamkin Chandra Chatterji (1836–1894) provided a great inspiration for the nationalist movement, whereby the concept of Mother India as a goddess was fully developed. Mother India, represented by the goddess Durga on a tiger, was an ideal that was to be protected at all costs, just as the Indian, usually Hindu, woman was to be protected at all costs. Much of the vernacular debates between reformists and traditional Hindus led to ironic situations, such as the wives of great Hindu reformers obediently submitting to being educated and liberated to please their husbands. Another important dynamic in these gender debates is the gradual transformation of a liberal Hindu elite into a nationalist one, where, over the course of a century, Hindu women's freedom became identified with national freedom.

The 1960s and 1970s sparked a larger conversation between Western feminism and indigenous Indian feminism. Much of the recent protests to practices of dowry, the rare incidences of sati, and female infanticide are taken up by secular feminists and social workers. Many of these thinkers and activists make their arguments not on the grounds of women's agency and individual choice alone, but on a deeper understanding of Indian values that tend to resist the imposition of Western categories. For example, many feminists are focused on women's leadership in the local village governments in rural India. To take another example, recent feminists have argued that abuses in the practice of dowry were not simply Hindu or Indian in nature, but exacerbated by changing economies and the stresses of colonial rule as well as postcolonial sociopolitical realities.

Many colonial debates continued in new forms. The question of whether Hindus or Muslims should have separate legal codes in India has been hotly debated, and could have great impact on the inheritance rights of women overall. To take another example, the colonial debate about *devadasis* was also taken up in the twentieth century, and the Devadasi Act was passed in 1982. The

practice of temple prostitution was made illegal and punishable by fine and imprisonment. Yet the artistic forms of dance that may have originated in the temple have remained an integral part of secular and Hindu society in India and the diaspora.

While in contemporary India, social workers and women's rights groups tend to see themselves in opposition to Hindu practices, there are an increasing number of women who also write as Hindu feminists. They are attempting to reclaim much of the tradition of Shakti for contemporary empowerment of women within India as well as Hindu women more globally. In addition, there is a larger presence of the Hindu goddess in Europe and America as well as in India, and an appropriation of her by Western feminists that has made her a much more global figure.

In addition, female gurus are now taking center stage as teachers and leaders in both American and Indian Hindu communities. Finally, many more men and women are writing as openly gay and lesbian Indians, and searching for precedents within the ancient artistic and literary canons of Hindu as well as Muslim India.

In an age of Hindu diaspora, gender ideologies work themselves out in interaction with vernacular realities. The present generation of American Hindu women, for example, are concerned with the vulnerabilities of the diaspora minority community, and the ways in which gender ideologies might change as the generations pass. Feminists in India, by contrast, must focus on related, but distinct, sets of issues, where economic rights of women, abuse of dowry practices, and Hindu nationalism's views of women are much more in the forefront of political discourse. Technology provides each Hindu population much more access to the other global Hindu communities, and thus gender ideologies are shifting at a much more rapid pace. The political organization of Indian gay rights movements and movements against the discrimination of hijras, for example, have taken place as a result of active information exchange across continents.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Hijras; Kali.*

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Laurie L. Patton

HIPPOCRATES
c. 460–370 BCE

Hippocrates of Cos was a semi legendary physician who traveled widely in Greece and gained an exceptional degree of fame. Some modern scholars, such as Ludwig

Edelstein, have held that it is a "name lacking even any accessible historical reality." Few scholars go that far, although none believe that Hippocrates wrote all the works attributed to him. Nonetheless, most authorities seem to think that the legends associated with Hippocrates are based on a real person. He certainly was the best-known physician of his time, and the writings attributed to him indicate a profound investigator and an acute observer.

Hippocrates was the head of the most flourishing medical school of his time, situated in Cos, and had many pupils. His teachings spread throughout the Greek world and beyond. He held that disease is a natural process, that symptoms are the reactions of the body to a disease, and that the chief function of the physician is to aid the natural forces of the body in overcoming disease. Both Aristotle and Plato wrote about Hippocrates, and Galen commented extensively on him. Attributed to him is the so-called Hippocratic Corpus, a collection of about sixty medical works (the number depends on the editor), the great majority of which were written in the last decades of the fifth century BCE and the first half of the fourth, when Hippocrates was believed to have lived. Some of the writings attributed to Hippocrates apparently were written after he died and some were produced before he was born, but most are contemporary with his time. Scholars believe that the collection was compiled at Alexandria in the third century BCE, a hundred years or so after his death.

HIPPOCRATES'S THEORY OF DISEASE

The Hippocratic writings, also known as the Coan writings, hold that the body is formed of four elements—air, earth, water, and fire—that unite in the composition of the individual parts of the organism. As each of the four elements possesses its own particular quality—cold, hot, dry, or wet—the single parts of the organism also possess their essential qualities. The essential factor in life is heat, but because it pervades the entire body, it is essential that equilibrium be maintained by the continuous infusion of *pneuma* (vital element often translated as air). The nature of the body is made up of four humors: phlegm, blood, yellow bile, and black bile.

Generally these humors operate in harmony with one another, and the individual enjoys good health in his or her body. However, when one of the elements is in excess or in insufficient supply, the individual feels pain. Disease is caused by fluxes of indigestible humors, and cure is dependent on the restoration of equilibrium and the normal bodily properties. Air, location, climate, and season all effect disease, as do diet, the psychology of the patient, and the effect of the psyche on the organism.
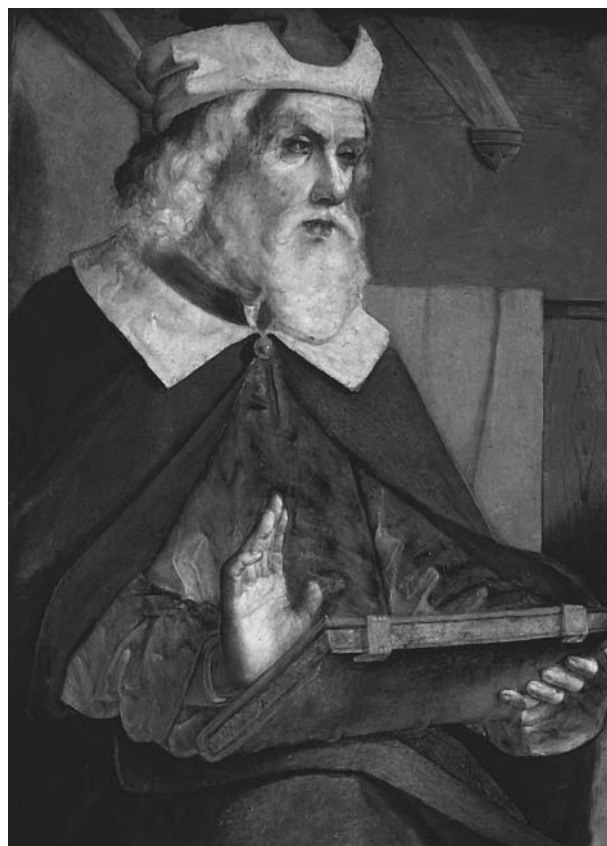
Hippocrates. THE ART ARCHIVE/PALAZZO DUCALE URBINO/ DAGLI ORTI.

The followers of the Coan school believed they had established medicine on a scientific basis, and they attacked magic relentlessly. For them medicine was a rigorous rational technique. Practitioners were advised to examine the body through the use of sight, hearing, smell, touch, taste, and reason. From this process came a synthesis that would provide the treatment. Each disease had its own nature, and no disease came without its natural cause. Hippocratic medicine held that the purpose of the medical practitioner was to help or at the least to do no harm. The ethics of a caregiver should be unquestioned. In the Hippocratic Oath, the would-be physician is instructed to swear that:

> In whatever houses I enter, I will enter to help the sick, and I will abstain from all intentional wrongdoing and harm, especially from abusing the bodies of man or woman, bond or free. And whatsoever I shall see or hear in the course of my profession in my intercourse with men, if it be what should be published abroad, I will never divulge, holding such things to be holy secrets.
>
> (Hippocrates, Oath)

One of the handicaps of Hippocratic medicine was that its practitioners lacked any real knowledge of anatomy, physiology, and pathology; that knowledge began to develop only in the sixteenth century. Instead, it relied on observation, essentially founded on bedside experience, that was combined with philosophical reasoning. In a sense, with the writings of Hippocrates the development of "scientific" medicine began, to be added to gradually by others.

IDEAS ABOUT REPRODUCTION AND GENDER

Ideas about generation were derived from observations of animals mixed with speculation. The Hippocratic writers held that the uterus is always bicornate; that is, it has two hornlike projections. Males are conceived on the right side, and females on the left; this meant that males were superior and females inferior because the right side was superior to the left. In mixed twins both sides of the uterus were involved, with the female child on the left and the male on the right. There is no mention of what happens when the twins are both of the same sex, but clearly they must come from the same horn of the uterus. In single births the male fetus is in the warmest and most solid place: the right side of the womb. Males are formed earlier than females and move about earlier, although they grow more slowly later in the pregnancy. They are more solid, more passionate, and more full-blooded because the part of the womb where they take form is hotter. The writer of the Hippocratic work on conception made pregnancy a joint matter between male and female that results from a mixture of two kinds of seeds: the male semen and the vaginal secretion. Both the male and the female seeds had coagulative power and receptive capacity for coagulation, but the first was stronger in the male and the second was stronger in the female. Menstruation was considered a normal bodily function of the female and was thought to be important in procreation.

Some of the writings of the Hippocratic corpus discussed the possibility of gender change, something the Greeks reported as being common among the Scythians. According to the writers of the corpus, the Scythians lived in a region where the atmosphere is always humid and spring lasts for many months, with mists covering the land for many days. Animals are small and reproduce infrequently. Plants are scarce and vegetation is poor, yet the inhabitants are fat, although they are weak and have poor musculature. Masculine impotence was reported to be common among them. Many of those impotent men did women's work, they often spoke like women, and some, known as *anarie*s, lived as women. Those men were honored because they were believed to have elements of divinity. Other men prostrated themselves before the

anaries for fear that the gods might punish them similarly. The author of the description speculated that the condition was due to the fact that the Scythians spent so much time on horseback; this caused many men to become temporarily impotent. If the impotency persisted, the men believed they had committed a sin against the gods. To expiate that sin they put on women's clothing and devoted themselves to feminine occupations. Hippocrates reported that the illness usually attacked only the most powerful and richest men, and when they changed their role, they also became powerful shamans.

The Hippocratic writers not only marked the beginning of modern medicine, they also set forth the ideas that dominated medical and philosophic thinking about sex and gender into the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO *Aristotle; Body, Theories of; Galen; Medicine, Ancient.*

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Vern L. Bullough

HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY, MODERN

To understand the important role of concepts of production and consumption in the history of women and gender one needs to look at the point of change and decipher its lasting ramifications. Before the Industrial Revolution (c. 1790) production was an integrated, undifferentiated process in which men, women, and children worked together. The exigencies of survival necessitated cooperative work among all the members of the family. The major impact of industrialization, beginning at the end of the eighteenth century but picking up speed and becoming a pervasive element in American culture in the period 1820–1920, was to separate work from life.

Karl Marx's definition of production was that which produced capital. By 1820 work was associated only with labor for wages conducted outside the household by men.

WOMEN AS PRODUCERS, CONSUMERS, AND CHOOSERS

Before industrialization the colonial housewife was valued for her contributions as a producer. However, by 1820 the housewife had been replaced by the wife and mother who was no longer seen as a producer but as a dependent and a consumer. Thus, not only did the site of material production change from in-house to out-of-house, there was also an ideological shift in terms of women's status. Women's work was devalued by 1820, and women were devalued as well.

The shift from a producer to a consumer society affected women's roles to varying degrees. For example, mid-Atlantic farmwomen between 1750 and 1850 illustrated a distinction between the history of rural women and that of urban women. Rural women participated in three areas of life: household production, market activities, and public activities such as involvement in religious organizations. They also continued to be and to be considered producers. Rural women's butter production continued to be a significant component of their roles as both women and wives-mothers. Therefore, although some women's status decreased as a result of the shift from a producer to a consumer society, rural women participated in both production and consumption. In addition, that transition in women's history did not have a significant effect on black women, free or enslaved. Black women were not involved in the ideological process that devalued women's work or in the continued valuation of farmwomen's production. Their experiences as slaves were significantly different in that they were considered not people but chattel.

The concept of production also created new opportunities for native-born New England farmwomen in the textile mills in Lowell, Massachusetts. Thousands of Lowell "mill girls" seized the chance to work in the textile mills in the 1820s and 1830s to earn their own wages and experience more independence. The interdependence of the mill hands also generated female solidarity that contributed to the formation of the first female labor protests. Mill women participated in labor turnouts and later created the Ten-Hour Movement. They also organized the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association. Despite that effort, women's textile work and lives existed within a paternalistic system of boardinghouses and managers. However, the women who worked in textile mills were predominantly white and native-born. Once the influx of immigrants began in the 1850s (mostly Germans and Irish came to the industrial centers), the status of mill work decreased and native-born white women returned to the farm. Furthermore, factory work did not open opportunities for black women, and that remained the case throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

EFFECTS OF THE CULTURE OF CONSUMPTION

The concepts of production and consumption had a significant impact on women and gender. Industrialization separated the work of women from that of men (and children). The shift was not from production to consumption but from one system of production to another. Whereas women, men, and children previously had to work together to accomplish household tasks, household technology created devices that made women the sole beneficiaries of such work; significantly, those devices actually increased women's labor rather than reducing it. For example, before the creation of the vacuum cleaner, women, men, and children would haul out their rugs perhaps once per season and even children might participate in beating the rugs. With the invention of the vacuum cleaner, women as the primary housecleaners spend substantially more time on this task by doing it more frequently.

Thus, as society became more consumer-oriented, expectations for household cleanliness magnified and multiplied women's work in the process. Women's work within the home did not diminish in amount or expectations once women no longer were considered producers. The shift from a producer to a consumer society, or from one system of production to another, devalued women's work, created opportunities for employment for some women but not others, and increased women's housework rather than decreased it.

Between roughly 1880 and 1920 the culture of consumption began to affect women's lives in new ways that have had lasting ramifications for conceptions of gender. The proliferation of goods and services and the creation of the leisure industry (amusement parks, dance halls, and movie theaters) created new opportunities for immigrant working women. New jobs in factories and department stores created wage-earning possibilities. Consumption of leisure and fashion and heterosexual socializing opened up new possibilities for women in turn-of-the-century New York to experience independence from their parents and find new means of self-expression. Working women accepted treats that they otherwise could not afford (small gifts and entrance fees) from men. However, without substantive changes in the allocation of power, resources, and work, the liberating qualities of consumption were hollow. Moreover, in the dance halls an ideology was formulated that fused women's aspirations for independence and self-definition with consumption and heterosexual

companionship. Thus, consumption did not foster feminist consciousness among working-class women, and social gender relations were not altered.

CONSUMPTION AND CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS

Consumption convinces women that consumerist choice is a substitute for power. The cultural representations of women are used to convince women that they can alter the quality of their lives significantly without making substantive changes. Simply by trying to achieve "the look" or by decorating the home according to the notions of style, they can be successful and satisfied.

Decoding women's magazines illustrates the ways in which advertising and magazine copy attempt to provide women with sufficient choices to make them think they are creating individualized selves when in fact they are subscribing to predetermined ideals. Women's magazines do not enable women to question or diversify the ideals that are presented to them for consumption. Thus, concepts of production and consumption not only have been major factors in the history of women and gender, they have continued to be influential in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

THE FABRICATION OF WOMEN

The impact of the linguistic turn on the writing of U.S. women's/gender history has been to problematize the language used to describe the history of women and question the binary opposition of biological sex. The historian Joan Kelly (1976) argued that women's history attempts to return women to history and history to women. Women cannot be studied in isolation because to study one sex necessarily entails studying the other. Furthermore, women's history does not accept the social relations between the sexes as natural but insists that they are socially constructed by and for women.

The linguistic turn questions what is meant by women, womanhood, and femininity rather than accepting their meanings as standard. It also acknowledges that those meanings shift over time, that gender itself is dynamic. Joan Scott (1996) argued that in addition to the social relations of the sexes being socially and culturally constructed, scholars of women's/gender history must reject the idea of the binary opposition of the sexes. Thus, to understand how social relations between the sexes affect women's experiences, scholars must attempt to understand the construction and reconstruction of gender. By focusing on the construction of gender it is possible to locate power. It is in language that people locate meaning. The shift from the opposition of the sexes to the construction of gender also does damage to arguments that rest on the foundation of sexual difference, that is, cultural feminism.

There are many scholars whose work has contributed to the turn of the writing of U.S. women's/gender history to a more complex understanding of the construction of womanhood and femininity. In Cynthia Russett's *Sexual Science* (1989), for example, there is a description of how the Victorian medical profession devised a theory of conservation to explain and justify the subordinate role of women. The theory rested on a Darwinian explanation that women's evolution had stopped at a certain point to enable women to reproduce, which constrained their potential but facilitated the success of the species. Victorian doctors used this, according to Russett, to protect their status as men and as doctors. The theory rationalized that women's inequality was nature-ordained and that women therefore could never be equal to men in power, position, or authority.

Similarly, Ann Douglas (1973) described how womanhood was constructed in the nineteenth century by the cultural ideology that women were ill because they were women, thus linking female gender with incapacitation. Douglas found that many women considered themselves ill to escape the burdens of the kitchen and bedroom. She also noted that women were determined to be ill because they had violated their femininity by engaging in unfeminine pursuits such as intellectual ambition and lack of selflessness. To cure women, doctors tried to return them to their so-called feminine states. Thus, the American physician Weir Mitchell devised a "rest cure" that required days in bed with no mental stimulation. Women were considered the most feminine when they were pregnant, a sign of male potency.

Scholars of women's/gender history also look to visual representations of gender as cultural sites of the construction of gender. Barbara Melosh (1991) describes how New Deal public art represented male and female forms according to social expectations and needs rather than serving as accurate reflections of women's roles. Hence, cultural representations can reflect society's constructions of gender. Melosh portrays how women in public art almost never were depicted in their roles as professionals (teachers, social workers, nurses), and in the rare cases when they were, they always were presented as being subservient to men. Furthermore, the hero images served to illustrate men's strength and capacity as wage earners and women's roles as companionate helpmates to squelch social anxieties about women's increased visibility in the labor force, their legal right as voters, and their attempts at independent lifestyles. New Deal public art illustrates the idea that gender can be created not only to reflect but also to reinforce traditional notions of what constitutes womanhood. Artists and administrators alike

vetoed images that depicted too many women or were on a scale that implied strength.

The construction of gender is relational: Women's weaknesses are celebrated by society to bolster men's strengths. As Susan Brownmiller (1984) argues, the creation of feminine ideals served to make appearance, rather than ambition or accomplishment, the emblem of female desirability. Hence, women compete not for professional achievement but in their efforts to reach feminine ideals. The construction of gender is fundamental to women's/gender history scholarship, for to understand and chronicle women's experiences, historians need to dissect what makes females women, how this has influenced their status, and how scholars might propose ways to change the system of social organization for the better.

The linguistic turn also can be considered part of the movement of scholarship beyond the search for sisterhood (Hewitt 1985). Understanding the ways in which gender is constructed enables scholars to explicate the myriad ways in which womanhood and femininity have served as cultural ideals that are not representative of all women at all times.

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Keren R. McGinity

HITE REPORT

In the early to middle 1970s the feminist movement in the United States produced an increasing number of texts on female health and sexuality that were written by women. The proliferation of texts on this subject also has produced increasing numbers of works on sex and gender since the inception of the movement. Following the work of William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson and the Kinsey Report, Shere Hite conducted research in the early 1970s that culminated in *The Hite Report: A Nationwide Study on Female Sexuality* (1976).

Capitalizing on the *sexual revolution* as well as becoming a key book of the twentieth-century feminist movement, *The Hite Report*, at 478 pages, was a study whose goal was to answer sensitive questions dealing with the most intimate details of women's sexuality. Hite asked 1,844 women, ages fourteen to seventy-eight what they do and do not like about sex; how orgasm really feels, with and without intercourse; how it feels not to have an orgasm during sex; and the importance of clitoral stimulation and masturbation. Those women also were asked to name the greatest sexual pleasures and frustrations of their lives, among many other questions.

The goal of Hite's work was to challenge many accepted notions about female sexuality (such as the myth of the vaginal orgasm) and to show that attitudes must change to include the sexual stimulation that women desire. Although *The Hite Report* contains statistical analyses, the greater part of the book consists of candid anecdotes, opinions, and complaints relating to the respondents' sex lives. Book reviewers criticized Hite for lax statistical reporting: According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Hite failed to obtain demographic statistics from some of her respondents. However, the book became an instant best seller, and many women felt reassured by its frankness and honesty about sex. Hite's final assessment that women were far from sexually satisfied unsettled established opinion on the subject.

Shere Hite was born November 2, 1942, in St. Joseph, Missouri, and is a sex educator and feminist. In addition to her focus on female sexuality, Hite references theoretical, political, and psychological works associated with the feminist movement of the 1970s, such as Anne Koedt's essay "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm." Hite received a master's degree in history from the University
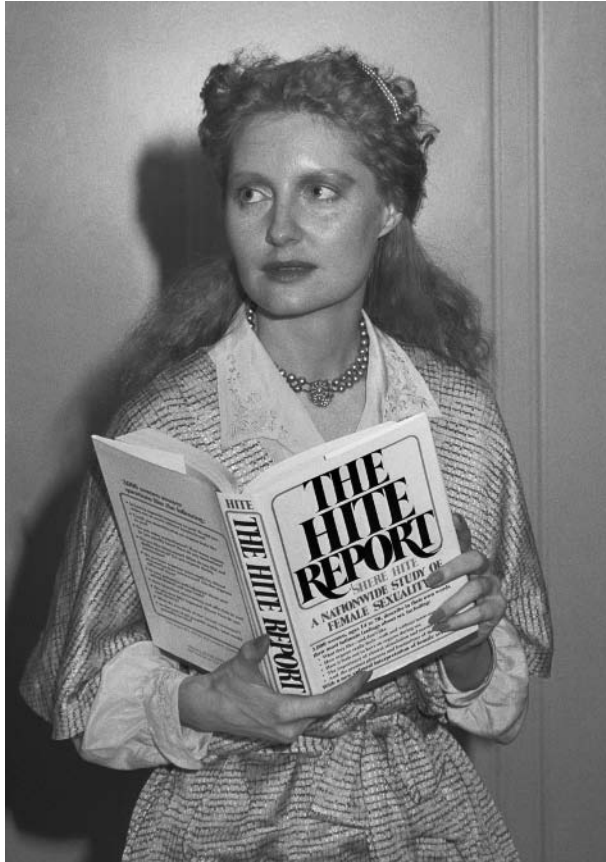
Shere Hite Holding a Copy of **The Hite Report.**
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of Florida in 1967. She moved to New York City and enrolled in Columbia University to work toward a doctorate in social history. Hite attributes the noncompletion of this degree to the conservative nature of Columbia at that time, and she later completed a doctorate at Nihon University, Tokyo, Japan, and another doctorate in clinical sexology at Maimonides University, North Miami Beach, Florida.

PRODUCTION OF THE *HITE REPORT*

An ongoing topic of interest for Hite has been the ways in which individuals regard sexual experience and the meaning it holds for them. She has criticized Masters and Johnson for incorporating critical approaches to sexual behavior into their research. She has criticized Masters and Johnson's argument that sufficient clitoral stimulation to achieve orgasm should be provided by thrusting during intercourse and the inference that failure to achieve orgasm in this manner is a sign of female *sexual dysfunction*. Hite's research reflects her conviction that individuals must

understand the cultural and personal construction of sexual experience to make the research relevant to sexual behavior outside the laboratory.

The main motivation behind the production of *The Hite Report* was the idea that "women have never been asked how they felt about sex. Researchers, looking for statistical 'norms,' have asked all the wrong questions for all the wrong reasons—and all too often wound up *telling* women how they should feel rather than *asking* them how they do feel" (Hite 1976, p. 46). Hite conducted her research by using essay questionnaires rather than multiple-choice questions because the latter would have "implied preconceived categories of response ... would have 'told' the respondent what the 'allowable' or 'normal' answers would be" (Hite 1976, p. 102). The study was replicated and confirmed in at least two other countries. *The Hite Report*—as well as two other studies, *The Hite Report on Male Sexuality* (1981) and *The Hite Report: Women and Love: A Cultural Revolution* (1987)—was translated into thirteen languages and used in courses in universities in the United States and around the world.

SCOPE AND INFLUENCE

A key revelation in Hite's 1976 report was that women felt pressure to conceal how they felt about the lack of orgasm during intercourse. Hite drew the conclusion that the traditional definition of sex is sexist and culturally linked: "Our whole society's definition of sex is sexist—sex for the overwhelming majority of people consists of foreplay, eventually followed by vaginal penetration and then by intercourse, ending eventually in male orgasm. This definition is cultural, not biological" (Hite 1976, p. 53).

In the early 1980s Hite sent out 100,000 questionnaires to explore the ways in which women were suffering in their love relationships with men. Published in 1987, *The Hite Report: Women and Love: A Cultural Revolution in Progress* provided a channel of release for women who experienced frequent degradation and ridicule by men (Wang 1993). Women wrote essays that expressed their longing for love while they engaged in heterosexual relationships in which they assumed a *caregiver* role.

The Hite Report and its follow-up texts continue to be received as landmark feminist texts. However, Hite's lack of a *scientific conclusion* remains a point of criticism by researchers in her field (Wang 1993). Although Hite used the same methodology to produce three books on female sexuality, male sexuality, and women and love, only the third book received extensive public scrutiny. Because the third *Hite Report* addressed attitudes and emotions, its credibility often was called into question. In 1999 Hite published *The Hite Report on Shere Hite: Voice of a Daughter in Exile*, a self-examination and biographical account of the sexologist's experiences.

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Amy Nolan

HOKHMA

Hokhma is the feminine personification of Wisdom found in Jewish and other ancient Near Eastern literature. She is distinct from the personifications of other abstract concepts, such as Word, Spirit, Truth, or Faithfulness, because Hokhma reaches the more fully developed status of an independent manifestation, or hypostasis, of divine wisdom. Although Hokhma is closely associated with God, she is a powerful character in her own right. In ancient Near Eastern society, and Judaism in particular, she plays the roles of creator of the world, the educator of humanity, and the savior of Israel. These theologically significant responsibilities, her close relationship with God, and relative prominence among other religious personifications have caused scholars to speculate that within Judaism, Hokhma is an expression of the feminine divine, a counterbalance to the masculinity of God.

The literature in which Hokhma appears can be divided into three categories: the canonical *Ketuvim* (Writings) of the Hebrew Bible, Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and non-Jewish ancient Near Eastern writings. Each category of literature contributes something to the overall character of Hokhma.

In the *Ketuvim*, the book of Proverbs makes the most frequent references to Hokhma. The first chapter of Proverbs recounts Hokhma's appearance as a prophet in the market of Jerusalem, preaching a message of reproach and punishment for those who fail to accept her knowledge and authority. For those who listen to her and follow her teachings she promises safety from evil. In chapter eight, Hokhma shows up again to describe herself as a force of righteousness, the creator of just leadership, and the punisher of evil. Proverbs also names Hokhma as

God's first creation and claims she was the master craftsperson responsible for aiding with the rest of creation. Finally Proverbs describes a banquet thrown by Hokhma where she invites humanity to leave behind foolishness and adopt her teachings. The book of Proverbs portrays Hokhma as a formative divine figure who benevolently provides people with the knowledge they need to achieve salvation. The parallels between Hokhma's roles and behavior and those of God were clear to the Jewish reader.

Hokhma reached the height of her popularity in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Jewish literature not included in the Hebrew Bible. The book of the Wisdom of Solomon includes detailed descriptions of Hokhma that call her a lover of humanity, omnipotent, mother of all good things, giver of life and immortality to the just, and the creator of prophets. Chapter ten completely elides any distinction between Hokhma and God by retelling the story of Israel's salvation so that acts of salvation traditionally associated with the Hebrew god YHWH (Yahweh) are attributed to Hokhma. For instance Hokhma delivers Adam from sin, punishes Cain for forsaking her, guides the righteous man to safety during the flood, strengthens Abraham, rescues Lot, and uses Moses to free the Israelites from slavery. In this version of the Genesis story, Hokhma has replaced God.

In other Pseudepigrapha writings, Hokhma comes to live amongst humanity in order to give them instruction so that they could live a religiously proper life. The book of Sirach notes that in her role as teacher of religion, Hokhma is equated with the Torah. Later, in Rabbinic Judaism, when the influence of Hokhma had waned, the rabbis used the Hokhma-Torah equation to assign to the Torah roles such as creator and savior that had previously been associated with Hokhma.

Outside of Jewish literature, *hokhma* appears as a descriptive phrase in the Aramaic book of Ahiqar (5th century BCE), meaning *of the gods, precious to the gods* and *exalted by the lord of holy ones*. Elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern literature parallels to Hokhma as an independent feminine divinity are found in the Egyptian goddess Maat (Truth, Order), the Babylonian-Canaanite Kittu (Truth) and Mīsharu (Justice), Babylonian-Hurrian Hasīsu (Understanding, Intelligence), and Siduri, the goddess of Wisdom in the Epic of Gilgamesh. All of these figures are indicative of the existence of a feminine component of the divine in ancient Near Eastern culture.

The notion of the feminine divine in the ancient Near East was strong enough that even the monotheism of Judaism could not completely erase it; rather it emerged in the form of Hokhma, divine Wisdom. It is likely that Hokhma was also a model for the Gnostic Christian figure of Sophia.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Early and Medieval; Gnosticism; Goddess Worship; Judaism; Sophia.*

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Jennifer Hart

HOMOAFFECTIVITY, CONCEPT

The term *homoaffectivity*, or *same-sex affectivity*, and its derivations emerged in the early 1990s along with two other terms, *homoerotic* and *homosocial*, to describe bonds between same-sex individuals or communities, or to describe an affective orientation of an individual, especially in the context of early modern and medieval studies, particularly in literature, art, and history. Whereas the terms homosocial and, to an ever-greater extent, homoerotic are quite common, the term homoaffective is relatively infrequent. Early modern and medieval scholars as well as specialists in nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature and history have used the term (Caroline Gonda [2007] uses the term *homoaffection*). Whereas the term homosocial has a specific theoretical origin in the work of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, the two other terms have a more diffuse provenance. The term homoaffective can be traced to Adrienne Rich's (1929–) *lesbian continuum*, although few scholars using it make that genealogy explicit. Instead, it seems that the term is a spontaneous coinage that occurred to a number of scholars rather than emerging from one person's theoretical work, like homosocial.

The three terms divide the multidirectional conglomerate of same-sex relations into the fields of erotic, social, and affective affinity. The three are not mutually exclusive; they overlap, and are sometimes used interchangeably. When used to describe distinct manifestations of same-sex orientation, by placing emphasis on one aspect, these terms create an entry point to the study of a phenomenon that extends well beyond each manifestation. If instability of the boundaries between these categories (same-sex acts, affects, affinities, desires, social interactions) throughout historical periods can be documented, then by studying one, insight into the others is gained. Because it is self-evident that there are few traces of same-sex acts in the periods and societies that penalize them, the focus on homoaffective and homosocial relations enhances our ability to study same-sex-oriented

individuals, couples, and communities, and to write their history.

The emergence of these new terms was also initially conditioned and continues to be influenced by the fact that if desire and affection are universal, the institutions and structures that influence and shape their manifestations are historically specific. From that historical contingency results the need to differentiate between historical and contemporary definitions and performances of same-sex orientation. In each specific historical context, depending on their social position and many other variables, same-sex-oriented individuals, couples, and communities navigated different landscapes of prohibitions and possibilities, and they negotiated their relations differently from modern homosexual individuals and groups. The elaboration of a more nuanced vocabulary including terms such as homoaffectivity explicitly helped to articulate these cultural and historical differences.

Moreover, during the 1990s, premodern historians and literary critics elaborated a collective response to the Foucauldian paradigm dating the birth of the homosexual individual to the second half of the nineteenth century (*History of Sexuality.* Vol. 1, Michael Foucault 1976). According to Michel Foucault, since the French Revolution, the place of sex in the process of subject formation has fundamentally changed. The influence of the Foucauldian paradigm is so strong that many scholars are unwilling to use terms such as subject, lesbian, or homosexual with reference to premodern periods, whereas others point out not only differences but also similarities on the two sides of the Foucauldian epistemic break. The use of the term homoaffectivity is one of the symptoms of attention to the Foucauldian paradigm. Dividing the field of phenomena that constitute the homosexual orientation into its composite parts, such as affect, desire, economic and social alliances, and others, allows the analysis of specific cases rather than project ill-fitting, anachronistic concepts that occlude rather than illuminate the past. Instead of determining historical presence or absence of homosexual individuals, homoaffectivity and related terms imply the study of specific aspects of same-sex orientation in the past, cataloguing continuities, displacements, and discontinuities.

It is important to note that replacing the category *homosexuality* as the hermeneutical tool of research on pre-1800 history of sexuality by multiple new categories, including homoaffectivity, has not ended the debate on anachronism and further elaboration of optimal conditions for historical accuracy by refining methodologies. Whereas all scholars claim that historical accuracy is the primary concern underlying their methodology, some argue that many studies fall short of that ideal by projecting onto the past, concepts and models anchored in the

present. This leads some to create new models (for example, Allen Frantzen's *shadow*), and generally to emphasize the discontinuities between past and present concepts (titles of works sometimes indicate this emphasis, as in Frantzen's *Before the Closet* (1998), or James A. Schultz's "Heterosexuality Before Heterosexuality").

Whereas the use of the term homoaffectivity allows scholars to eschew the dangers of an anachronistic imposition of modern categories such as *lesbian* or *homosexual identity* (shaped by the evolution of sexology since the late nineteenth century, the gay rights movement, etc.), homoaffectivity is still, at the core, a universal category. While *manifestations* of homoaffectivity are historically determined—its representation, performance, or repression depends on historical variables—it is also assumed that same-sex affect always existed, and can be documented in its historically specific manifestations. In that sense, as a universal core desire or relation whose realizations are historically contingent, the use of the terms homosexual and lesbian is just as accurate, and some scholars, therefore, insist on it (Judith Bennett, Valerie Traub, Martha Vicinus).

Homoaffectivity describes same-sex emotions expressed or enacted by individuals or groups, but does not necessarily include sex acts. Whereas it is useful to divide the field of *homosexual orientation* into its components for the above-stated reasons, this parsing also has the effect of splitting homoaffectivity from sex. As a consequence one can argue that demonstrating the presence of homoaffectivity does not necessarily prove the existence of same-sex desires, performance of same-sex acts, or existence of same-sex couples (in the sense of an affective dyad that could be described as a *lesbian couple*) or communities in the past. However, even in the twenty-first century, sex acts are only the tip of the iceberg; desires and emotions fill far more cultural space do than acts. Therefore the focus on affectivity instead of acts facilitates, rather than impedes, the research on historical genealogies and avatars of contemporary homosexuality.

This application of the term homoaffectivity follows the use of the concept of homosocial coined by Sedgwick in the *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990): same-sex friendship, she showed, presents symptoms of same-sex desire. Because the uses of the two terms are so similar, the critique of homoaffectivity as a useful hermeneutic tool in writing the history of same-sex desire follows the critique of homosociality. In *Tendencies* (1993), Sedgwick expanded her argument from *Epistemology* and effectively invented queer studies by pointing out the relevance of any dissonant voices; thus, queer and nonstandard became a single category. The consequences of this move continue to draw criticism: if everything that is dissonant is queer, then nothing is specifically so, and queer

studies postpone rather than write the history of same-sex desire. One answer to that critique is that the normalization of same-sex couples will eventually erase distinctions between homosexuality and heterosexuality, and therefore the perceived dissipation of purpose in queer theory prefigures the utopia to come. Although this is theoretically possible, that response does not address the issue at stake in the critique: the purpose, timeliness, and use of queer studies.

Another answer to the critique is that the splicing of the category *sexual* into fields such as *erotic*, *social*, and *affective*—and turning away from the study of sexuality understood as genital acts between people to the study of desire in areas previously unexplored because such acts are there absent—has enabled important investigations that acknowledge and analyze sex in phenomena from which sexuality has been traditionally evacuated. These include virginity and celibacy (see, e.g., Traub 2002), emphasis on corporeality in asceticism (putting the *body* back in the discipline of the body, as in the works of Caroline Walker Bynum), single women (such as Bennett's *lesbian-like*). All of these investigations have contributed to the study of same-sex desire. Obviously, then, it is not the emergence of categories such as homoaffectivity that distracts from the history of sexuality, but rather some forms of their application.

Because of the silences and secrets that cover up the existence of same-sex desires in the past, the study of same-sex friendship has developed as a way to show or refute the existence of same-sex desires. Homoaffectivity describes affection between persons of the same sex. Theoretically, the term homoaffectivity can be used to study phenomena such as friendship, either in isolation from or as part of a continuum that includes eroticism. However, in practice, homoaffectivity is a term more frequently used by scholars who study same-sex friendship in the past as a likely site of same-sex desire, rather than by those who study friendship as a phenomenon that precludes same-sex orientation.

However, because (with varying success) individuals can compartmentalize sexual relations and affective investments, instead of implying that homoaffectivity is a symptom of homosexual desire, the term homoaffectivity can also be used to distinguish between heterosexual desire and same-sex affectivity. A heterosexually identified individual can be homoaffective if she or he only forms affective bonds with individuals of the same sex, whereaS the sex act fulfills a role whose meaning is to be determined. The leakage between categories (affect, power, capital, gender self-definition), poses interesting problems that could not be analyzed if homosexual and heterosexual were the only available terms.

Because homoaffectivity is a term most frequently used in writing the history of individuals and communities

characterized by same-sex preference, it is useful to mention two related terms that played a role in the fight for legal rights and cultural recognition of same-sex couples. The first is: *homoaffectionalism*, or male bonding (Hardman 1993). The second is a legal term, *homoafetividade* (homo-affectivity), a key word in legal fight for civil rights of nonheterosexual couples in Brazil used by a pioneering judge and women's and same-sex rights advocate, Maria Berenice Dias. Dias states that "affectivity is a social reality," and uses the term to describe the relationships of nonheterosexual couples.

SEE ALSO *Friendships, Passionate; Homoeroticism, Female/ Male, Concept; Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Lesbianism.*

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Anna Klosowska

HOMOEROTICISM, FEMALE/MALE, CONCEPT

The concept of *homoeroticism* marks a relatively recent but important moment in the theorization of sex and gender. Linked to terms in the same family (*homosexuality*, *homoaffectivity*, and *homosociability*), yet crucially distinct from them, the concept of homoeroticism has had a major impact on the study of same-sex history and cultures. Among other contributions it has allowed scholars to explore issues of sexuality beyond the boundaries of gender identity and the sexual in a purely biological sense. As a result it has allowed major advances in gender and queer theory and in understanding the mappings of past sexual sensibilities, particularly in the areas of art and culture.

The terms homoeroticism and *homoerotic* refer to the tendency for erotic feelings to be projected onto a person of the same sex. They thus imply a preference for sameness over difference and stress the role of emotion. Although same-sex desire as a feature of art and culture has a long and geographically wide history, the terms homoerotic and homoeroticism are relatively recent coinages within the theorization of sex and gender. Developing out of the medical discourse of the Austrian psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and the German-born Austrian sexologist Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) in the nineteenth century that inaugurated a new way of categorizing sexuality, these terms first appear in psychoanalytic texts of the early twentieth century, where they are used as clinical descriptors of what were at the time seen as sexual neuroses.

HISTORY AND THEORY OF HOMOEROTICISM

As with *homosocial*, homoerotic is a neologism, derived from *homosexual* but in current usage distinct from it. Although occasionally employed as synonyms for homosexual or homosexuality, the terms were adopted by some analysts precisely because they directed attention toward a psychic and emotional dimension distinct from the strictly genital aspect of sexuality. Thus, the Hungarian psychoanalyst Sándor Ferenczi (1873–1933) argued that the word homoeroticism was preferable, given that it stressed the psychic aspect of the impulse in contradistinction to the biological term *sexuality*. The new coinages can thus be seen as attempts to move beyond the rigid categories of sexual identification that were imposed in the nineteenth century on hitherto more fluid behaviors and identities, and that made homosexuality less a set of actions or impulses than a defining characteristic of a person's identity. By rejecting the explicitly biological that is a component of the term homosexual, homoeroticism is able to describe feelings, attitudes, and desires

that reach beyond (often pathologized and medicalized) gender identities.

Just as homosocial is used to describe single-sex contexts that are not specifically sexual, so homoerotic provides a way of labeling single-sex feelings or impulses that are not restricted to biology. Nancy Chodorow (1994) argues that biology alone cannot explain cultural fantasy or private eroticism. Less bound to the biological than homosexual and more focused on feelings and affect, homoerotic has a flexibility that makes it useful for discussion of personal desires and attributes of art and culture. That ability to identify aspects of gender beyond biological sex has made homoerotic and homoeroticism important conceptual terms for the study of sexuality in history and culture. Modern taxonomies of sex and gender are notoriously unhelpful for describing premodern and non-European identities, desires, and behaviors, because most of those societies do not employ categories fully comparable to modern notions of sexuality. The exploration of homoerotic themes, subtexts, strains, and tendencies in the expressive culture of those societies has made possible a more nuanced history of sexuality and its effects.

Homoeroticism is usually distinguished from the related terms homosociability and homoaffectivity, which refer to social bonds between persons of the same sex that are not sexual and that lack an explicitly erotic component. Male friendship would be properly described as an example of homosociability or homoaffectivity but not as homoeroticism. Homosociability is often used to refer to same-sex social interactions such as the all-male worlds of medieval guilds, boarding schools, and the army, or the all-female worlds of sewing circles, sororities, and maternity wards.

Because the boundaries between the social and the sexual are blurred, it can be difficult to distinguish homosociability from homoeroticism. Particularly in societies in which men's and women's spheres are kept separate, male–male and female–female bonds may be much stronger and more visible than in societies in which the sexes mingle more freely. But any reading of those bonds as homoerotic would need to include an awareness of the specific cultural parameters and the expectations about social roles and behaviors in that society. In some polities in ancient Greece, for instance, there was a continuum between male friendship and male homosexuality that complicates any attempt to identify specifically homoerotic cultural moments. The best studies of homoeroticism in history and global culture are attuned to this blurring of categories and situate same-sex desire within a broader interplay of sexual orientation, gender identification, gender roles, and sexual practice.

The work of the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) and the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault (1926–1984) helped set the theoretical stage for the notion of homoeroticism as it is currently used by cultural critics. Lacan's account of power, sex, and language made it possible to distinguish between anatomic or biological sex and cultural gender as well as to consider not just women's but also men's relations to the phallus as the locus of power. In doing the former Lacanian psychoanalysis opened a space for discussion of desire beyond the constraints of biology and separated desire from gender identification. In doing the latter it allowed for consideration of the effects of male-centered power on men and by extension the effects of same-sex desire as a cultural force. At the same time Foucault's understanding of gender as a representation that nonetheless holds real implications for individuals and societies pointed the way to considering the processes by which gender is constructed in all aspects of societies, such as in the media, schools, the home, the legal system, art, and discourse.

An extension of these ideas is the notion, advanced by Teresa de Lauretis (1987), that the sex–gender system is a sociocultural construct and a semiotic system or representational scheme that assigns meaning and value to individuals within a society. She argues that the construction of gender goes on chiefly through various technologies for representing gender (e.g., cinema, novels, plastic arts). The job of the critic, therefore, is to scrutinize how such representations work and what effects they have. Much modern work on homoeroticism has implicitly followed this path of scrutinizing the technologies of gender at work in different societies and historical periods.

Although her explicit focus is on male homosocial desire, Eve Sedgwick's (1985) analysis of the structures of desire in the novel shares common ground with and has inspired later studies of homoeroticism in art and culture. Sedgwick's claim is that male heterosexuality in modern American society is actually a displacement of male homosocial desire. Drawing on René Girard's 1965 study of erotic triangles in which the bond that links male rivals can be stronger than that between the rival and the beloved, she argues that the real object of male heterosexual desire is not a woman but other men. In Sedgwick's view the female love-object actually functions as a mechanism for the expression of men's desire for men. The importance of her study for the development of the concept of homoeroticism as an investigative tool is that Sedgwick deliberately aims to draw the homosocial back into the orbit of desire and of the potentially erotic. In this way Sedgwick attempts to reconstruct what she calls a *broken* continuum between homosociability and homosexuality. By focusing on homosocial desire, a phrase that

she admits is something of an oxymoron given that homosocial usually implies relations that do not include sexual desire, Sedgwick seeks not to reconstruct a genetic cause of male homosexuality but instead to devise a strategy for generalizing about and describing historical differences within the structure of men's relations with other men. Her emphasis on the notion of homosocial desire as a tool for inquiry usefully redirected criticism toward fertile new areas of investigation into the structures of gender identities.

HOMOEROTICISM AND CRITICAL INQUIRY

Major advances in gender and queer theory have resulted from the notion of homoeroticism. Among them is the ability to focus on representations of same-sex desire in art and culture and to understand how they help shape sexual behaviors and attitudes. Studies of homoeroticism in the Biblical world, in classical Arabic literature, in sports, as a subtext in *Star Trek*, in vampire cinema, and in any number of other cultural productions and institutions have shown the crucial role played by same-sex desire in forming cultures. Charting a range of experiences from love and friendship to intimacy and sex, critical work has stressed the importance in European and North American literary history of homoerotic relations between men (and less frequently, women) even before homosexuality became codified at the end of the century. Homoerotic tendencies in Homer's verses on Zeus and Ganymede, the poetry of the Roman Catullus (84–54 BCE) and the Greek Sappho (ca. 612–570 BCE), William Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, and the writings of Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) and Jeanette Winterson (b. 1959) have all been studied as part of the history of the social shaping of gender and sexuality.

The notion of the homoerotic has been especially useful in analyzing the role of desire in art, regardless of the biological sex of the creators or consumers of that art. It thus becomes less necessary to identify the sexual orientation of Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593) or Emily Dickinson (1830–1886) than to consider the ways in which all sorts of cultural objects and art works contain homoerotic features. Such a perspective allows recognition of the strains of homoeroticism that have been present in European art since the time of the ancient Greeks and to trace its tradition through the Renaissance (1350–1600) and on to the present. It also frees scholars from assuming that male (or female) homoerotic art is always or inevitably the creation of homosexual men (or women) and that it is aimed solely at readers or viewers of the same sex. Instead, the erotic imagination of art can be examined in a more fluid way that makes it possible to understand, for instance, the Japanese tradition found in the *anime* subgenre of *yaoi* of male homoerotic art produced by female artists.

Several recent studies show the advantages of the concept of homoeroticism in freeing scholars from the limitations of a narrow focus on gender identity and from exploration of sexuality in a purely biological sense. In studies of eroticism in art, for instance, the notion of the homoerotic has made it possible to broaden the inquiry so that an artist's sexual identity becomes only one possible factor in understanding the erotic content of a work of art. In this way an art historian can analyze the erotic themes and images of artworks without directly examining the sexual orientation of the artist, as Jonathan Weinberg does in *Male Desire: The Homoerotic in American Art* (2004). Although Weinberg excludes works of art by women and although gay artists are important to his study, he insists that he has not written a history of gay art and he does not explicitly engage the subject of homosexuality. Instead, his study explores same-sex desire in U.S. art through representations of male bodies such as the swimmers in Thomas Eakins's (1844–1916) "Swimming" or the boxers and athletes in the pictures of George Bellows (1882–1925). Weinberg focuses particularly on the theme of male bonding but also makes room for consideration of the female gaze and of representations of race. In taking this approach in his book, he largely bypasses identity politics in favor of an investigation into expressions of sensibility.

The concept of homoeroticism has also contributed to a better understanding of past sexual sensibilities. Whereas the homosexual person is a modern invention, as Foucault observed, a focus on homoeroticism makes it possible to explore same-sex desire before the advent of modern definitions of homosexuality. By opening the door to the investigation of a fuller range of expressions of same-sex desire that lie beyond sexual determinism or gender identification—such as friendship, male or female bonding, and intimacy—studies of homoeroticism have provided a way of understanding past sexual attitudes and behaviors that do not fit modern categories. The essays in *Among Women: From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*, edited by Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and Lisa Auanger (2002), for instance, explore encounters between women that might have ranged from the homoerotic to the homosocial from prehistoric Crete to Egypt in the fifth century CE. One essay describes how grave *stelai* in the main cemetery in Athens depict female gazes, including some that seem homoerotic; other essays discuss Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 BCE–17 CE) and Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, 39–65 CE), ancient Latin poets who offer examples of male authors who write narratives of female homoeroticism. Although male homoeroticism has received far more attention than has female homoeroticism, studies such as those in *Among Women* have begun to

explore the history and cultural representation of female homoerotic desire and are starting to fill in another overlooked aspect of the construction of gender and sexuality.

A final advance offered by homoeroticism as a conceptual and critical category is that it directs attention to the ways in which gender relations are constantly created, maintained, and contested in daily life. With its emphasis on attitudes and feelings, which by definition are changeable, homoeroticism is a reminder that sex and gender relations are not static pregivens but, instead, are molded by ongoing processes. The task of critical inquiry into the dynamics of homoeroticism is therefore to chart those ongoing processes and to show how various experiences and representations across time and different cultures help create sexualities.

Considered as developments in the theorization of sex and gender, the adoption of the terms *homoeroticism* and *homoerotic* can perhaps best be understood as a largely successful attempt to find a more nuanced way of describing the nature of desire and the processes of gender construction. Although new terms continue to be coined to more accurately depict aspects of sexual behavior that may not be clearly expressed through existing terminology—for example, the phrase *men who have sex with men*, which is used neutrally to describe a specific activity without associating that activity with any one sexual orientation or self-identification with a certain group—the concept of homoeroticism remains valuable for the way that it has enabled scholars to be less hampered by the particular demands of identity and the sexual in a genital sense. The notion of homoeroticism is consistent with a postmodern awareness of the artificiality and constructedness of gender and sex and speaks to the advent of widely shared ideas about gender flexibility. As such it is a term that is tied to its own cultural moment in the twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries, but it remains well equipped to meet the methodological challenges of historical and cross-cultural inquiry into the creation of human sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Homoaffectivity, Concept; Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Lesbianism.*

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Claire Sponsler

HOMOPHOBIA

The term *homophobia* once referred to fear of men but later came to mean fear or hatred of homosexuals. As with *racism*, it is a negatively charged word. It was coined by the psychologist George Weinberg, who used it in his 1971 book *Society and the Healthy Homosexual.* A phobia is an irrational fear bordering on a disorder. Calling antigay bias irrational implies that hating or fearing homosexuals is not sensible, normal, or healthy. Some people who stress the bias aspect of homophobia prefer the term *heterosexism* or *heterosexist*, which refers to the privileging of heterosexuality over other kinds of sexual expression, including but not limited to homosexuality. Heterosexism also stresses the social aspect of homophobia as a learned and culturally reinforced set of attitudes rather than an illness or an irrational fear.

THEORIES

Homophobia most often is used to characterize two kinds of attitudes: self-hatred and antigay bias. Self-hatred and shame about one's homosexuality often are referred to as internalized homophobia, implying that a homosexual person has adopted socially negative attitudes about homosexuality and that those attitudes damage that person's self-esteem. Trying to pass as a heterosexual or to cure oneself of homosexuality is seen by many people as a sign of internalized homophobia. Internalized homophobia also can be more subtle; one

can be an acknowledged gay man and still not be like other gay men, or can be an acknowledged lesbian who refuses to hire or promote other lesbians.

Internalized homophobia can manifest itself as gender normativity or conservativism, as in the case of a butch gay man who hates male effeminacy or a lipstick lesbian who finds butch women disgusting. Embracing normativity by marrying and having children with an opposite-sex partner rather than living as an acknowledged lesbian or gay man may be viewed by European and North American middle-class gay men and lesbians as a sign of internalized homophobia, though people's lifestyle choices can be influenced strongly by economic factors, cultural factors such as patriarchy and religious intolerance of homosexuality, and political regimes that make it dangerous to live openly as a homosexual man or a lesbian.

Antigay bias also can be interpreted as a sign of internalized homophobia; the classic example is a man who bashes gay men because he needs to prove to himself and others that he is heterosexual. Some men who have had a homosexual experience express their shame by hurting their partners or other gay men. The so-called homosexual panic or gay panic defense was used in several cases in the 1990s in which gay men were hurt or murdered by homophobes who then asserted that their violent actions resulted from temporary psychosis brought on by the victim's sexual proposition. Although the defense usually did not result in acquittal, it sometimes resulted in lesser charges or reduced sentences. Acceptance of gay panic as a reduced-capacity defense was a measure of homophobic attitudes in society more generally. As homosexuality became accepted more widely, the homosexual panic defense was allowed less frequently. It was attempted in the Matthew Shepard (1976–1998) murder case, in which the men who killed Shepard claimed that he had propositioned them sexually; however, the judge threw it out as a type of temporary insanity defense not allowed in Wyoming.

There are many theories about how homophobia originated and why it is still prevalent in many places. Many religions have condemned homosexual behavior, usually male, because it is not procreative, and that prejudice has continued even in a time of concern about overpopulation. The modern invention of the homosexual as an identity rather than a set of behaviors inserted this new being into the regulatory mechanisms of nations concerned with repopulation and normativity, and that meant pathologizing and criminalizing the homosexual in order to control him and, much later, her. Thus, by the late nineteenth century medicine and law had joined religion as institutions with enshrined antigay biases.

When the anxiety caused by mobile populations and rapid urban growth is added to those factors, there is the basis for what Gayle Rubin (1984) termed *sex panics*, in which public hysteria over things such as prostitution, homosexuality, child pornography, and pedophilia helps shut down sexual variation by drawing lines between *good* and *bad* forms of sexual practice. Monogamous married *vanilla* heterosexual sex is usually the most approved form of sexual expression, with other, similar kinds of sex ranged in varying degrees around it. Thus, monogamous unmarried vanilla heterosexual sex is better than monogamous unmarried vanilla homosexual sex. Promiscuity is usually outside the lines, though it is tolerated more in heterosexuals, especially men, than in homosexuals. Homosexuality is almost always outside the lines of good sexuality because it usually involves sex outside marriage. Because of this, homophobia is often an element in sex panics, even if the panic has nothing to do with homosexuality itself.

EXAMPLES

Examples of homophobia include gay baiting, which involves taunting gays, lesbians, transgender people, and queers in public; gay bashing, which involves physically hurting members of those groups; hate speech directed at queer people; offensive protests and demonstrations against queer people; and antigay legislation. Church demonstrations in which people hold up signs that say "God Hates Fags" are examples of homophobia. Many gay men and lesbians consider so-called cures for homosexuality homophobic because of the assumption that homosexuality is a disease that must be remedied and the associated need to teach gay men and lesbians to hate their sexuality. Legislation prohibiting same-sex marriage is considered homophobic by many queer people. The military policy known as "don't ask, don't tell," which requires homosexual servicemen and women to hide their sexuality or face discharge, is seen by gay men and lesbians as homophobic. Fear-mongering that equates homosexuality with pedophilia and other sexual offenses is homophobic. The search for a gay gene is thought to be homophobic by people who are afraid that prospective parents will use genetic testing to abort gay fetuses.

EFFECTS

Some of the effects of homophobia include rigid gender roles and suspicion of those who do not conform to them; the breakdown of communication and intimacy between people who are considered normal and those whom society labels as homosexual or queer; the stigmatizing of people perceived to have a same-sex sexual orientation and others lumped in with them, such as

transgender people; attempts to suppress sexuality by adopting a heterosexual lifestyle, which almost always leads to unhappy marriages; self-loathing; the homelessness of queer youth; sexphobia, the fear that free sexual expression is bad for society; gay bashing and antiqueer violence; discrimination in hiring, promotion, housing, and adoption and foster care; political deadlocks that hurt HIV-AIDS programs; and political and legal discrimination and scapegoating. Many HIV-AIDS activists link external and internalized homophobia to low self-esteem and risky sexual behavior. Media representations of gay people as serial killers, sexual predators, drug addicts, alcoholics, and sexually and emotionally unhappy individuals are considered homophobic insofar as there are very few positive representations of gay men, lesbians, and transgender people in the mainstream media, so that those negative images perpetuate stereotypes of homosexuals as sick, immoral outlaws.

DEFENSES AND REMEDIES

Remedies for the negative attitudes described above include acceptance of more fluid genders and gender roles; political, social, and personal alliances between heterosexuals and queer people; and rejection of prejudicial attitudes directed at homosexual people. Other remedies include acceptance of many varieties of intimacy and sexual expression; the adoption of positive attitudes about human sexuality in general, including sexual diversity and homosexuality; increased public awareness of violence directed at lesbians, gay men, and transgender people; increased understanding of the pervasiveness of gay shame and internalized homophobia; adoption of antidiscrimination laws in employment and housing; acceptance and celebration of gay families; legalization of same-sex unions; and greater acceptance of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people in spaces other than gay bars and sex clubs. Another remedy would be the creation of more positive media images of lesbians and gay men on television and in the movies, the music industry, and politics.

SEE ALSO *Hate Crimes.*

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Jaime Hovey

HOMOSEXUALITY, CONTEMPORARY

This entry contains the following:

I. OVERVIEW

Homosexuality as an identity and a set of practices has undergone repeated metamorphoses since classical antiquity. Before the nineteenth century homosexuality was thought of not as an identity but as a series of practices and attitudes. "In some societies same-sex behaviors and attitudes have been generally accepted, even honoured. In other times and places they have been considered reprobate, branded sinful and immoral" (Aldrich 2006, p. 8). The language used to label those behaviors has experienced numerous revisions, from the absence of words to designate such practices in ancient Greece and Rome, to contemporary times in which most languages have numerous words to mark homosexual identities and practices. Responses to homosexuality have been filtered through religious, legal, and cultural lenses and have varied widely from positive recognition to violent persecution and oppression.

CLASSIFICATION AND DEFINITION OF HOMOSEXUALITY

The historical debate over how to classify homosexual practices and attitudes has culminated in the late-twentieth- and early twenty-first-century conversation about how to define homosexuality and bisexuality as "sexual attraction, sexual behavior, political self-identification or some combination of these factors" (Smith and Haider-Markel 2002, p.1). The debate also includes whether homosexuality is a stable and innate characteristic or a social construction in which sexuality categories are applicable only in one place and at one time if at all (Smith and Haider-Markel 2002). In addition to this attempt at a definition the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) community has been working for legal recognition and rights in many European countries, including the United States, and

challenging the persecution of homosexuals in countries such as Saudi Arabia.

Scholars have argued that same-sex relations throughout recorded history fall into three broad categories: "between adults and youths, often in an initiatory context; between persons who abide by their culture's gender conventions and persons who assume that cultural status of the other sex or of an 'intermediate' gender; and between persons of equal age and status" (Chauncey, Duberman, and Vicinus 1989, p. 9). Those relations are influenced by a variety of factors, including race, class, religion, laws, and age. The contemporary understanding of sexuality and its identities, including gay and lesbian identities, cannot be applied to or layered onto historical considerations of homosexuality, because the modern notion of homosexuality takes a number of factors into account that were not part of general knowledge in earlier historical periods.

PEDERASTY IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

The first category, which often is referred to as pederasty, has been evident in many cultures, particularly during antiquity. Pederasty is distinct from pedophilia because "it is age-controlled (no young children) and excludes females" (Bullough 2004, p.1). This category of homosexuality must be understood in its historical context and not in the context of contemporary European and North American assumptions and ideas about homosexuality and relations between adult men and young men. In ancient Greek culture relationships between men and young boys were common; young men were initiated into an elite group through penetration by an adult male. This type of relationship was featured in Plato's *Symposium*, specifically in Aristophanes's speech (Hupperts 2006). Primarily, the sexual contact was limited to kissing, fondling, anal penetration, and ejaculation on the thighs or buttocks, and oral sexual contact appears to have been rare (Bullough 2004). In Rome same-sex male relationships generally occurred in a military context, but men were expected to be virile and dominant in all aspects of their lives, including sex. For a Roman man "sex equated to penetration, and in principle all sexual acts in which he was not dominant were condemnable"; this meant sex with adult men, women, or boys (Hupperts 2006, p. 49). In both cultures types of sexuality never were referenced in the same way they are in the contemporary world.

In ancient China same-sex relations between men were perceived in a much different manner than in the European world. Chinese literature supplies insight into these relationships. Those stories tell of homosexual love "between rulers and their favorites, for instance, or between older and younger noblemen relationships

framed by strong emotional bonds and deep attachments based on filial loyalty" (Carton 2006, p. 303). The tales reveal how homosexuality was categorized in Chinese antiquity. Out of the stories came language by which homosexuality, specifically relations between men, would be labeled. However, as in the classical Greek and Roman cultures, same-sex relationships between men were not limited to pederasty.

In Japan homosexual relationships between adults and youths occurred in the specific context of the powerful and influential samurai warrior culture as well as in Buddhist temples between elder monks and younger men. During the twelfth century the samurai class, which rose to political prominence in the over-six-hundred-year-long age of the shoguns, was a decidedly homosocial society from which women were excluded. That environment allowed same-sex relations between men to flourish. Those relationships were traditionally between "an older *nenja*, the active partner and protector, and a younger *chigo*, the object of desire and affection" (Carton 2006, p. 315). In many ways that pederastic relationship mirrored relationships in the larger Japanese culture, but "the samurai model of male same-sex relations became inextricably interwoven into the political system by the 15th and 16th centuries," unlike the other types of Japanese homosexual relationships (Carton 2006, p. 315).

During the golden age of Islam (the Umayyad dynasty, 661–750) "homosexuality was a variant of an eroticism celebrated in all its facets" despite the condemnation in the Qur'an of homosexual acts, "and an adult male might have sex with an adolescent boy, provided that the man took the active role" (Patané 2006, p. 272). The modern reader learns about the pederastic relationships in ancient Islam through literature, Abū Nuwās's poetry in particular. He was one of the leading poets in Arabic literature and wrote about many relationships with boys and female slaves. Abū Nuwās wrote specifically about fifteen-year-old boys and those slightly younger, as well as pages, slaves, and young male prostitutes, and "his verses bespeak a burning passion" (Patané 2006, p. 274). Although the sexual acts are not detailed, the poet alludes to their possibility by saying that the boys had "a supple and slender body, smooth skin, narrow hips, [and] firm buttocks" (Patané 2006, p. 274). Abū Nuwās's poetry represents a period in Islamic history that describes homosexuality, in particular pederastic relationships, extensively; that period reached its peak in the twelfth century.

PEDERASTY IN THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

With the emergence of Judeo-Christian beliefs and practices in the Middle Ages (seventh to fifteenth centuries)

and the Early Modern period (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries), references to adult-youth homosexual relationships seem to disappear, but this does not mean that those relationships did not occur. Within the Christian framework the sexual act had a specific purpose—reproduction—and any form of sexual practice, including homosexuality, that violated that principle was deemed unnatural. Adult men and boys during the period of the Enlightenment (1600–1800), for example, engaged in sodomy probably without knowing that they were committing sodomy (Sibalis 2006).

PEDERASTY IN THE MODERN ERA

Modernity appears to have influenced other cultures' responses to and acceptance of pederastic relationships, with the best example being Japan. During the twentieth century in Europe and North America, pederastic relationships were often a source of debate and conflict. In the United States some in the gay community accepted those types of relationships, but for the most part adult–youth homosexual relationships have been excluded "for political if for no other reason" (Bullough 2004, p. 1). However, the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which was founded in 1978 in Boston, has continued to operate despite numerous attempts by authorities to shut it down.

In Europe, however, pederastic relationships have received more attention and support within the gay community. In Germany, for example, the Community of the Exceptional was formed at the turn of the twentieth century and produced its own literature, defending and exalting "boy love" (Bullough 2004, p. 1). Around that time, between the world wars (1919–1939), in England and America a "pederastic-oriented poetic movement developed, now known as the Uranian Poets. These writers turned to the extensive pederastic literature of the ancient world for inspiration, but focused on the trials, tribulations, challenges, and rewards of boy love in a Christian society intolerant of their love" (Bullough 2004, p. 1). Later, in the 1950s, propederastic groups appeared in Netherlands, Scandinavia, West Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland (Bullough 2004).

THE THIRD SEX

The second broad category refers to individuals who dress as another gender and even pass as another gender. Modern terms such as *transvestite*, *transsexual*, and *transgender* are used to refer to individuals who wear clothing and makeup to assume the role of another gender (transvestite), switch their physical sex (transsexual), or decide to change their assigned gender to another (transgender). The roots of these ideas of playing with gender binaries and complicating understandings of sexuality trace back

to antiquity. The notion of the *third sex* can be traced back to Plato's *Symposium*. In one dialogue "Aristophanes propounds a mythological explanation of hetero-erotic and homoerotic attraction in connection with the three primordial sexes of mankind: male-male, male-female, and female-female" (Bauer 2004, p. 1). Here three sexes are articulated as two halves put together to form one sex; thus, erotic love in the Greek tradition is based on two halves. Therefore, male-male and female-female attract members of the same sex, whereas male-female represents the traditional idea of heterosexuality.

One can see a similar attention to the third sex in ancient India, where "the acceptance of a 'third sex' category reflects the Hindu notion that sexual ambiguity can be cosmic" (Carton 2006, p. 323). The third sex included eunuchs, transvestites, and effeminate homosexual men. Hindu mythology has repeated references to sexual identity that do not correspond to contemporary notions. Shiva, for example, is one mythological entity that represents both sexes in unison, and other deities are known for cross-dressing (Kirshana's son Samba, for example). At the core of those stories and representations is the Hindu belief that all humans have equal amounts of masculine and feminine qualities (Carton 2006).

In Chinese antiquity the third sex—specifically men who dressed as women—was linked to the theater. The all-male theater often witnessed on-stage relationships that might occur off-stage as well. The male actors who played female parts would continue their gender roles off-stage, with the male actors playing the male roles (which were considered superior) in homosexual relationships (Carton 2006). A similar phenomenon can be seen in Japan's kabuki theater in the seventeenth century.

During the time of the European conquest of the Americas, native cultures blurred gender and sexuality lines. Most common were "the cross-gender roles, which included having sexual relations with and marrying people of the same biological sex" (Beemyn 2006, pp. 145–146). The notion of the third sex was prevalent in those native cultures: "Within their respective societies, women-men and men-women (biological females in men's roles) were viewed as neither men nor women, but as additional genders that either combined male and female elements or existed completely apart from other gender categories" (Beemyn 2006, p. 147). Many West African cultures (the origin of much of the enslaved population in North and Central America) also accepted and at times institutionalized cross-gender roles (Beemyn 2006).

The early modern period in Europe, although confronting sodomy, also began to pay particular attention to same-sex female relations, and when a woman was suspected of engaging in such behavior, hermaphroditism

(and female genital overdevelopment) was considered the cause. The classical model of the third sex was dominant at that time, and "hermaphroditism was widely known, and, according to medical thinking, hermaphrodites occupied the middle ground in the spectrum from male to female; they were, at least in theory, literally central to the understanding of male and female as reversible" (Gowing 2006, p. 128). During that period certain women cross-dressed, and some became known as *female husbands*, which in terms of violating the norm of sexual conduct was aligned with hermaphroditism. Marriage served a specific economic and political purpose and did not epitomize heterosexual love; therefore, many women assumed another gender role. "For at least some cross-dressing women, marriage and sex may have come as an adjunct to all the other male privileges and responsibilities acquired through wearing breeches" (Gowing 2006, p. 135).

For men during the period of the Enlightenment homosexual subcultures emerged in major cities such as Paris and London, and within those subcultures much cross-dressing occurred. This very visible transgressive behavior involved men "who imitated women's dress, mannerisms and speech, and sometimes adopted female nicknames" (Sibalis 2006, p. 107). Some of the men and women who engaged in those cross-gender roles passed as their assumed gender. From male court officials in England, Spain, and France passing as women to females passing as Civil War soldiers in the United States, the idea of the third sex is an evolving and often times hidden component of the history of sexuality.

In the late nineteenth century, particularly in the Europe and North America, growing attention was paid to that category. The nineteenth-century German sexologists Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895) and Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), who were two of the earliest advocates for gay rights, investigated the idea of the third sex. They traced the idea back to Plato and concentrated on two prevalent concepts: "the alternative scheme of sexual distribution and the egalitarian (or 'natural') explanation of both heterosexual and homosexual love" (Bauer 2004, p. 1).

This broad notion of the third sex is represented in nineteenth-century literature in which it encompasses "non-conventional or subversive women who, without being lesbians, were capable of dealing lucidly with their own sexual complexities and of questioning the social roles females were expected to fulfill" (Bauer 2004, p. 1). In that literature there are ambiguous uses of pronouns and even direct references to a sex that is not male or female. Notably, those references to a third sex in nineteenth-century literature concern primarily males,

and only after the turn of the century was the term used explicitly in a lesbian context (Bauer 2004).

Ulrich used the concept of the third sex to define homosexuality specifically and redefined sexuality within a triadic scope of sexual possibilities, concluding: "'We constitute a third sex'" (Bauer 2004, p. 2). He believed that the third sex defined a special class of people. Hirschfeld's use of the term made it popular and pushed the idea into the mainstream. He "designated a whole range of intermediate forms of sexuality that could not be readily classified using the male/female scheme" (Bauer 2004, p. 2). Sigmund Freud took the stance that a third sex was necessary to distinguish between homosexuality and heterosexuality. Also falling within the broad category of the third sex is the idea of sexual inversion, which early sexologists believed was part of homosexuality. Effeminate men and masculine women were often the targets of persecution as well as study. Sexual inversion referred to the belief that one had "the feeling that one belonged to a gender 'opposite' to or 'inverted' from one's assigned birth sex" (Beemyn 2006, p. 162).

CROSS-DRESSING AND CROSS-GENDER ROLES IN THE MODERN ERA

In the twentieth century cross-dressing and cross-gender roles became more visible with the growth of gay and lesbian subcultures in urban settings and the increasing acceptance of homosexuality. Clubs in Berlin, Paris, and New York were often sites for cabaret acts that featured transvestites. Cross-dressing women also found social opportunities in those subcultures. In the contemporary period cultures around the world have versions of cross-dressing and cross-gender roles. In the United States drag queens and drag kings along with growing attention to the transgender community are perhaps the best example of the evolution of the concept of the third sex.

SAME-SEX RELATIONS AMONG PEOPLE OF EQUAL AGE AND STATUS

Same-sex relations between people of the same age and status are perhaps the most widely practiced and known category of homosexuality. Evidence of this classification of homosexuality is evident throughout history and generally has remained consistent in terms of sexual practices. For example, the use of a dildo between two women dates back to Chinese antiquity, and there is evidence of male anal intercourse on pottery from ancient Greece (Carton 2006, Hupperts 2006). Anthropological, historical, and sociological research has provided a variety of evidence from all parts of the world regarding the presence of homosexuality in the majority of cultures.

Documents and other sources may vary and are still being unearthed, but the understanding of the presence

of homosexuality across cultures and times is more comprehensive in modern times than ever before. Although the general sexual practices—anal, oral, and manual sex—are still the most common sexual acts (with the addition of role playing, toys, etc.), more specific sexual identities and practices within the GLBT community have become more visible, such as leather, sadomasochism, fetishism, butch/femme, and pitcher/catcher.

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II. HISTORY

The history of homosexuality is extensive, dating from antiquity in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas through the present moment on a global scale. To highlight some of this history, what follows is a summary of the histories of homosexuality in Western Europe, Asia (specifically, China and India), and the United States.

HOMOSEXUALITY IN ANTIQUITY

During antiquity and in numerous cultures, evidence exists of same-sex relations between men and between women. In the Greek city-states of Sparta and Thebes, homosexuality was closely linked with the military, and in Athens, another city-state, homosexuality and sport were intimately related. In fact, during the fourth century BCE, Thebes was host to "a special military unit of three hundred men, the so-called Sacred Band, that was completely comprised of [sic] amorous couples" (Hupperts 2006, p. 31). In Rome the choices men had in their sexual partners—men, women, and young boys—illustrates the centrality homosexuality, and sexuality in general, had within Roman culture. Male prostitution, for example, was prominent in Roman antiquity, so much so that it grew to become a *luxury trade*, and it did not solely employ slaves, as was the traditional practice, but also Roman citizens looking to earn money.

Because Greek texts were written by men for a male audience, the evidence of same-sex relations between women is scarce, although it is mentioned, however briefly, in Aristophanes' speech in Plato's *Symposium* (Hupperts 2006). This is certainly not to say that these relations did not exist. Our best evidence of same-sex relations between women in Greek antiquity is the work of Sappho, the sixth-century BCE Greek lyric poet. "In her poetry Sappho wrote about the world of women, their daily lives, their marriages and their participation in religious ceremonies. She also praised the beauty of women and the love that they shared, and spoke of her own love for girls" (Hupperts 2006, p. 47). Her fame drew attention to both her poetry and her home island of Lesbos, which was a cultural center at the time, attracting young women to study with the famous poet. The category of *lesbian* certainly did not exist during Sappho's lifetime, but her home—Lesbos—and her name had a linguistic impact on lesbian identity and practices, as did the same-sex relations between men in Greece at the same time. Many women who loved women in European and North American culture would later be known as *Sapphists*, and men who engaged in sexual acts with other men were said to have practiced *Greek love*.

HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN PERIOD IN EUROPE

In Europe, during the Middle Ages (seventh to fifteenth centuries) and the Early Modern period (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries), the influence of Judeo-Christian values and beliefs dominate in terms of how same-sex relations between men and between women are perceived. Evidence of the daily lives of gays and lesbians during this period are scarce because "the concept of 'homosexuals' as members of a separate category was at that time completely foreign" (Hergemöller 2006, p. 57). Rather, individuals were judged based on the practices as they related to nature; more specifically, sexual behaviors were judged within the context of reproduction. In the thirteenth century the term *sodomites* becomes a common way to broadly refer to same-sex acts, primarily between men. A significant aspect of European culture at this time was the exalted position of male friendships, which occurred within a homoerotic context and can be traced back to the sixth century. "Apart from the religious and legal aspects of homosexuality, however, there also emerges a literary and cultural context for same-sex relationships, at least as far as male-to-male contacts are concerned" (Hergemöller 2006, p. 58). These frequently homoerotic friendships were characterized by sleeping in the same bed, kissing, and embracing.

Women were often included in the broad definition of sodomy, and the terms lesbian, sapphist, and *tribade* were used to describe practices rather than identities during the Early Modern period. "Female sexuality in the early modern period was understood very differently from the sexless chastity that became the ideal for Victorian women" (Gowing 2006, p. 126). And in this context sex was necessary to a woman's health, and "women, who required sexual satisfaction and who were fundamentally not naturally chaste, could and would turn to each other" (Gowing 2006, p. 126).

Although most sodomy cases were focused on same-sex relations between men, there are a few examples when women, during the eighteenth century in particular, were prosecuted under sodomy laws, and the debate over the use of dildos during same-sex relations between women raised questions as to whether that practice constituted sodomy. The use of dildos by women was common not only in European cultures but also in Asian and native cultures in the Americas, and "rarely did their use have lesbian connotations, but they nonetheless signified the autonomy of female sexuality" (Gowing 2006, p. 132).

Scholars also see a similar prominence of female friendships as with male friendships. "The model of platonic female friendship, elevated in writings across early modern Europe, seemed to demonstrate the inno-

cence and chastity of relations between women. Elite women [. . .] celebrated their networks of friendship and their intimate bonds with other women. Many expressed their love in rapturous language that in later centuries was reserved for heterosexual passion" (Gowing 2006, p. 136). Even though most of these friendships were simply platonic and intimate, many were sexual in nature. The elevated position of female friendships and their homoerotic context drew more attention during the eighteenth century because of political scandals, particularly those surrounding the English Queen Anne (1665–1714, ruled 1707–1714). "Outside the spheres of law and medicine, theatre and poetry, and below the social world of female poets and court friendships, possibilities for lesbian relationships existed in a much wider realm than is suggested by tales of female husbands, tribades and their partners. Perhaps the first thing to note is the proportion of women who, by choice or by compulsion, remained single" (Gowing 2006, p. 137).

The large number of single women in European culture produced various all-female living situations, which allowed for the possibility of lesbian relationships, and because women were much more marginalized than men at this time, their intimacies occurred behind closed doors more often than those of their male counterparts. Although there is no evidence of lesbian subcultures in eighteenth century Europe, brothels and prisons were two locations in which lesbian relationships did perhaps develop (Gowing 2006).

During the Age of Enlightenment, a dramatic change in homosexuality occurred, specifically the emergence of gay subcultures in major European cities, such as Paris, London, and Amsterdam. In each of these cities homosexual men had meeting places, such as London's Covent Garden Arcades. Moreover, eighteenth-century intellectuals began to discuss homosexuality in secular rather than religious terms, and laws regarding sodomy were revised during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which changed the legal status of sodomites. For example, much of the focus of the Enlightenment was on *nature*, and sexual pleasure was seen as the natural incentive for men and women to perpetuate humanity; therefore, same-sex practices were perceived as *unnatural* (Sibalis 2006.). The shift here is notable—the notion of unnatural is no longer couched in religious terms but in terms of philosophy.

In the nineteenth century and into the part of the twentieth century, further drastic shifts in homosexuality occurred. Perhaps most notably, medical and psychiatric discourse influenced how homosexuality is perceived and accepted. "Homosexual" replaced "sodomite," "who did wrong against society, but was also 'sick', 'perverse', 'degenerate'" (Tamagne 2006, p. 167). This notion of

perversion dominated as the central perception of homosexuality, but at the same time, the first active homosexual movements emerge and homosexuality becomes more visible. Whereas male homosexuality received a great deal of attention from the medical establishment, the same is not true of lesbians. "Lesbianism was of little interest to doctors, who either considered it be of marginal significance or cast doubt on its very existence. Deprived of […] semen, a woman could not achieve satisfaction, and so relations between women, if they aroused the senses, condemned the lesbian to frustration or even to madness" (Tamagne 2006, p. 168).

HOMOSEXUALITY IN MODERN EUROPE

As is often the case scandal drew attention to homosexuality in Europe during this period. The Eulenburg affair (1907–1909) in Germany and Oscar Wilde's trials in London focused interest on the gay communities in these countries. These scandals "contributed to the adoption of certain modes of identification; […] reinforced the feeling of normality in the average reader of the popular press; and lastly, […] caused homosexuals to react against the danger now facing them by either withdrawing in the private sphere or by demanding recognition of their rights" (Tamagne 2006, p. 172). Into the twentieth century the perception of homosexuality shifted once again, and by the end of World War I (1914–1919), there was a turning point of how homosexuality was depicted. The changed perceptions coming out of the medical and mental health professions along with the growing visibility of gay and lesbian populations caused much of this shift. And by the end of this period, Paris and Berlin had established themselves as centers of gay life, with flourishing gay and lesbian subcultures. At the same time, however, "stigmatizing stereotypes, social exclusion and the threat of police action all point to the homophobic feelings and practices that constantly confronted homosexual men and women, though in different forms and to different degrees" (Tamagne 2006, p. 188). After World War I was over, there was a desire to return to heteronormativity and the demographic shift, indicating a *surplus* of women and lesbians, who became the targets of attack, particularly in Britain (Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* [1928] drew considerable attention, became the target of a lawsuit and was eventually banned).

World War II (1939–1945) was of significance in gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) history. In Germany some elements of the NSDAP (or Nazi) party, led by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) embraced the idea that homosexuality weakened society and was unnatural because such thought fell in line with the party's overall ideology. The Nazi *Stuermabteilung* (SA, or storm troopers) targeted gay and lesbian organizations and meeting places as well as well-known homosexuals. There were rumors about homosexuality among the SA leadership, including Ernst Roehm, (1887–1934), cofounder of the SA. Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), commander of the Nazi *Schutzstaffel* (SS), developed "the homophobic Nazi rhetoric, mixing traditional stereotypes with detailed analysis that focused on the survival of the Aryan race"; the Nazi policy toward homosexuals became clear: "totalitarian discourse, police terror, punishments disproportionate to deed" (Tamagne 2006, pp. 192, 193). Of more than 10,000 people arrested, 92 percent were found guilty, and although most lesbians escaped prosecution, some were arrested under Austrian law. The punishments (e.g., forced work in brothels, systematic rape) lesbians could suffer were to meant to reinforce the patriarchal order the Nazi regime so greatly valued. Between 5,000 and 15,000 homosexuals were sent to concentration camps, where a pink triangle was used to identify them, and the tasks they were given were designed to *cure* them (Tamagne 2006).

HOMOSEXUALITY IN ASIA

Somewhat similar attitudes toward sex and sexuality existed in China as those found in ancient Greece and Rome, in the third and fourth centuries CE in particular. The literature of antiquity, as mentioned earlier, provides the best insight into same-sex relations in China. Out of these stories came language by which homosexuality, specifically relations between men, would be labeled. "Love of the shared peach" derived from a story of two imperial court officials whose intimacy was marked by one of the men giving the other a half-eaten peach, indicating his "sense of devotion and self-sacrifice" to the other (Carton 2006, p. 304). "Long yang" became a synonym for a homosexual lover because the third-century BCE story of Lord Long Yang and the king of Wei, who shared a fishing boat, reveals the competition among the favorites within the imperial court as well as "confirms the extent of homosexual intimacy among the elite" (Carton 2006, p. 304).

Finally, the "cut sleeve"—perhaps the most famous of the stories—grew to become a synonym for homosexual desire and further indicates how homosexuality pervaded the upper class. Emperor Ai and his favorite, Dong Xian, are napping, with Dong's head resting on the Emperor's sleeve. Rather than disturbing Dong, the Emperor cuts off his sleeve and returns to his royal duties. In addition to pointing to how homosexuality was classified at the time, the story and metaphor also convey "enduring noble qualities of loyalty, respect and filial attachment intrinsic to the moral fabric of the Confucian universe" (Carton 2006, p. 307).

As in ancient Greece and Rome where men wrote for a male history, recorded examples of same-sex relations

between women are scarce. "Women were perceived to have no sexuality outside of the traditional patriarchal hierarchies, [and] female same-sex love was subject to the general Confucian perception of women as submissive to men," which led, as in many other cases, to the "invisibility" of lesbian love (Carton 2006, p. 311). There are a few examples of same-sex relations between women in ancient Chinese art and literature, but much of this evidence dates well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This witnessed an explosion in literature that drew on stories from early China that suggest/indicate homosexual activity, particularly between men. Scholars believe that "male writers employed certain rhetorical strategies to keep love between women trivialized and contained within patriarchal parameters. ....The modernization of China along Western lines in the twentieth century ushered in a new era for homosexuality. Centuries of tolerance were abandoned for an attitude of open hostility and punitive measures." As part of this modernization China adopted "Western scientific models of sexuality" that pathologizes same-sex behaviors and attitudes. After the victory on the Chinese Mainland of the Communist Party of China in 1949, gays and lesbians were viewed as "decadent, morally dangerous, and antithetical to the aims of the new proletarian society" (Carton 2006, p. 311). More recently, however, GLBT subcultures have emerged in China's major cities as Chinese culture has become gradually more pluralistic and open.

Unlike the Western Europe, North America, and China, for example, much less is known about homosexuality in India, and this could be "due to a lack of a reliable historical records or to a general social taboo." It is only recently that the moral and cultural "silence on the subject of same-sex desire" has been lifted—a veil that was in place because there was a widely held belief that homosexuality was a "foreign import." Interestingly, sexuality holds a central place in Indian culture, "with early Hindu sacred texts and art heavily charged with an erotic sensibility. Sexual desire, intimate friendship, and gender ambiguity are issues central to ancient understandings of human relationships and the way in which they relate to the universe" (Carton 2006, p. 322). For example, intimate friendships between women or between men were viewed as highly spiritual, which led to harmony with the universe. Deities in Indian religion are often linked in friendship but have erotic overtones. The friendship between Krishna and Arjuna is perhaps the most famous and the tale's "central proposition is that, like the human and the divine, the two characters are really one—loving reflections of each other" (Carton 2006, p. 322).

Perhaps the best-known example of Indian attitudes toward sexual practices and sexuality is the *Kama Sutra*, which dates from the third century CE. From this text it is learned that "gender-differentiated sex between women was socially accepted" (Penrose 2007, p.1). Regarding men (and male–male desire, or *kama*), there is a clear active/passive binary evident in the *Kama Sutra* and in general beliefs in the modern era. Similar to European antiquity, the male in the active role receives less stigmatization than his passive, or receptive, partner. Indian attitudes regarding sexuality changed drastically with the Muslim conquest of the nation in the eighth century CE. "Islamic rule spread into modern-day India in the early eleventh century and culminated with the tenuous conquest of most of South India in 1707" (Penrose 2007, p.2). Same-sex desire between men is not prohibited in Islamic belief but acting on it is, and there is evidence that men did engage in physical and sexual expressions of this desire despite the prohibitions (Penrose 2007).

As with much early history little is known of same-sex desire between women during this period in Indian history. British colonization of India in the mid-nineteenth century dramatically altered the Indian societal landscape, including attitudes and practices regarding sexuality. The British antisodomy laws were in effect in India, and the influence of Judeo-Christian perceptions of same-sex relations also took hold in India. "Male-male homoerotic poetry ceased to be published. Although some poetry discussing love between women, called *rekhti*, continued to be written in the late nineteenth century, it was eventually suppressed as well" (Penrose 2007, p. 2). By the late twentieth century, compulsory marriage and familial responsibilities dictate that GLBT-identified individuals (although it is precarious to impose European and North American categories of sexual identity onto Indian culture) conform to tradition, and those who want to be "out" (in a more Europeanized manner) must move to the larger cities where GLBT communities do exist. In addition, Indian popular culture has experienced a more visible of GLBT identities in literature and film, and Indian academia has begun to incorporate Queer Studies into curriculum (Penrose 2007).

HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Finally, scholars can trace the history of homosexuality in the Western Hemisphere back to native populations. The role, or identity, most widely known in early Native American cultures is the mixture of male and female characteristics. "Such roles for males (and, likely, intersexed persons) have been documented in 155 tribes, with about one-third of these also having a named role for women who adopted a male lifestyle as well" (Roscoe 2007, p. 1). Although accurate records do not exist regarding the numbers of such individuals, there were enough in the "Timucua of Florida and the Hidatsa,

Crow, and Cheyenne of the Plains" to constitute social groups in their communities (Roscoe 2007, p. 1). With the arrival of the European colonists to North America came Judeo-Christian attitudes about sexuality and certain laws that governed sexual behavior, including sodomy laws. Under the sodomy laws in British North America, few men were severely punished for violating the law because proving such activity was difficult, and although not as frequent, women were occasionally found guilty under the sodomy law. The Puritan influence was also felt regarding gender boundaries; individuals who "cross-dressed or led cross-gendered lives" were punished (Beemyn 2006, p. 151).

Throughout Latin America homosexuality was illegal due to various laws from different colonial powers. The conquest of the Spanish imposed Catholic believes regarding homosexuality, which conflicted with certain native practices that celebrated homosexuality as a form of communication with the gods. Punishments for sodomy were derived from the Inquisition and the ways in which sodomy was punished during this time in Spain. Not until 1871 was homosexuality decriminalized in Mexico.

In North America Sodomy remained a criminal offense from the late eighteenth century until June 2003, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Lawrence v. Texas* that the thirteen remaining state sodomy laws were ruled as being unconstitutional. Despite the presence of such laws, citizens "accepted and even idealized passionate, loving and physically affectionate friendships between members of the same sex" (Beemyn 2006, p. 151). Evidence of such relationships were more widely known to occur between women, as seen throughout nineteenth- and early twentieth-century literature, but men also engaged in such friendships. Men's friendships were perhaps better accepted because they were perceived as nonsexual, although this was not always the case. Whereas there a series of examples regarding actual female romantic friendships (e.g., the U.S. novelist Sarah Orne Jewett [1849–1909] and her friend, Annie Fields [1834–1915]), the best representations of such relationships come to us from literature——Henry James's (1843–1916) *The Bostonians* (which details the more specific *Boston marriages*), Louisa May Alcott's (1832–1888) *Work*, Jewett's *Martha's Lady*, and other examples. Male romantic friendships were intended to end with the onset of adulthood, but some men—the most famous perhaps being Walt Whitman (1819–1892)—did not end these relationships but instead incorporated them into their conception of manhood (Beemyn 2006).

With the formation of the Young Men's Christian Organization (YMCA) in the mid-nineteenth century and the all-male communities work camps (e.g., railroads, mining, logging) across the Western frontier, it can be seen how greatly intimate male friendships were valued among mostly middle-class whites. Similar all-female communities existed as well, primarily at women's colleges and in brothels. At the turn of the twentieth century, despite the emergence of medical and psychological attention on homosexuality, gays and lesbians began to develop subcultures in some major U.S. cities, such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Freer expression of *perverse* sexualities operated hand-in-hand with the general freedom of sexual expression associated with the Jazz Age (ca. 1918–1929).

During the pre-World War II period, literature and art—both the work itself and communities—became a forum in which GLBT individuals could begin to explore same-sex desire somewhat more openly than during the Victorian Era (ca. 1840–1914). Authors, artists, and actors such as Henry James, Charles Warren Stoddard (1843–1909), Robert McAlmon (1896–1956), Clarkson Crane 1894–1971), Djuna Barnes (1892–1982), Gertrude Stein (1874–1946), Langston Hughes (1902–1967), Marsden Hartley (1877–1943), Forman Brown (1901–1996), Richard Bruce Nugent (1906–1987), and Hilda Doolittle (1886–1961), who signed her poems H. D., produced works that explore, in various ways, homosexuality. After the end of World War II, homosexual identities and practices shifted in the wake of the reassertion of heteronormative gender roles, which is evidenced most visibly in popular culture (e.g., *Leave It to Beaver*). However, GLBT communities still existed and even enlarged in major urban centers. Drag queens and butch and femme lesbians had their own meeting places, such as bars, but existed on the outskirts of mainstream U.S. and Canadian culture.

Prior to the events at the Stonewall Inn at the end of June 1969 in New York's Greenwich Village, many people assumed GLBT political movements did not exist. Known before the 1960s as the homophile movement, the GLBT community did, in fact, have small organizations that met with the goal of advancing the rights of their community, but they usually did this in secret and behind closed doors. Groups such as the Mattachine Society (gay men) and the Daughters of Bilitis (lesbians), founded in the 1950s, may have had their roots in the radical left (paralleling other civil rights organizations that were growing at the time), but they remained nonconfrontational and guarded. The events at Stonewall, however, pushed GLBT rights into the mainstream and "proved to be a catalyst for a wave of national GLBT organizing" (Smith and Haider-Markel 2002, p. 11). Organizations such as the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), "which rejected the conciliatory incrementalism of the old homophile groups," and the Gay Activist Alliance were founded as a direct result of the events at Stonewall (Smith and Haider-Markel 2002 p. 43). These groups,

along with the lesbian feminists within the broader women's movement, tackled issues ranging from homophobia within the women's movement to the psychiatric *treatment* of homosexuals with shock therapy, and pejorative classifications of homosexuality by the mental health professions.

The 1970s, known as the period of *Gay Liberation*, witnessed extensive marches, demonstrations, and other forms of protest from the GLBT community throughout the country, in urban centers in particular. This pervasive organizing would prove vital in the 1980s when HIV/AIDS would become the largest issue to challenge the GLBT community. In the early 1980s, when gay and bisexual men began to die from a debilitating disease, at the time an unidentified immune-system disorder. The rising death toll and the growing public and political designation of AIDS as a *gay disease* (even as punishment from God for the *sin* of homosexuality) challenged the GLBT community. "Although lesbians had not been infected with HIV in comparably large numbers, they shared a great deal of the stigma of AIDS, while seeing much of the earlier promise of the women's movement dashed by the Reagan revolution" (Smith and Haider-Markel 2002, p. 46). The GLBT community rallied with the founding of ACT UP by the U.S. playwright and activist Larry Kramer (b. 1935) in March 1987. ACT UP focused specifically on political action in response to the AIDS crisis and the mounting negativity targeted at the GLBT community from conservative America. It grew to become one of the most active and powerful political organizations in the nation and soon had more than 100 chapters globally. The 1990s saw a growing understanding of HIV/AIDS and with that came a waning of negative perceptions about the disease and its connection to the GLBT community. As of the early twenty-first century, the GLBT community tackles a variety of issues, including marriage/civil unions, workplace discrimination, adoption, and gays in the military.

In the United States the GLBT community exists in urban, suburban, and rural areas and has a growing presence in mainstream popular culture. The community is more socioeconomically diverse than ever before and has its own subcultures, with groups such as the International Gay Rodeo Association and the Lesbian Avengers. In addition, the GLBT community has grown into a powerful political entity through activist organizations such as the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

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III. CULTURAL FUNCTIONS

The social position of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) individuals varies widely around the world. In the United States, the GLBT community has a fairly visible presence in popular culture and the media, and there are growing GLBT subcultures in most urban centers that engage in the political struggle to gain equal rights and legal recognition.

SCHOOLS AND NEIGHBORHOODS

GLBT neighborhoods in urban centers and college towns typically have meeting places such as coffeehouses, bookstores, restaurants, and bars and clubs where GLBT individuals gather for social and political reasons. They usually include resource centers such as the L.A. Gay and Lesbian Center and the Center on Halsted in Chicago that can assist members of the GLBT community with a variety of issues, including workplace discrimination, housing, harassment, and coming out. Many colleges and universities

have organizations that provide a community for GLBT students on campus, and the Gay Lesbian Straight Education Network is a national organization with state and local chapters that works to provide a safe school environment for all students regardless of sexual orientation or gender. Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) is a national organization that supports the GLBT community through education and advocacy and serves as a support network for GLBT individuals and their loved ones. These organizations attempt to develop and support the GLBT community at the local and national levels in an effort to make life easier for GLBT individuals.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

There is a similar visibility and cultural presence in Europe. However, in the Arab world and in countries such as India and Zimbabwe, GLBT individuals struggle against oppressive political and cultural entities that see homosexuality as a Western disease (Hekma 2006). GLBT communities in those regions must operate more clandestinely, but there are activist groups working toward changing the perception and persecution of GLBT peoples in those nations.

THE EFFECT OF THE MEDIA

The media have had a tremendous worldwide effect on the cultural position of GLBT individuals. The gradual increase in the number of celebrities who have come out in recent years is part of that media exposure. George Michael, Ellen DeGeneres, Rosie O'Donnell, Elton John, and others have become gay icons for the GLBT community, particularly in the West. Most of the celebrities who come out work in the arts, and the majority of "out" celebrities in Hollywood are women. This gives visibility to lesbians but also leads to the question of why gay men in Hollywood do not come out in the same numbers.

The general absence of athletes on that list is notable. In the United States high-profile athletes are considered celebrity figures, but few athletes are out. Notable exceptions include the basketball star Sheryl Swoopes and the French tennis player Amélie Mauresmo, along with the tennis legends Martina Navratilova and Billie Jean King. The culture of homophobia in men's sports seems to inhibit active players who are gay from coming out. In the first decade of the twenty-first century retired players such as the former National Basketball Association player John Amaechi, the former National Football League player Esera Tuaolo, and the former Major League Baseball player Billy Bean came out.

Television, films, and the Internet have played significant roles in the cultural position of GLBT individuals in the West. Popular television programs such *Will & Grace*, *Queer as Folk* (the British and U.S. versions), *The L Word*, and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and numerous reality shows (*Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*, *Work Out*, *Amazing Race*, *Survivor*) have featured GLBT characters. There are other programs that have niche followings, but the shows named above have had a larger media presence. Cable television stations that are GLBT-specific have been launched, including Logo and here! Films featuring GLBT characters and content have received critical and popular acclaim, including *Boys Don't Cry*, *Philadelphia*, *Gods and Monsters*, *Brokeback Mountain*, *Monster*, and *Bound*.

The visibility of GLBT celebrities and culture in the media has been significant in changing perceptions about gay life and culture as well as helping those who are coming out find reflections of their sexuality in mainstream culture. There are numerous examples of gay and lesbian teenagers who are struggling with coming out sending letters and e-mails to the stars of television programs to thank them for portrayals of gay or lesbian characters that helped those adolescents deal with their challenges. For example the actors Alyson Hannigan and Amber Benson, who played a lesbian couple on *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, received many of those letters.

The Internet has functioned in significant ways in the GLBT community by providing an opportunity for community building not only in the United States but globally. In nations where GLBT individuals cannot be as visible for fear of violence and persecution, the Internet has offered them a way to connect to others in the international GLBT community and with more local people. "In the West, it has allowed those who have difficulty in finding or fitting in with gay life, including young people and those who live outside large towns, to access it" (Hekma 2006, p. 351). It is also an important source of information on GLBT issues, news, and culture.

The media in other nations also have played a significant role in trying to position the GLBT community positively in cultures that may not welcome homosexuality. For example, the Canadian-Indian filmmaker Deepa Metha's 1996 film *Fire* received international critical acclaim but also sparked heated debate in her native India. The film centers on the lives of two Indian families in New Delhi, showing how two women fall in love while living in the house they share with their husbands. The controversy in India involved two components of the film, both concerning sexuality. First, there was a scene in which a male character masturbated while watching a film. However, it was the film's lesbian content, which some of the groups that protested against the film argued subverts Indian culture, that triggered much of the controversy. Certain theaters where the film was shown were targeted for mob attacks, and Metha required a security

detail in India. However, *Fire* and films like it bring visibility to the GLBT community.

Film in particular has proved to be a medium in which GLBT issues can be brought into the international spotlight, and numerous global film festivals feature GLBT films. Those films reflect GLBT communities and in many cases are vehicles to promote change. Films such as the Philippine *The Blossoming of Maximo Oliveros* and the Mexican *Amores Perros* show gay life and culture against a backdrop of socioeconomic and political issues. Thus, attention is drawn to the plight of the GLBT community in the country of each film, situating it within a larger international GLBT community and providing GLBT individuals in those nations with a mirror in which they can see their lives.

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IV. ISSUES

After the debate over AIDS/HIV in the 1980s, in the 1990s the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) community faced new challenges, such as hate crimes targeting gay, lesbian, and transgender individuals; gays in the military; gay marriage and civil unions; and workplace discrimination. The two best-known cases of hate crimes against the GLBT community were those involving Brandon Teena in 1993 and Matthew Shepherd in 1998. Those two incidents fueled protests led by organizations such as the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the Human Rights Campaign (HRC). Toward the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century

> eleven states and the District of Columbia have laws addressing hate crimes motivated by bias against the victim's sexual orientation or gender identity, among other protected categories. In 22 states, the hate crimes laws address bias based on sexual orientation but not on gender identity. Another 13 states have hate crimes statutes that address neither gender identity nor sexual orientation. Three states have no hate crimes laws of any kind."

> *(HRC, "Hate Crimes Laws," 2007)*

GAYS IN THE MILITARY

At that time the GLBT community also was confronted with issues such as gays in the military and civil unions, and those issues would carry over into the twenty-first century. The ban on gays in the military was lifted by President Bill Clinton in 1993 but was replaced with the compromise commonly called the "don't ask, don't tell" policy. That policy "requires gay, lesbian and bisexual service members to keep their sexual orientation secret and refrain from same-sex sexual conduct. The military is banned from asking questions about a service member's sexual orientation, and significant restrictions are placed on commanders seeking to investigate the possibility that a service member may be gay" (HRC, "Don't Ask," 2007). Under that policy antigay harassment and invasive investigations into service members' personal lives for the sole purpose of ascertaining their sexual orientation are prohibited (HRC, "Don't Ask," 2007). Service members can be discharged if they "make a statement that they are lesbian, gay or bisexual; engage in physical contact with someone of the same sex for the purposes of sexual gratification; or marry, or attempt to marry, someone of the same sex" (HRC, "Don't Ask," 2007).

From 1993 to 2007 more than 10,000 individuals were discharged under the policy at a cost of $250 million to $1.2 billion (HRC, "The U.S. Military," 2007). At that time a movement to remove the policy received strong public support (55 percent in the January 2007 Harris Interactive poll) and backing from the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff John M. Shalikashvili (Harris Interactive 2007). In addition to reflecting the fact that 73 percent of military personnel are comfortable with the presence of gays and lesbians in the service, removal of the policy would be consonant with other nations' approaches to gays and lesbians in the military. (HRC, "The U.S. Military," 2007)

> Twenty-four other nations, including Great Britain, Australia, Canada and Israel, already allow open service by gays and lesbians, and none of the 24 report morale or recruitment problems. Nine nations allowing open service have fought alongside American troops in Operation Iraqi Freedom.... [And] twenty-three of the 26 NATO nations allow gays and lesbians to serve openly and proudly. The United States, Turkey and Portugal are the only NATO nations that forbid gays and lesbians to serve openly in the armed services.

The 110th Congress was expected to take up the issue with the reintroduction of Massachusetts Democratic Representative Martin Meehan's Military Readiness Enhancement Act, which had bipartisan cosponsors. That piece of legislation was intended to replace "don't ask, don't tell" with a policy of nondiscrimination (HRC, "The U.S. Military," 2007).

GAY MARRIAGE AND CIVIL UNIONS

Civil unions and gay marriage have been the subject of political debate since the mid-1990s. The difference between the two is dramatic. Civil unions offer legal protections and rights within a specific state and are not recognized at the federal level or by other states. Some states have domestic partnership laws that offer certain benefits, but they vary greatly; "some offer access to family health insurance, others confer co-parenting rights" (HRC, "What Protections," 2007).

Those who favor gay marriage argue that because they are denied the right to marry, same-sex couples are not eligible to receive benefits and rights under more than a thousand federal laws that affect married couples, such as the Family and Medical Leave Act, Social Security benefits, and parts of Medicaid coverage. In 1997 the General Accounting Office identified thirteen categories of U.S. law in which marital status was a factor: "Social Security and Related Programs, Housing, and Food Stamps, Veterans' Benefits, Taxation, Federal Civilian and Military Service Benefits, Employment Benefits and Related Laws, Immigration, Naturalization, and Aliens, Indians, Trade, Commerce, and Intellectual Property, Financial Disclosure and Conflict of Interest, Crimes and Family Violence, Loans, Guarantees, and Payments in Agriculture, Federal Natural Resources and Related Laws, and Miscellaneous Laws" (Bedrick 1997, p. 3). Same-sex couples have limited options because they lack the right to marry. They can be granted power of attorney, for example, but that can be challenged by family members.

In 1993 the Hawaii Supreme Court ruled that prohibiting same-sex couples from marrying might violate the ban on sex discrimination in that state's constitution and could be upheld only if the prohibition was justified by a "compelling reason." In 1996 President Clinton signed a piece of legislation called the Defense of Marriage Act that was intended to "give states the 'right' to refuse to recognize same-sex marriages performed in other states"; that law met with protests from the GLBT community as well as challenges from legal professionals who questioned its constitutionality (HRC, "What the Defense of Marriage Act Does," 2007). Perhaps the piece of legislation that jump-started the national debate most visibly was the signing of Vermont's civil union bill by Governor Howard Dean in April 2000. That law made Vermont the first state to give legal recognition to same-sex couples.

During the fight for equal rights in terms of marriage and civil unions in the first years of the twenty-first century the leaders of a conservative backlash worked to define marriage as a strictly heterosexual institution. The backlash might have been crystallized by the introduction of a resolution to amend the Constitution to do that by Colorado Republican Representative Marilyn Musgrave in

Gay Couple Cutting Wedding Cake. *A homosexual couple cut their wedding cake. The issue of whether or not gay marriage should be legal is heavily debated around the world.* © COLIN MCPHERSON/CORBIS.

May 2003. The supreme court of Massachusetts ruled in November 2003 that that state's constitution required marriage equality for same-sex couples. Conservative lawmakers in the Massachusetts legislature reacted a few months later by proposing an amendment to the state constitution that defined marriage as being between a man and a woman. In February 2004 a challenge to state constitutional law occurred in San Francisco when Mayor Gavin Newsom ordered the issuance of marriage licenses to same-sex couples, arguing that a ban on same-sex marriage was a violation of the mandate for equal protection in that state's constitution. The event drew extensive media attention, particularly when the celebrity Rosie O'Donnell married her partner, Kelli Carpenter, joining more than thirty-three hundred other couples. However, less than a month later the California Supreme Court ordered an immediate halt to the distribution of marriage licenses, arguing that it had to decide whether the city could issue marriage licenses in defiance of state law.

One month after the cessation of same-sex marriages in San Francisco the Massachusetts legislature voted to ban such marriages but allow civil unions. In April 2004, on the same day that an Oregon state judge struck down a law blocking same-sex couples from marrying (the approximately three thousand licenses that were issued were nullified by the state supreme court a year later), a California state assembly committee voted to advance the Marriage License Non-Discrimination Act, the first legislative vote in favor of gay marriage. On May 17, 2004, Massachusetts became the first state to issue marriage licenses to same-sex couples; more than six hundred couples acquired licenses that day.

In the 2004 election eleven states passed amendments banning gay marriage. However, in September 2005 California became the first state to pass a bill recognizing same-sex marriage, although the bill was vetoed by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. A few days later Connecticut approved civil unions for same-sex couples. Approximately a week before the November 2006 election the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that same-sex couples were entitled to all state-level spousal rights and responsibilities. During the elections that year seven more states passed a ban on gay marriage. In December 2006 New Jersey allowed civil unions for same-sex couples.

GAY MARRIAGE AND CIVIL UNIONS IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The debate over gay marriage and civil unions has a global context. Between 2001 and November 2006 the Netherlands, Belgium, Ontario, British Columbia, Spain, South Africa, the Czech Republic, Quebec, and the United Kingdom passed legislation making it legal for same-sex couples in those countries and provinces to marry or have civil partnerships and receive the rights and benefits of married couples. In November 2006 the Israeli Supreme Court ordered the registration of marriages of same-sex couples that had been performed in Canada but did not rule on the legal status of those couples.

WORKPLACE DISCRIMINATION

A series of other issues face the GLBT community in the United States and internationally. In the United States, for example, many in the GLBT community face workplace discrimination. There is no federal legislation prohibiting workplace discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, although thirteen states ban workplace discrimination that is based on sexual orientation and seven include gender identity in their bans. "In 33 states, it is legal to fire someone based on their sexual orientation. In

42 states, it is legal to do so based on gender identity" (HRC, "Laws/Legal Resources," 2007).

CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS AND THE RESPONSE OF CORPORATIONS

These facts illustrate cultural perceptions and the distinction between sexuality and gender identity, which translates into greater discrimination against transgender individuals. Thirteen states offer domestic partner health benefits, but those benefits are subject to taxation because the Internal Revenue Service has ruled that domestic partners cannot be considered spouses (HRC, "Frequently Asked Questions," 2007). Organizations such as the HRC track the ways in which corporations respond to the needs of their LGBT workers, and in September 2006 that organization released its fifth annual Corporate Equality Index, which revealed that "a record number of the largest U.S. companies are increasingly competing to expand benefits and protections for their gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender employees and consumers" (HRC, "New Report," 2006). Some of the key findings include that "75 percent more companies than in 2005 prohibited discrimination against transgender employees in employment practices and 35 percent more companies than in 2005 extended COBRA, vision, dental and dependent medical coverage to employees' same-sex domestic partners" (HRC, "New Report," 2006). The trend in corporate America appears to have passed the political debate over similar issues.

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HOMOSEXUALITY, DEFINED

The prefix *homo-* comes from a Greek root meaning both "same" and "man." Combined with the word *sexuality*, homosexuality refers to love, desire, and/or sexual acts between people of the same sex. Although the term may refer to a single-sex institution such as a boys' school or a convent, generally the word *homosexual* is used to describe male same-sex relationships. Female homosexuals are called *lesbians*. The adjective *homosexual* describes same-sex sexual and affectional acts and behaviors. The word used as a noun has become an identity category that is defined in relation to the sexual preference by which individuals are categorized and/or categorize themselves in Western culture. Synonyms for the term include gay, queer, faggot, and dyke.

DEFINITION OF HOMOSEXUALITY

The modern concept of homosexuality comes from the late nineteenth century, when medical and legal understandings of a healthy society led to the classification of desires and sexual practices. This does not mean that behaviors people understand as homosexual in the early twenty-first century have not existed since ancient times but that the category itself is a specifically modern invention. Contemporary understandings of homosexuality are entwined with concepts of heterosexuality; the two terms depend on each other for their sense.

The term *homosexual* was coined in 1869, appearing in a German pamphlet attributed to the Austrian novelist and sex reformer Karl-Maria Kertbeny. In 1886 the German sexologist Richard Krafft-Ebing classified homosexuality as a "paraesthesia" or a "deviance" consisting of sexual desire for the wrong object. Because he believed that the purpose of sexual desire is human reproduction, he considered any sexual desire or behavior that led away from that aim to be an aberration. After studying many homosexuals, Krafft-Ebing, like his successor the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, concluded that homosexuality is neither a mental disease nor a perversion but a normal variation of human behavior.

Both Krafft-Ebing and Freud believed that humans are basically bisexual. Freud, along with another sexologist, Havelock Ellis, believed that homosexuals are "inverts," or people whose spirit has a sex different from that of their bodies. An invert would be someone with a female spirit in a male body or a male spirit in a female body. Later in his career, however, Freud began to understand homosexual desires as part of the normal range of human activities rather than as a matter of inversion, although he also thought that homosexuality was often the cause of unhappiness.

In the 1940s, studies by Alfred Kinsey showed that most people have a fluid range of sexual desires that includes homosexual feelings. Kinsey devised a scale of sexual desire and orientation (the Kinsey Scale) that was moored on one side by exclusively heterosexual feelings and on the other by exclusively homosexual feelings. His interviews and research showed that most individuals located themselves somewhere between the two poles, meaning that most people had a variety of sexual and affectional feelings.

Other members of the medical profession saw homosexuality as a form of degeneracy and as a disease. Beginning in the late nineteenth century in both the United Kingdom and the United States, prohibitions against homosexual acts were incorporated into criminal codes, and homosexuality was listed as a psychological disease in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Medical Disorders* (*DSM*) for most of the twentieth century. It was removed from the *DSM* in 1973, but continues to be the target of religious reformers and others.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HOMOSEXUALS

Homosexual rights have become a social justice issue. Many states discriminate against homosexuals, continuing to criminalize consensual homosexual behavior, making it difficult for homosexuals to adopt or retain custody of children, and prohibiting marriage between people of the same sex.

SEE ALSO *Gay; Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Homosexuality, Male, History of; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview; Lesbianism; Queer; Same-Sex Love and Sex, Terminology.*

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HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

In a 1975 update of his definitive study *Religions of America: Ferment and Faith in an Age of Crisis*, Leo Rosten described, denomination by denomination, the official stance of each group on the issue of homosexuality. Listed below is a sampling from his book:

> Roman Catholics: " … homosexual practice [is] an unnatural vice." (p. 59)

> Christian Scientists: " … random or deviant sexuality [calls] for specific healing rather than for condemnation …" (p. 80)

> Greek Orthodox: "Homosexuality in any form is strictly opposed …" (p. 125)

> Jehovah's Witnesses: "No homosexuals are permitted to be members …" (p. 140)

> Methodists: " … we do not condone the practice of homosexuality and consider this practice incompatible with Christian teaching." (p. 182)

> Mormons: " … homosexuality is viewed as an equally grievous sin with adultery, considered second only to murder in seriousness." (p. 196)

> Seventh-day Adventists: "Homosexuality is included along with adultery and fornication, both of which are grounds for disfellowshipping from the church." (p. 253)

Clearly, at the third-quarter mark of the twentieth century, homosexuality was vehemently condemned by most Christian churches, although there were denominations that at least on paper, if not in practice, either took no formal stand on the issue one way or another—Baptists and Episcopalians, for example—or, like Quakers and Unitarian Universalists, actually advocated for protections for homosexuals and worked to end discriminatory laws.

Among the more conservative denominations, little if anything has changed in the thirty-plus years since Rosten's book. Among the more socially liberal denominations, changes have been very slow and hard-won and

the direct challenges required to bring them about have often produced a backlash of equal or greater magnitude. In 1990, for example, two Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) congregations ordained three gay ministers; ELCA subsequently ejected the congregations from the church, although only one was ultimately expelled.

Similarly, in 1990, Bishop Walter Righter was charged with heresy by the Episcopal Church for ordaining an openly gay man to the deaconate. (Not only was this man, Barry Stopfel, openly gay, but he lived in an openly gay relationship.) It was the first heresy trial in the Episcopal Church since 1924. On May 15, 1996, the *Court for the Trial of a Bishop* dismissed the counts against Bishop Righter, saying there was no clear doctrine involved. Shortly afterward, Bishop John Shelby Spong ordained Stopfel to the priesthood.

No single event since the ordination of women in the Episcopal Church in 1977 has created such a furor as the consecration in 2003 of the Rt. Rev. V. Gene Robinson (b. 1947) as the bishop of the (Episcopal) diocese of New Hampshire. Robinson's election brought the issue of homosexuality in the Christian Church to the forefront in a way that ordinations to lower-level orders had not, forcing the church to address the issue head-on in a way that it had previously done much more quietly and much more locally. Suddenly, there were no longer just gay deacons and gay priests. Now there was an openly gay bishop; a new—and much more solid—line had been crossed. The tacit understanding that the episcopate was off limits to gays had been violated. The result was—is—an uproar unprecedented in modern times.

Now, not just the Episcopal Church is embattled and in danger of imploding, but the worldwide Anglican Communion (of which the Episcopal Church is the American branch) is similarly threatened by schism. The Rt. Rev. Rowan Williams (b. 1950), archbishop of Canterbury, trying to hold the church together, has consistently appeased the more conservative American, Asian, and African diocese by signing off on—if not actively advocating—requests for apologies and the demotion of the American church within the worldwide body. Three years after Robinson's consecration, articles such as *Anglican Conservatives Seek Formal Ban on Gay Priests*, for example, continued to appear in the press. The waves of unrest within one of the largest Christian bodies in the world will not be calmed any time soon.

Yet whether the Anglican Communion in general or the Episcopal Church, in particular, ultimately survives or breaks up overshadows a far more important point: Although at times the dialogue taking place within the church appears to be more shouting than anything else, there is, nevertheless, a dialogue going on in which this

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most divisive of issues is being examined, discussed, debated, and railed about. The debate is likely to continue for years and no doubt will consist of taking two steps forward and one step back, over and over again, until the issue becomes neutral.

Nevertheless, there is a window here, however small and fragile, within which change is possible. Bishop Spong said the following in a radio interview conducted by Geraldine Doogue of *Compass* on July 8, 2001:

> We had an enormous battle in our church in the United States about whether black people were part of the body of Christ. We've solved that battle. We had an enormous struggle about whether women could be priests and bishops. We now have nine Anglican bishops who are women in my church. We've solved that problem. We had an enormous battle, it lasted for about twenty-five years, about whether gay and lesbian people could be part of this tradition. And ultimately we've solved that battle too. We're on the other side of that battle.

Bishop Spong thusly summarized the ways in which most of the mainline Protestant denominations have struggled in modern times with the hot button issues.

In stark contrast is the Roman Catholic Church, which, rather than dialogue, characteristically clamps down and reasserts its centralized authority. Partially in response to its own internal clergy sex abuse scandal and partially in response to the rising level of discussion about homosexuality in the wider Christian Church, the Roman Catholic Church has once again declared that homosexual men will not be ordained and the long-standing, on-going effort to root out gay men from their seminaries has intensified.

How is it that homosexuality became the most divisive of issues for the church? What made the church such a homophobic institution? Jesus himself, it is often argued, made no statement about homosexuality. Nothing in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John says anything about sex, sexuality, sexual orientation or gender issues as they are thought of in the early twenty-first century. Therefore, Christianity—if one defines it as following and emulating Christ—is completely neutral about homosexuality. Where does all the vitriol come from? To answer that question, researchers must look at the culture in which Jesus and his disciple, the apostle St. Paul (10 CE–67 CE), lived and preached.

In the world into which Christianity was born in the first century, homosexuality as thought of in the twenty-first century did not exist. That is not to say that there were not homosexuals. (There is even a school of thought that Paul himself was homosexual.) Homosexuality is a nine-

teenth century invention; that is, there does not appear to be a label to describe same-sex attraction prior to 1868 when the term first appeared. Moreover, "The idea that the gods would be angry with a man for loving boys would have struck any of Paul's Greek or Roman contemporaries as laughable" (Wilson 1997, p. 141).

Whereas civil libertarians guard against cracks in the separation between church and state, the more conservative churches worry about cracks in the separation between sexuality and spirituality, forcing their clergy, as well as their members, to choose. If one is heterosexual and married, one may have God and sex, albeit in very prescribed and proscribed ways on both counts. However, if one is anything other than married and heterosexual, one can have only God; there is no place for sexual expression of any kind. One may conclude, therefore, that these churches are antisex in general and antigay in particular. The result of this split between spirituality and sexuality is that both are harmed and that the oldest and strongest source for the rejection of homosexuality is religion.

Specifically, St. Paul's most famous prohibition, namely *Romans 1:27*, is based on his Jewish heritage, namely *Leviticus 20:13*. An argument can be made, however, that both Old and New Testament condemnations of homosexual acts existed to reign in sexual expression that did not have procreation as their intention simply because of the high rate of infant mortality as well as the high death rate among women in childbirth. Few children survived into adulthood and women who died giving birth obviously could not produce more children. Unlike the Greeks and Romans, among whom sexual expression had far more latitude, Jews were always a small minority whose very survival was at stake. It can be argued, therefore, that homosexual acts among Jews and early Christians were labeled as sinful because they could be construed as a self-inflicted genocide. It is a very small leap from there to also conclude that external control of reproduction and sexual expression constitutes the basis of political control. Therefore, the church can be seen as less concerned with sex in general and with homosexual sex in particular than with emotional, mental, and spiritual control, to which control over reproduction and sexuality is merely a means to an end.

Therefore, every demonization and punishment of homosexuality in the last 2000 years—far too legion to enumerate here—proves the legitimacy of the phrase that originated in the days of the Vietnam War (1954–1975): "When you have them by the balls, their hearts and minds will follow."

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Christopher Nigel Ross

HOMOSEXUALITY, MALE, HISTORY OF

Approaching male-male sexual activity from a historical vantage point means to posit a historically conditioned realm of human experience frequently regarded as unchangeable or biologically determined. A history of homosexuality first emerged in the context of the nineteenth-century science of sex known as sexology. Medico-forensic experts catalogued known historical figures in order to shore up the newly coined description *homosexual*. Early gay writers and activists in Germany, England, as well as elsewhere, heralded gay worthies as forebearers to the gay communities they envisioned. From these beginnings, the history of male homosexuality has metamorphosed into one of the most sophisticated areas of historical research.

As a field, the study of sexuality in history emerged in the 1970s in a dialogue with the so-called sexual revolution, second-wave feminism, and political emancipation movements of various, particularly sexual, minorities. Its persuasive force and intellectual rigor owes much to the pioneering French historian-philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) who in 1976 launched a series of examinations into the nexus of sexuality, knowledge, and power. In Foucault's wake, the fundamental insight into the historicity and constructedness of sexual selves, sexual systems, and sexual ideologies has taken hold in a number of

academic disciplines. Assumptions about the universal applicability of modern sexual taxonomies therefore appear themselves as a historical outcome of scientific knowledge production in the West since the Enlightenment.

Persistently, histories of homosexuality have revolved around one turning point, the mid-nineteenth century coinage *homosexual*, first attested in German between 1868 and 1869. The term's advent has been said to mark the birth of a new social-sexual type—a man whose erotic desires were deeply inscribed into his physis or psyche. Whereas the proto-homosexual merely acted, to paraphrase Foucault's thesis in *The History of Sexuality*: the homosexual's essence was shaped by these same acts. In this modern sexual ideology, variable sex acts became an indicator of an abstract category, a particular sexuality or sexual orientation. Nineteenth-century theorists of male-male love fleshed out an erotics of difference, suggesting that *Urnings*, to use Karl Heinrich Ulrichs's (1825–1895) term, fell in love with men who did not share their erotic cathexis or were of a different class. In the twentieth-century West, homosexual relations were increasingly imagined as pairing equals, men of comparable age and similar traits.

Some scholars have called into question whether the arrival of a discourse on homosexuality in psychiatry, medicine, and criminology signalled the advent of a new sociosexual persona. Randolph Trumbach, for instance, argues that the appearance of the homosexual preceded his naming: The so-called mollies of early eighteenth century London were men who desired men exclusively. Unlike the erotically omnivorous male rogue who pursued both males and females, they gathered with other men in certain inns, the so-called molly-houses, and adopted a style of comportment coded as female. According to Trumbach, metropolitan subcultures in Europe gave rise to a bifurcated sexual system in which homosexual men were seen as fundamentally different from heterosexual men. There is indeed mounting evidence that, during the Enlightenment, eroticism was tied to notions of subjecthood. These findings point to the fact that the emergence of modern homosexuality was a long-term process. David Halperin (2002) has recently shown how the term *homosexuality* itself served as a receptacle for a number of premodern discourses. In fact, medical-psychiatric experts never could claim exclusive authority to speak on homosexual matters in modernity. Rather, sexology competed and converged with other— legal, religious, and ethical—discourses. As late as the early twentieth century, sexual actors and legal experts in Switzerland, the United States, and elsewhere proved at times unable to adequately deploy terms such as homosexuality or homosexual.

The powerful workings of homosexuality as a medico-scientific concept are particularly evident outside of European
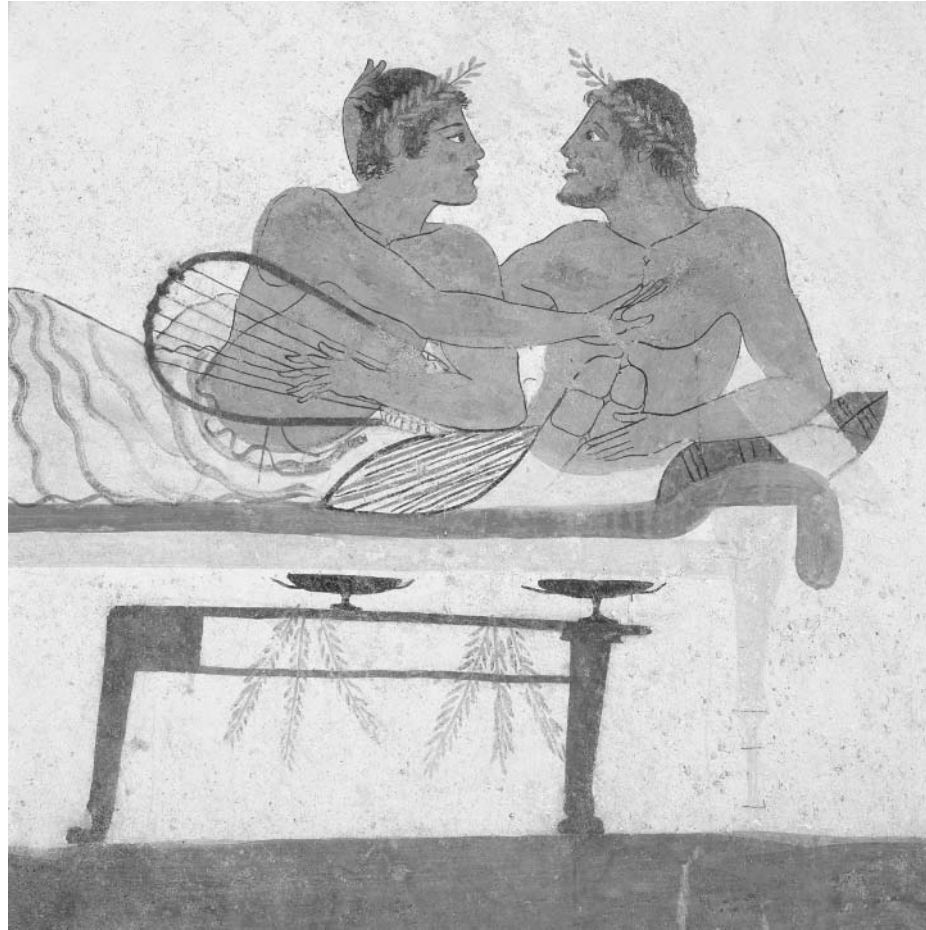
A Greek Wall Painting of Two Men Drinking and Embracing. © MIMMO JODICE/CORBIS.

modernity. When nations such as Iran or Japan mobilized their societies to adapt to the hegemonic standards provided by Western science and societies, lawmakers, scientists, and intellectuals launched reforms of sexual systems that traditionally had been permissive with regard to homoeroticism, seeking to eradicate same-sex sexual cultures now deemed anachronistic. Histories of homoeroticism, be it in modern or premodern societies, in the West or outside, therefore need to move beyond the privileged place held by the term *homosexual* and take into account the pluralities of terms, codes, and idioms denoting homoeroticism—a multitude of words and registers that points to the many manifestations of homosexual behavior.

In many premodern societies and cultures, homoeroticism was accepted, at least as long as male-male sex acts were predicated on social difference: Adult men were expected to have sex with partners inferior in social status and age, whether they were women, slaves, or young males, before the onset of adulthood. In Melanesia, elders within a community initiate boys to manhood via oral insemination as part of a coming-of-age ritual. In many societies, the partner's social or generational status determined the requisite behavior during sexual activity. In classical Athens, sexual restraint was the prescribed response for a youth who had become the object of a citizen's erotic attention; showing signs of arousal would have constituted a breach of an etiquette that claimed homoeroticism as an educational force within the city republic. When Roman emperors flaunted their desire to be penetrated, these rulers with claims to divine lineages transgressed cultural norms, much to the dismay of ancient commentators and chroniclers. As a rule, superior social status translated into penetration. In many such societies, preferring the erotic companionship of males to that of females signalled manliness. In premodern Japan, samurais engaged in the celebrated erotic love of warriors for younger warriors or boy attendants; during the Tokugawa period, merchants and other social groups emulated these idealized relationships in a society where male prositution was widespread. Across the world, the

all-male milieus of certain religious institutions, court circles, or schools fostered sexual cultures in which the beauty of adolescents became a token of male sociability. Even in societies such as Renaissance Florence or the Ottoman Empire, where same-sex sexual acts conflicted with religious or other norms, homoerotic cultures flourished.

Importantly, however, before the onset of modern times, male homoerotic activity did not necessarily preclude sexual attachments to females. A marriage contract from Roman Egypt, for instance, specifies that the husband ought not to cohabit with a male lover—indicating that doing so was not uncommon or out of the question for a married man. The question of whether the love of women or the love of adolescents was preferable—a topic discussed in Latin, Arab, and Japanese literature—was therefore largely considered a matter of personal taste or inclination. Sexual ideology, with its rigid division of sexual roles, was not necessarily congruent with sexual practice, however. The records of early modern sodomy trials suggest that same-sex sexual activity occurred in a variety of social settings, including those between men of a similar age or class. Yet sexual cultures predicated on generational and social differences also shaped the structures of desire.

Histories of homoeroticism have been primarily concerned with sexual activity, its structural patterns, and its social forms. By contrast, the historically contingent structures of feeling around same-sex eroticism have only recently entered into the purview of a history of sexuality. Pursuing this project of a history of emotions means to disregard Sigmund Freud's (1856–1939) warning, in *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1929), that emotions hardly constitute the matter of historical analysis—a caveat Freud himself does not seem to have heeded. Male-male friendships in particular offer a lens for delving into the close bonds men shared with other men. Since, unlike homosexual bonds, homosocial ties were not subject to regulations, male friends have left archives replete with written documentation and material monuments—portraits and gifts among them. After all, men socialized primarily with men in many societies and political or other authority often rested in the hands of circles of men. The emotional worlds of friends are best approached through a spectrum of emotions of which erotic desire is potentially a part, despite the anxieties that attached themselves to the distinction of the male sodomite and the male friend in a society such as Elizabethan England.

The history of friendship offers a promising line of investigation, not least because the love of friends lends itself to global comparisons. The favorite was an emotional phenomenon as well as a stock figure of political polemics in court societies throughout the world. What is more, the discourse of friendship intersected with the discourse of love. The exchange of formulas and ideas worked in both directions. Importantly, same-sex friends provided models for male-female lovers or spouses. In select cases, epistles of friendship or diaries permit the researcher to look behind the veil of privacy and differentiate between different types of friends, including those who were physically intimate with one another. With the onset of modernity, normative heterosociality increasingly superseded homosocial bonds as the locus of emotional fulfillment. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century photographic portraits of male couples in various tender poses demonstrate, however, that special friendships among men might have existed for longer than social historians and historians of the family have assumed. Not accidentally, the term *friend* functioned as a code word for a gay partner among homosexual men and women in the twentieth century.

The questions of how, why, and when the modern homosexual code emerged raises a set of problems that warrant further analysis in future research. Among other phenomena, urbanization, the rise of a capitalist consumer culture, and the advent of civil society have been adduced as explanatory frameworks for the profound restructuring of sexual systems at the threshold of modernity. The tight link between modes of production and modes of reproduction characteristic of agrarian or preindustrial societies loosened in modern times. The rise of the wage economy weakened familial interdependence and strengthened individual independence. Large cities harbored social and sexual spaces that were rarely subjected to community or familial control; here, gay men were able to build their own communities around a shared interest in same-sex eroticism. Fixed social hierarchies, the condition for a homoeroticism predicated on difference, were on the wane; civil society reordered social relations, levelling social, legal, and political distinctions in its wake. European modernity gave rise to the notion of an, at first exclusively, male citizenry. Yet the slow emergence of homosexuals was itself a motor of social transformations, and not merely reflective of larger social shifts. Significantly, the so-called invention of homosexuality in the nineteenth century preceded that of heterosexuality.

These interlocking changes empowered sexual subjects in the West to demand public recognition. In 1867, Ulrichs addressed a national gathering of German jurists, demanding that homosexuality be decriminalized: "This class of persons, " he stated, "is exposed to an undeserved legal persecution for no other reason than that ... nature has planted in them a sexual nature that is the opposite of that which is general usual" (Kennedy 1988, p. 108). Starting in the middle of the twentieth century, rights of gay men have been recognized in various forms. After revolutionary France, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, and Sweden were

among the first countries to abolish criminal penalties for consensual sexual relations between men (though in the case of the Soviet Union, penalties were reintroduced under Joseph Stalin [1879–1953]). Penal reform and liberalization have been steadily on the rise, particularly in Western societies. In 1992, the World Health Organization struck homosexuality from its list of diseases.

The path toward legal, political, and social recognition of gay men has neither been progressive nor uncontested. The United States, after the 1940s, had seen the rise of a sexual laissez-faire mentality in the wake of an unprecedented mass uprooting of men for the war effort with the emergence of the so-called homophile movement after 1945, the climate tightened significantly when a red scare oscillated with a gay scare during the so-called McCarthy era. Yet with the onset of the 1960s, obscenity laws and censorship were on the wane in most Western societies. While negative attitudes toward homosexuality persisted in many places, unequivocal portrayals of gay men in literature, the visual arts, and film became much more common. These representations established a sphere of communication in which being gay was and is publicly negotiated—a forum whose importance may be said to parallel that of the political sphere.

Inspired by the civil rights and the women's movement, the 1970s saw the emergence of sexual minorities as political groups and an unprecedented efflorescence of gay organizations, groups, and businesses. The fact that acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) first spread among gay men provided further stimuli for gay communities to come out politically. Yet gay politics and claims to sexual citizenry triggered new forms of antigay politics as well . Attitudes toward homosexuality have since become lines of demarcation in global confrontations over the path of religious congregations. This development does not simply pit Western against non-Western societies. The South African constitution of 1996 was the first such document to protect citizens from discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. More recently, marital rights for same-sex couples have become the major legal, social, and cultural battleground for gay rights.

SEE ALSO *Boswell, John; Closets; Coming Out; Gay; Heterosexuality; Homoaffectivity, Concept; Homoeroticism, Female/Male, Concept; Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Homosexuality, Defined; Lesbianism; Literature: IV. Gay, Creative; Middle Ages.*

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Helmut Puff

HONOR AND SHAME

Honor and shame historically have influenced cultural practices, assumptions, and roles, particularly as defined by structures of patriarchy and the control of women's agency, bodies, and sexuality. Traditional cultural presuppositions along gendered lines (e.g., it is shameful for boys to cry; it is honorable for women to marry as virgins) create gender dualisms and establish the normative parameters for what is considered honorable and shameful. These normative boundaries, in turn, shape self-esteem, self-understanding, and relations to others. Mechanisms of imposing shame include the *A* affixed to the adulterer Hester Prynne's chest in Puritan society (in Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* [1850]), and recent mechanisms of imposing honor include honor killings and female genital mutilation.

SHAME AND WOMEN'S BODIES

Many feminists, including Susan Bordo, Judith Butler, and Luce Irigaray, have written on aspects of women's bodies. Women's bodies, particularly with respect to their natural biological functions, are frequently rendered shameful by social constructions. The biological mechanism of reproduction—menstruation, pregnancy, and childbirth—are shunned as dirty and contaminated even as they generate the good of offspring. Janet Lee notes the paradox: "On the one hand, woman is associated with life, while on the other, her bleeding and oozing body is met with disgust . . .; men are more easily able to imagine their bodies free of such constraints, and they are allowed to project their fears and hatred onto women's flesh" (Lee 2003, p. 84).

Women's breasts are also subject to a paradox: On the one hand, (patriarchal) society desires and commodifies them, yet, on the other, they (e.g., nipples) are scandalous and to be covered at all times. An accidental public revelation of the breasts brings about social rebuke and shame. Recent examples of women forced to desist from breastfeeding in public areas (e.g., airlines and supermarkets) further demonstrates the imposition of shame on women's bodies. Additionally women's bodies are rejected if they do not conform to society's standards, which have varied from the early modern celebration of full-bodied women to the postmodern fascination with emaciated and powerless women. The resulting discomfort in one's own body underlies distorted body image, unhealthy notions of sexuality, and a diminished sense of self.

HONOR AND WOMEN'S AGENCY

Though their origins trace back to ancient tribal (pre-Islamic) societies more than 4,000 years ago, honor killings and female genital mutilation still exist in early-twenty-first century society. Practices include the footbinding of young girls in China, widow-burning (sati) in India, and the stoning to death of adulterers in several Middle Eastern countries. These rituals, it is claimed, are justified because they ensure that honor is maintained; yet the preservation of male power and control of females inform these practices. Female genital mutilation (or female genital cutting) occurs on an estimated 137 million women in twenty-eight countries (Robertson 2000, p. 439). Such mutilation, which destroys significant portions of the clitoris, supposedly dissuades female promiscuity (a shameful action) by eliminating any feelings of sexual pleasure and thereby safeguarding the honor of the family and the social norms of the community. Offenders frequently enjoy impunity and are embraced by communal leaders; hence, the dualism of honor and shame along gendered lines is further exemplified. Some scholars attribute the continued use of these practices to the rise of religious fundamentalism and the extended application of Muslim law (*sharia*). The Taliban in Afghanistan intensified the paradigm of honor and shame by restricting women's agency, increasing discrimination, and elevating the punishments for crimes of shame along gendered lines (e.g., adultery by women receives the punishment of death, whereas rape is nearly decriminalized and it is almost impossible to convict the male offender).

SHAME AND HONOR IN ANCIENT AND MODERN SOCIETIES

Honor and shame significantly influenced Greek culture, as encapsulated in the writings of Homer. In his study of Greek culture, Philosopher Bernard Williams describes shame as the experience "of being seen, inappropriately, by the wrong people, in the wrong condition. It is straightforwardly connected with nakedness, particularly in sexual connections" (Williams 1993, p. 78). An appearance of the self that causes the contempt, derision, or avoidance of others impacts the self and engenders feelings of shame. While these feelings can induce a desire for self-improvement, the same feelings can be self-destructive and socially oppressive. Feminist philosopher and legal theorist Martha Nussbaum argues that shame for the ancients (as well as today) is deeply connected to self-understanding of humanness; human beings feel shame when they fail to achieve wholeness, that is, when they confront "the awareness of finitude, partiality, and frequent helplessness" (Nussbaum 2004, p. 173).

The connection between women, sex, evil, and sin, metaphorically portrayed in Eve's role in the biblical account of the fall in Genesis where disobedience precipitated shame, pervaded Jewish and early Christian thought. Mosaic law focused on purity and proscribed contact with women during menstruation or after childbirth. To preserve honor of the family, women were not able to leave unaccompanied the homes of their fathers (if the women were unmarried) or the homes of their husbands (if the women were married). Though Jesus challenged unjust laws and patriarchal structures and promoted egalitarianism, early Christian thinkers also perceived women's bodies and sexuality as shameful and their social roles as inferior. Consequently young girls were commonly forced to be virgins against their wills. Virginity, Christian theologians asserted, enabled girls and women to transcend their shameful (female) bodies (and become "male") and enter into a spiritual purity. Writing in the context of the emergence of ascetic monasticism, fourth century theologian Augustine of Hippo (354–436) argued that sex was infected by lust, a disease of the soul, and was only appropriate in marriage when performed in the service of producing children. Theologian Christine Gudorf suggests that the views of Augustine and medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas (1224–1274) have exacerbated misunderstanding of sexuality and contributed to sexual hierarchy, shame, and abuse. Gainsaying the conflation of sexual pleasure and shame, she writes: "we have been taught in too many ways to see the desires of our bodies as enemies of our real selves" (Gudorf 1994, p. 87).

The treatment of black female slaves by white slaveowners in the U.S. antebellum South illustrates the honor and shame dialectic. Preservation of one's honor characterized the dominant white culture, whereas slaves were taught to be ashamed of their blackness. Though white culture espoused the virtues of sexual modesty and chastity, particularly among white women (who, based on their nature and the governing social norms, supposedly chose abstinence and discretion), slave narratives record a different history of sexual transgression by white slaveholders: "Virtually all the slave narratives contain accounts of the

high incidence of rape and sexual coercion. White men, by virtue of their economic position, had unlimited access to Black women's bodies. Sexual victimization of Black women by white men was accepted as inevitable almost as soon as Black women were introduced into America" (Cannon 1988, p. 37).

OVERCOMING THE DUALISM OF HONOR AND SHAME

One aspect of the contemporary debate on shame and honor concerns the potentially positive and negative effects on the self. Philosopher Gabriele Taylor has characterized genuine shame as that which compels improvement; false shame, by contrast, precipitates self destruction. Honor similarly can motivate behavior to uphold basic values of society (e.g., truthfulness and integrity), yet it can also function as an oppressive mechanism of subordination and violence. Increased participation for women in society will help to alleviate the impact of the latter effect.

Philosopher and Nobel Prize–winning economist Amartya Sen identifies the excess mortality and artificially lower survival rates of women in parts of the world as "missing women." (Sen 1999, p. 104). Sen argues that demographic models should bear out a higher percentage of females, but the ratios of females to males are lower in countries in Asia and North Africa. Citing data of ratios from China, India, Pakistan, and North Africa, Sen calculates that there may be more than 100 million less women in these countries than expected. He attributes the numbers to social factors, including maternal mortality, female infanticide, and sex-selective abortion (particularly endemic to China). However, Sen isolates a more systemic reason for the missing women: "The main culprit would seem to be the comparative neglect of female health and nutrition, especially—but not exclusively—during childhood. There is considerable evidence that female children are neglected in terms of health care, hospitalization and even feeding." (Sen 1999, p. 106). Sen argues that there must be emphasis on women's agency, voice, and empowerment—that is, women's capabilities—and thus consideration of women's literacy and education, earning power, roles outside of the family, and property rights. In contrast to oppressive structures and restrictions based on biased social values, Sen points to the social benefits of opportunities afforded to women. Examples include the microcredit movement of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, which "has consistently aimed at removing the disadvantage from which women suffer, because of discriminatory treatment in the rural credit market, by making a special effort to provide credit to women borrowers" (Sen 1999, p. 201). Removing economic disadvantages enables women to overcome poverty, avoid stigmas of shame ascribed to women based on sex and gender, and uphold a reimagined understanding of honor.

SEE ALSO *Guilt; Penance.*

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Charlotte Radler

HONOR CRIMES

Honor crimes are extreme forms of gender-based violence that are committed in culturally constructed societies in which the female body is viewed as a vessel for preserving family and tribal honor. In certain Latin American, Mediterranean, and Muslim societies throughout the Muslim world as well as Muslim communities in Europe and the United States an unmarried daughter's virginity and a married woman's chastity preserve a family's reputation. Perceived or real threats to female purity can bring shame on a family's honor. Male family members often resort to extrajudicial punishment of the accused female, and to a lesser extent the male, to cleanse the family honor. These extrajudicial punishments represent honor crimes in the form of beatings, disfiguration, and on rare occasions rape. The most extreme honor crime is death, commonly referred to as honor killing.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

The behavior traditionally associated with sullying a family's honor is an underage or adult daughter's actual or suspected premarital or extramarital sex. Culturally constructed interpretations of shameful acts also broadly condemn women or girls who are victims of rape or incest, choose their own husbands, reject or flee from

forced marriages, initiate divorce, or commit other "offenses" that bring shame on the family. The male member who "cleanses" the family honor through violence and/or murder routinely earns praise and assumes the stature of a hero in the community.

Whereas society pressures a family to cleanse its honor through the blood of its own daughters, the male lineage does not preserve the family's honor in that manner. Therefore, a son's sexual misbehavior does not sully his family's honor, and as a result his family is not under the same social pressure to murder a son who is inappropriately involved with a woman. A girl's dishonored family, in contrast, often takes the life of the man involved in the illicit relationship. In many cases the man's own family may protect, hide, or send him into exile to spare his life. In Pakistan, for instance, blood feuds can result from one family's effort to protect its son while the other family is attempting to take his life to cleanse its honor. To resolve the conflict the man's family commonly pays blood money or awards marriageable girls to the men of the aggrieved family. In contemporary Iraq women who have been ransomed from kidnappers often are killed by their male relatives to ward off any allegations of sexual impropriety while they were kidnapped.

SCOPE OF HONOR CRIMES

The practice of honor killings is prevalent in many parts of the Muslim world but also has been practiced in parts of the Mediterranean, in Brazil, and among Muslim communities in Europe and North America. As recently as the 1960s Sarakatsani shepherds in Greece conducted honor killings (Campbell 1964). In those mountain communities a daughter's misconduct could sully the honor of her family's men. To avenge the dishonor the father or brother often killed the girl and then the alleged lover.

Although the United Nations special rapporteur on violence against women reported in 1997 that the "practice has been largely discontinued" in Brazil, reports still surface of courts pardoning men for wife murder in defense of honor (Coomaraswamy 1997, para. 43). The phenomenon of honor killings is found in European and North American countries with large Muslim—particularly south Asian—communities as well. In late 2004 British officials, for instance, began reexamining 117 murder cases to determine which ones were motivated by honor cleansing.

LEGAL AND POLICY DIMENSIONS

Legal concepts of victim, crime, evidence, and punishment are culturally grounded constructs, and the application and enforcement of laws dealing with honor crimes are often complex, contradictory, and inconsistent. In Brazil, for instance, the modern legal defense of a husband charged with wife murder committed to restore his marital honor can be traced to Portuguese colonial law that pardoned a husband who killed his wife and her lover in the act of adultery. Legal systems in a variety of Muslim countries follow Islamic (*shari'a*), European, Ottoman, and tribal law. An analysis of legal structures in several Arab countries determined that the majority of penal codes (Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Kuwait, Egypt, Iraq, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Morocco, and Oman) supporting honor killings and protecting the murderers can be traced to the French penal code of 1810 (Faqir 2001, p. 73), whereas *shari'a* in Saudi Arabia and Qatar prevents the punishment of the killer.

Proponents of *shari'a* point out that guidelines for determining *zina* (sex outside marriage) are more rigid—confessions, four eyewitnesses, or pregnancy—and that punishment is less extreme (flogging, not death) than actual practice in many Muslim societies. Contrary to Islamic law, a rumor of infidelity in many Muslim communities serves as sufficient evidence to justify the murder of the couple. In some cases forensic evidence has demonstrated that victims of honor killings are innocent.

When it is convenient for them to do so, some Muslim societies fall back on cultural practice or tribal law at the expense of *shari'a* to impose social order, prevent promiscuity, or cleanse honor. Although some Jordanian parliamentarians in 1999 argued for abolishing Article 340 of the penal code because it contradicted *shari'a* by allowing the murder of an accused woman by her male family members, the Islamic movement in that country supported the law as a deterrent to inappropriate social relations between young women and men. Islamic law also was ignored in the 1977 public execution of the Saudi princess Mish'al, who demanded the right to marry a man of her choice. Similarly, the 2002 local Pakistani tribal council (*panchayat*) sentence of Mukhtar Mai to gang rape, allegedly to punish her brother for illicit sexual relations with a woman from a rival tribe, also did not follow *shari'a*. The brutality of that incident drew the outrage of citizens across the country.

Although many Muslim countries have passed laws that prohibit honor killings, there are a variety of obstacles to the protection of women: Investigation and enforcement are often weak and ineffective, sympathy for the killers runs deep, corruption is rife, and laws based on Islamic or local tradition allowing the victim's family to pardon the killer undermine prosecution. According to those traditions, pardon, blood money, or marriageable girls awarded to the victim's family absolve the killer. Because the killer is usually a member of the daughter's family or the husband himself, absolution can be automatic. In other cases, such as in Jordan, penal codes allow for lenient or token punishment of the killer. According

Pakistan Honor Killings. *Nayyar Shahzaidi's husband cut her nose off out of jealousy because he was nervous she would cheat on him.*
© LYNSEY ADDARIO/CORBIS.

to Article 98, the convicted murderer may serve as little as six months. In Palestine the task of murder sometimes is assigned to a youth who is young enough to be exempt from prosecution.

There are few legal mechanisms for protecting potential female victims of honor killings from their own families. In many cases women and men seeking police protection have undergone interrogation, abuse, beatings, and rape. Law enforcement officials often sympathize with the families. Police in Jordan, for example, have subjected women to a virginity examination, hoping that a confirmation of virginity will resolve the family dispute. When women confess to illicit behavior or become pregnant outside marriage or when reconciliation between the parties is not possible for other reasons, government officials may place women in shelters or prison for punishment or for their protection. In most Muslim countries adequate shelters do not exist. Women placed in shelters or prisons may live for years under harsh conditions, often among criminals, until a resolution is reached. In most cases the women must be released into the custody of a male relative or husband. Among the few viable options for their release are the

death of a father, remarriage (often to a much older man), and a return home to families that have had a change of heart. It is not uncommon for families to make such commitments and take custody of the women, only to execute them upon their return.

A women's shelter in Dahuk in northern Iraq opened by the Swedish nongovernmental organization Diakonia came under gunfire from relatives of the inmates. Attempted suicide and depression were common at the shelter. In 2004 the Coalitional Provisional Authority (CPA) advisers to the Iraqi Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLSA) opened a women's shelter inside the International Zone (IZ) as the only safe location for potential victims in Baghdad. Many Iraqi candidates interviewing for positions as workers and security guards at the shelter were rejected when they admitted that they supported honor killings. With IZ property at a premium, a few months after the shelter's opening a high-ranking Iraqi government official demanded the house for himself. Although the minister of MOLSA supported and funded the shelter, when confronted with political pressure, she denied all knowledge of the shelter. The shelter was closed, and the women were turned out.

LACK OF STATISTICAL DATA

As a result of underreporting, social attitudes, lack of adequate investigations by law enforcement officials, and faulty data collection methods, there are no accurate figures on honor killings. Sometimes honor killings are reported as suicides or accidents. According to one estimate (Knudsen 2004, p. 2), five thousand women per year fall victim to honor killings, perhaps as many as a thousand in Pakistan alone. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan collects data in two Pakistani provinces. From 1998 to 2002 an average of 412 victims of honor killings per year were reported in southern Sindh. Women accounted for approximately 60 percent of the victims, and only half the cases were reported to the police. In Pakistan's most populous province, the Punjab, 350 honor killings were reported in 2000 and 249 in 2001. Men represented about 10 percent of the deaths. The *Jordan Times* recorded nineteen honor killings in 2000 and twenty-two in 2001 in that country.

SEE ALSO *Honor and Shame; Violence.*

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Craig Davis

HORMONES

I. OVERVIEW

A hormone (from the Greek *hormaein*, "to excite") is a chemical substance that is produced by a single cell or a group of cells and is secreted directly into the bloodstream where it may circulate through the body or act locally. Hormones regulate or control other cells or physiological systems in the body, including organs and biological systems that deal with sexual behavior and reproduction. Hormones act as messengers to initiate chemical reactions that may have either a specific local effect on cells in the general vicinity of the tissue that secretes them (such as acetylcholine, which stimulates the muscle immediately next to the nerve fibers that release it) or a more diffuse effect, as with general hormones that are carried through the bloodstream and exert their influence on remote areas of the body. The second category of these compounds may affect all or nearly all the cells and organs systems of the body or may affect only specific cells or organs.

THE FORMATION AND RELEASE OF HORMONES

General hormones usually are secreted by a specific endocrine gland: a collection of specialized tissue that produces and releases hormones into the bloodstream without the use of ducts or tubes, in contrast to exocrine glands which use a duct system to distribute their secretions. From the bloodstream the chemical messengers attach to specific target receptors. Depending on where those receptors are in the body, the target sites determine the area of influence of a hormone. For example, growth hormone, which comes from the anterior pituitary gland, reacts with most of the cells in the body. In contrast, many general hormones work only on target tissues that have specific receptors to bind to a particular hormone and initiate its action. Ovarian hormones are an example of this type in that they are manufactured in the ovaries and released into the circulatory system; from there they attach themselves to cells and organs that control the primary and secondary sexual characteristics of females, including the reproductive system and breast development. Most general hormones are secreted by endocrine glands.

Examples of endocrine tissue that produces hormones include the pituitary gland (which makes growth hormone, thyroid-stimulating hormone, follicle-stimulating hormone, luteinizing hormone, prolactin, and oxytocin), the thyroid gland (thyroxin and calcitonin), the adrenal glands (cortisol and aldosterone), the pancreas (insulin), the ovaries (estrogens and progestins), the testes (testosterone), and the placenta (human chorionic gonadotropin, estrogens, and progesterone).

Endocrine glands make hormones by the process of anabolism: the formation of complex chemical compounds from smaller particles. Hormones fall into one of

three chemical categories: steroids, derivatives of tyrosine (an amino acid), and proteins or peptides. Steroids are of particular importance in human sexuality and reproduction and include the hormones produced by the ovaries, the testes, the adrenal glands, and the placenta. Tyrosine derivatives include the major thyroid hormones, epinephrine, and norepinephrine. Protein or peptide hormones include oxytocin as well as hormones that deal with kidney function (vasopressin) and blood sugar levels (insulin).

Protein hormones generally are formed at the subcellular level, in the endoplasmic reticulum. The chemical created (the preprohormone) is usually much larger than the final hormone and must undergo a process of cleaving to make a smaller protein called a prohormone. That compound undergoes one more cleaving to make the final hormone. Those hormones often are encapsulated in small vesicles called secretory vesicles or granules and are stored in the cytoplasm of the endocrine cell until there is a signal for their release into the bloodstream. The amount of steroid hormones stored in the cytoplasm of ovarian or testicular cells is usually very small, but the precursor building blocks (especially cholesterol) are present in great numbers. Within minutes of the specific stimulation, enzymes in those cells assemble the precursors into the final hormones and release them into the blood.

THE ACTIONS OF HORMONES

Hormones work principally by regulating body metabolic functions through chemical reactions at the cellular level. Those reactions and their effects may occur within seconds of the release of a hormone or may take up to several weeks (as with thyroid hormones, which may take weeks to affect metabolism) or years to have an effect. These compounds occur in minute quantities in the bloodstream are released in an as-needed manner that is apparently adequate to regulate and control most metabolic functions. They generally are released into the body in a rate determined by negative feedback; that is, the endocrine gland almost always naturally oversecretes its hormone, which in turn exerts control over the target organ, which then performs its function. Some mechanism informs the endocrine gland that no more hormone is needed, and that negative feedback causes the gland to decrease its rate of secretion. When the target organ does not function, it does not send a signal to limit production, and so the endocrine gland steps up production and secretion of the hormone even if that is harmful to the organ.

Hormones almost never react directly with the target cell machinery but combine with hormone receptors that trigger a change in the target cell, for example, by changing the permeability of the target cell membrane (as with epinephrine) and thus exciting it to action or inhibiting its function. Often stimulation of the receptor cell activates an intracellular reaction that results in the production of a second messenger that then institutes cellular changes (as with insulin). Other hormonal targets activate protein receptors inside the cell and thus form a hormone-receptor complex that initiates the activation of specific genes to form new proteins in the cell (and thus change the cell's metabolism). That mechanism characterizes the manner in which thyroid hormones and steroids (including the sex hormones) work. Hormones act by initiating a cascade of reactions in the cell. This is one reason so little hormonal stimulation is necessary to yield an effect. Hormones are necessary elements for human growth, metabolism, and sexuality, including both primary and secondary sexual characteristics and reproduction.

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II. SEX HORMONES

Hormones play an integral role in human sexuality. They help in the formation of the primary sexual characteristics (including sex organs such as the uterus and the penis) and the secondary sexual characteristics (such as the growth of breasts and pubic hair) and influence sexual behavior. Along with genetic material, neurological stimuli, and social influences, hormones are responsible for determining the gender of males and females.

HORMONES IN REPRODUCTION IN MALES

Collectively, the hormones secreted by the testes are called androgens (steroid hormones that have masculinizing effects). Other areas of the body (such as the adrenal glands) produce androgens but in quantities so minute that they have little masculinizing effect on men or women except to cause pubic and axillary hair growth. Testosterone, the most important male hormone, is responsible for causing the body to develop male sexual characteristics.

After the onset of puberty, testosterone causes the penis, scrotum, and testes to increase in size. That hormone also stimulates the secondary sexual characteristics, which include body hair distribution (including pubic, facial, chest, and other body hair), baldness (testosterone and the genetic tendency to become bald work together to cause male pattern hair loss at the temples and the crown of the head), deepening of the voice (usually

starting during puberty with a "cracking" voice that swings quickly from low to high pitch), thickening of the skin, development of acne (though this tends to diminish after a few years), increased muscular development (averaging around 50 percent more than that of females), and an increase in the calcium density of bones. In addition, testosterone causes the male pelvis to develop in a uniquely male pattern: longer and narrower and able to bear more weight than the female pelvis. Less obvious characteristics include an increase in the metabolic rate (the amount of energy produced and used by the body over time), an increase in the number of red blood cells, and an increase in the ability of the kidneys to reabsorb sodium, which allows for larger fluid and blood volumes in relation to weight.

Hormones also work with the central nervous system and to regulate male sexual behavior. Although the mechanism of this process is not completely understood, male sex drive (libido) and male behavior are heavily dependent on testosterone and its related compounds, though the effect of androgens on erections in men is context-sensitive; that is, it requires both physical and psychological stimulation to elicit a penile response. The presence of testosterone can increase aggression, though social variables play a large role in mitigating agonistic behavior. The effect of testosterone on sex drive and aggressive behavior is controversial, with some researchers suggesting that the sex hormones play a lesser role than do social influences.

HORMONES IN FETAL AND ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

By the seventh week of fetal development (gestation) hormones from the placenta (especially human chorionic gonadotropin [HCG]) stimulate the fetal testes to produce moderate amounts of testosterone that remain throughout intrauterine development and last until about ten weeks after birth. This early testosterone production is responsible for the development of the male body characteristics, including the formation of the external male genitalia (penis and scrotum) and internal reproductive organs (such as the prostate gland, the seminal vesicles, and the male genital ducts). In addition, the increased quantity of androgens suppresses the formation of female genitalia and reproductive organs, which all fetuses will develop in the absence of testosterone. Sufficient levels of testosterone are necessary to stimulate the testes to descend into the scrotal sac during the last couple of months of pregnancy, although when this does not happen, the therapeutic administration of testosterone or other gonadotropic hormones is sometimes effective in getting the testes to descend.

After birth the testes essentially do not produce any testosterone until the onset of puberty (about age ten to

thirteen). At that point the anterior pituitary begins to secrete hormones that cause an increase in the production of testosterone in the testes. Testosterone production continues throughout a male's life but begins to diminish after middle age.

MALE HORMONE PRODUCTION

Although most of the masculinizing hormones are produced locally in the testes, they require other hormones that are formed in other parts of the body to stimulate their secretion into the body. Luteinizing hormone (LH) is formed in the anterior pituitary gland near the brain and is secreted into bloodstream, where it activates receptors in the Leydig cells in the testes. This stimulates the cells to produce the hormone testosterone, a necessary component in spermatogenesis (the production of sperm, the male reproductive cell). Follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH) also is secreted by the anterior pituitary gland and stimulates the Sertoli cells in the seminiferous tubules (tubules within the lobules of the testes) to convert spermatids, a precursor form of the male sex reproductive cell, into mature sperm. Small amounts of estrogens (female hormones) also are formed during FSH stimulation of the Sertoli cells and probably are necessary for the formation of sperm. The Sertoli cells produce an androgen-binding protein that attaches to both estrogen and testosterone allowing them to pass into the canal of the seminiferous tubule and bringing the hormones into contact with the developing sperm. Other, more generalized hormones, including growth hormone, are necessary not only for promoting the development of the early stages of sperm production but also for the general metabolic functions of the testes.

ROLE OF HORMONES IN REPRODUCTION IN FEMALES

Hormones help the female reproductive system in its two major phases: preparing the body for its role in conception and gestation (the period of development of the fertilized egg until birth). Hormones that control and regulate the female reproductive system include gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH), also called luteinizing hormone–releasing hormone (LHRH), which is released by the hypothalamus in the brain. Its circulation into the bloodstream in turn causes the anterior pituitary to release follicle-stimulating hormone and luteinizing hormone, which in turn initiates the secretion of the two main types of ovarian hormones: estrogens (the most important of which is estradiol) and progestins (the most important of which is progesterone).

The main function of estrogen is to promote the growth of the cells and tissues responsible for the secondary sexual characteristics of the female. Progestins function mainly in preparing the uterus for pregnancy and the breasts for lactation (milk production). Estrogen also causes an increase in the growth of bones, causing females

to enter into a growth spurt at puberty. The same hormone also causes the long bones in women to fuse and stop growing several years earlier than is the case for their male counterparts. Estrogens increase the metabolic rate of the body (though not as much as testosterone does) and cause deposition of fat in the breasts, buttocks, and thighs. Increased concentrations of estrogen, as in pregnancy, can cause water retention. Estrogens make the skin soft and smooth and increase its vascularity. All these feminizing hormones are secreted at differing rates, depending on what phase the woman is in her monthly menstrual cycle (also called the female sexual cycle).

Females also produce androgens (masculinizing hormones). Testosterone-like hormones secreted by the adrenal gland along with estrogen from the ovaries affect target cells in the brain to influence sexual behavior and libido. These hormones work in conjunction with neural and psychological factors to affect female sexuality and behavior (as they also do in males) in a manner that is not fully understood. Androgens from the adrenal gland are also responsible for hair distribution in both sexes.

HORMONES IN DEVELOPMENT AND REPRODUCTION IN FEMALES

At birth and throughout childhood cells around the egg (ova) produce a substance that inhibits its maturation. During childhood the ovaries remain essentially dormant largely as a result of a lack of hormonal stimulation. Although the ovaries are stimulated during fetal development by hormones released from the placenta (human chorionic gonadotropins), the level of those hormones becomes negligible within a few weeks after birth and does not increase until the start of puberty around the age of nine or ten. At that time estrogen production and secretion increase dramatically in females. Under hormonal stimulation the ovaries, fallopian tubes, uterus, and vagina all increase in size. The external genitalia, including the labia majora and minora, also grow to their mature size. The presence of estrogen also changes the lining of the vagina to make it more resilient and better able to resist trauma and infection. Estrogen also causes the development of breast tissue by increasing the ductile system and the deposition of fat.

At puberty the anterior pituitary gland begins secreting increased amounts of FSH and LH, causing the ovaries and the follicles (the egg and its surrounding tissue) to grow. This consequently stimulates the onset of monthly sexual cycles (menarche), which generally begin between the ages of eleven and sixteen.

The female sexual cycle is characterized by a rhythmic pattern of hormonal release that causes changes in the ovaries and sex organs and influences a woman's fertility. These cycles may last anywhere from twenty to forty-five days (averaging twenty-eight). The primary result of these monthly changes is to produce and release a mature egg (ovum) and prepare the lining of the uterus (the endometrium) for implantation of a fertilized egg.

In a twenty-eight-day cycle FSH and later LH increase slightly or moderately during the first few days of menstruation. This causes six to twelve ripe follicles (the sac of tissue that surrounds each egg) to increase in size. After a few days the follicle begins to produce a fluid with a high concentration of estrogen. Although this first stage of follicular development is the primarily the result of FSH stimulation, the subsequent acceleration in growth results from the increasing presence of estrogen, which makes the follicle even more sensitive to FSH stimulation. This combination of estrogen and FSH subsequently makes the follicle even more sensitive to LH stimulation. The increased influence of estrogen and LH causes the follicle to grow very rapidly. After a week or so (and before ovulation) one of the follicles grows much larger than the others, and the smaller ones then involute (degenerate), leaving only one follicle ready for ovulation.

About two days before ovulation there is a marked increase in the amount of LH secreted that peaks about sixteen hours before ovulation (on day fourteen). FSH also increases at that time, though not as markedly as LH does. The two hormones act together to cause the follicle to rapidly swell, rupture, and release the ovum into the abdomen. Around that time LH also causes the cells surrounding the ovum to begin producing progesterone and less estrogen.

In the hours after the egg is expelled from the follicle the remaining cells of the follicle change into lutein cells and convert what remains of the follicle to what is called the corpus luteum: glandular tissue that produces large quantities of progesterone and to a lesser degree estrogen. The corpus luteum also produces small quantities of the male hormones (including testosterone), but these hormones ultimately are converted to female hormones. The presence of progesterone and estrogen inhibits the anterior pituitary gland from secreting FSH and LH. As a result the corpus luteum continues to grow for about seven or eight days after ovulation, after which, if no pregnancy occurs, it begins to degenerate. Its involution leads to a subsequent decrease in progesterone and estrogen that stimulates the uterus to menstruate two days later.

HORMONES AND THE PLACENTA

The placenta (the nourishing sac that surrounds the growing fetus) produces large quantities of estrogen. In pregnancy the chorion (the layer of cells surrounding the developing embryo) produces and secretes hormone human chorionic gonadotropin, which causes the corpus leuteum to remain functional. The secretion of HCG reaches its peak about eight or nine weeks after fertilization. It then goes into decline and is maintained at that

low level throughout the remainder of the pregnancy (most pregnancy kits test for the presence of HCG in the blood or urine). The placenta then begins to increase the secretion of estrogens and progesterones. By the end of the first trimester of pregnancy the placenta is a functional endocrine gland that secretes enough estrogen and progesterone to maintain the pregnancy until childbirth. After delivery, in the absence of this high concentration of estrogen and progesterone, prolactin (produced by the anterior pituitary) stimulates lactation (milk production). Suckling stimulates the posterior pituitary to release oxytocin (which stimulates the breasts cells to contract and aid in milk let-down) and the anterior pituitary to continue to secrete prolactin.

EFFECTS OF THE LOSS OF HORMONES

The loss of hormones may result from genetic abnormality, disease, treatment (such as chemotherapy or radiation), surgery (removal of the ovaries or testes), or aging. Decreased production of sex hormones may cause changes that can interfere with sexual behavior or physiology in both women and men. In women a marked loss of estrogen manifests with menopause-like symptoms characterized by cessation of menstrual periods, loss of fertility, "hot flashes," irritability, fatigue, atrophic vaginitis (thinning of the vaginal wall), and osteoporosis (loss of bone mass).

Men also may experience the loss of hormone testosterone as a result of disease, treatments, or aging (in what controversially is called andropause or "male menopause"). Symptoms may manifest as a loss of energy, muscle mass, physical agility, fertility, and sex drive as well as sexual dysfunction (impotence). In addition, the loss of testosterone is associated with an increased risk for cardiovascular disease. The loss of the hormone also may prevent male pattern baldness from progressing.

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III. HORMONAL DISEASES

The loss of hormones can cause physiological changes that may interfere with sexual characteristics or behavior. That loss may result from genetic abnormalities, disease, treatment (such as chemotherapy or radiation), surgery (removal of the ovaries or testes), or aging. In women a marked loss of estrogen manifests with menopause-like symptoms characterized by cessation of menstrual periods, loss of fertility, vasomotor symptoms ("hot flushes" or "hot flashes"), irritability, fatigue, atrophic vaginitis (thinning of the vaginal walls), and osteoporosis (loss of bone mass). Although estrogen replacement therapy may help with symptoms, it no longer is recommended except on a short-term basis because of the increased risk of cardiovascular disease and breast cancer. Other remedies include over-the-counter herbal preparations such as black cohosh, soy-based preparations, and selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) and antidepressants such as Paxil. Because of its effect on bone density, estrogen sometimes is prescribed to treat osteoporosis, which is a serious health concern for postmenopausal women.

Tumors of the adrenal gland occasionally may cause the overproduction of androgens, resulting in masculinizing secondary sexual characteristics in women, including facial hair growth (hirsutism). Tumors in the embryonic tissue of the ovaries and adrenal hormone abnormalities also may lead to the production of large quantities of androgens. When this happens in genetically female fetuses, masculinizing occurs and may result in female pseudohermaphrodism characterized by the possession of ovaries and ambiguous genitalia.

Normal aging results in a loss of testosterone production in males (andropause). Symptoms may manifest as a loss of energy, muscle mass, physical agility, fertility, and sex drive as well as sexual dysfunction (impotence). In addition, the loss of testosterone is associated with an increased risk for cardiovascular disease. It also may prevent male pattern baldness from progressing. Treatment of hormone insufficiency may include testosterone injections, patches, or implants.

If the testes fail to function during fetal development (hypogonadism), there are insufficient androgens to stimulate the growth of male sexual organs, and normal female organs develop instead. If an adolescent boy loses his testes before puberty, he will not develop mature sexual characteristics: His voice will remain childlike, he will not go bald, and he will not develop the facial and body hair characteristic of an adult male. If a male loses his testes after puberty, some of the masculine secondary sexual characteristics, such as sex organ size and a deepened voice, are maintained for the most part (though slightly diminished), whereas others, such as hair distribution and musculature and bone mass, may decrease markedly. Adult men who experience a loss of testosterone may note decreased sexual desire and difficulty achieving an erection. As with aging, these symptoms may be treated by the administration of testosterone.

Loss of testosterone production in the testes can cause the prostate to diminish in size. Further, certain cancers of the prostate can be stimulated by testosterone. These types of cancer may be treated by removal of the testes or the administration of estrogen.

Hypergonadism (overproduction of sex hormones) may occur with testicular tumors. When this occurs in young children, up to 100 times the normal amount of testosterone may be secreted, causing the bones to fuse at an early age, before full adult height has been reached. The increased quantity of testosterone also stimulates a premature and excessive development of the sex organs and secondary sexual characteristics. In adults hypergonadism often goes undiagnosed because sexual characteristics already have developed. Other tumors of the genital tissue may produce large amounts of luteinizing hormone (LH) or estrogen, causing symptoms that include gynecomastia (overgrowth of the breasts).

SEE ALSO *Contraception: I. Overview; Genitals, Female; Genitals, Male.*

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HOURI

Houri (or *huri*) refers to a pure feminine being in Islamic paradise that the Koran promises to the Muslim believer. In Arabic, the plural (*hur*) and singular (*hawra'*) are related to the verb root *hwr*, which is associated with whiteness. In particular, the Koranic phrase *hur 'ayn* is understood to refer to the sclerotic part of the eye. By implication, the houri is a being with large or dark eyes like a gazelle; as a result, the houri is often understood as a doe-eyed beauty.

In the Koran and early Islamic textual tradition, the houri emerges as a pure female companion for believers. In the Koran, houris are mentioned or referred to as "companions" (44:54, 52:20), "restrained" (55:72), "like pearls well-guarded" (56:22–23), and "virginal" (56:35–37). In the sura (chapter) of the Koran called al-Rahman (The Merciful), their conditions are discussed: They live in pavilions or tents; no man or jinn

has touched them before; and they recline on rich carpets of beauty (55:54–56).

In early Islamic tradition, houri*s* may also have had an earthly dimension. In the *Sirat Rasul Allah*, the first chronicle of the life of Muhammad, composed by Ibn Ishaq (c. 704–767 CE) and edited by Ibn Hisham (d. 834 CE), houris are first described as rewards for the wounded:

> … yet I am a Muslim
> I hope in exchange for life near to Allah
> With Houris fashioned like the most beautiful statues
> With the highest Garden for those who mount there.
>
> *(Ibn Ishaq 2001 [1955], p. 350)*

Houris are also mentioned as female caretakers of the dying in battle.

As Islamic tradition developed, descriptions of houris became more sensual. In *hadith*, the canonical collections of the traditions of the prophet Muhammad, houris were identified by their pure skin and translucent limbs. Their white limbs are so fair and fine that their bones can be seen through them. Their white gauzy garments flow in the breeze. When they walk into the marketplace, their scent wafts for miles. In al-Tirmidhi's (d. c. 892 CE) collection, the houris also speak in their melodic voices: "We live forever and never pass away, we are affluent and never austere, we are content and never discontent. Blessed are those who belong to us and to whom we belong" (translated from Tirmidhi n.d. [892], p. 696). In the allegorical mystical tale of al-Muhasibi (c. 781–857 CE), the houri figures in the narrative as a beautiful alluring woman in the male believer's courtyard palace in paradise.

In European discourse, the term, which enters English through French from the Persian plural *hurriyat*, signifies beautiful Oriental maidens. In particular, in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819), the term houri plays a role in the description of Rebecca the Jewess: "What is she, Isaac? Thy wife or thy daughter, that Eastern houri that thou lockest under thy arm?" (Scott 1998 [1832], pp. 93–94).] Within Islamic contemporary discourse, houris are not just seen as virginal beauties; instead, their significance is contested. Some modern theologians suggest that the houri should be interpreted metaphorically instead of literally. Others see the houri as an example of the patriarchal nature of Islam. Yet others suggest that houris are considered rewards in only the early stages of Koranic recitation. Whereas scholars question how to interpret houri*s*, many Muslims consider the houri a reward of paradise, and contemporary jihadists, in particular, cite the houri as among the rewards awaiting martyrs. The issue of how to interpret the houri and what her purity means, then, remains an active issue in Muslim discourse.

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Nerina Rustomji

HUSTLER

Hustler magazine was the brainchild of Larry Flynt. Launched in 1974, *Hustler* consciously placed itself on the opposite socio-sexual spectrum from its journalistic cousins, *Playboy* and *Penthouse.* At its height it may have reached twenty million readers (Smolla 1990, p. 38).

Flynt's magazine was, in fact, a bad boy *Playboy.* This is perhaps due to Flynt's background. He was born to a poor family in Appalachia in 1942. He moved to the Midwest, where, after a successful stint in the Navy, he transformed a bar in Dayton, Ohio, into a strip club, giving birth to more such clubs. A newsletter for the clubs became *Hustler* the magazine.

It was a working-class philosophy that permitted Flynt to understand the unattainability of the women in *Playboy* and *Penthouse* for an average male reader. The laminated, air-brushed, almost plasticized bodies of *Playboy* models was anathema to Flynt. *Hustler* was not shy about leaving its competitors behind when it showed female pubic hair. As Laura Kipnis puts it (1996, p. 128), sex for Flynt (and subsequently *Hustler*) was "a political, not a private, matter." Breaking down the bounds of "repression and social hypocrisy" (Kipnis 1996, p. 129), *Hustler* did not shy away from including fat women, disabled women, and interracial couples. If its goal was to shake American readers out of their fantasies of women as plastic blow-up life-size dolls, it succeeded. Its message was at once egalitarian and anti-establishment. The magazine also earned the harsh condemnation of feminists. Briefly, after a 1977 religious con-

version, Flynt made of *Hustler* a strange amalgam of Christianity and pornography, an attempt he eventually abandoned, along with his conversion.

Flynt was a familiar face in the American court system, be it when he was sued by novelist Jackie Collins or the televangelist Jerry Falwell (Smolla 1990). The attempt to assassinate him, in 1978, even took place outside a courtroom where he was being tried for obscenity. The shooting forced Flynt into a wheelchair, but that did not stop him from considering himself the protector of the First Amendment. He made this clear in *Hustler*'s philosophy of gender. Nothing was out of the bounds of free speech. *Hustler,* in a sense, pushed its competitors—especially *Playboy*—into areas where they might not otherwise have dared to go: the transsexual body. *Hustler* showed it in its pre-operative phase; *Playboy,* years later, in its cleaned-up and sanitized post-operative phase.

As Kipnis emphasizes, *Hustler*'s body is transgressive, when not Rabelaisian in its portrayal. It is the body uncensored, with all its corporal functions brought out of the pristine closet. In an ironic twist, Flynt's shooting transformed him into one of his own magazine's transgressive bodies: overweight, wheel-chair bound (without control over his intimate bodily functions) (Smolla 1990)—something he exploited to the full when he wheeled into a courtroom wearing the American flag as a diaper, keeping alive the outlaw aspect of Flynt and his magazine.

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

HYSTERECTOMY

A hysterectomy is the surgical removal of the uterus. The procedure can entail removal of the entire uterus (total hysterectomy) or may involve only excision of the body of the organ while preserving the lower part or cervix (supracervical hysterectomy). Depending on the reason for the surgery, the surgeon may also remove the ovaries and fallopian tubes (hysterectomy with bilateral salpingo-oophorectomy). Since the ovaries are the site of hormonal production and secretion (of estrogen, progesterone, and to some degree testosterone), loss of the ovaries results in surgical menopause, which causes the cessation of menstruation and the inability to bear a child. In cases where the ovaries are preserved and function remains intact, women may undergo in vitro fertilization with

the embryo implanted in a surrogate mother. In young women, menopausal symptoms may be treated with hormone replacement therapy. There is an increase in the rate of bone fractures in women who have undergone surgical menopause. Hysterectomy is the second-most common surgery for women of reproductive age in the United States, with one-third of all women undergoing the procedure by age sixty.

Surgeons can remove the uterus and/or other organs through an abdominal incision, or vaginally, a less invasive procedure, with or without the assistance of a laparoscope (a long tube with a lens system, video camera, and a light source to illuminate the abdominal cavity). The laparoscope enters the body through a small incision and carbon dioxide gas is pumped into the cavity to help visualize the working area. The excised uterus is then removed through the vaginal canal or through another abdominal incision. In the case of a supracervical laparoscopic hysterectomy, the uterine tissue may be cut and removed from the body through the use of a morcelator (a specialized laparoscopic instrument).

Women undergo hysterectomies for many conditions including uterine fibroids, endometriosis (and other forms of pelvic pain), dysfunctional (non-menstrual) or heavy bleeding (sometimes resulting in a low red blood cell count, or anemia), certain cancers (including uterine, cervical, or ovarian), and to control life threatening hemorrhage following childbirth. Doctors also remove the ovaries and uterus during sex reassignment surgery.

Alternative treatments to hysterectomy include the use of medications (including Depo-Provera) and procedures such as thermal ablation (destroying the lining of the uterus with heat) to relieve symptoms of dysfunctional uterine bleeding. Doctors may perform a myomectomy (with or without laparoscopic assistance) to remove uterine fibroids without removing the uterus. Embolization (destroying the blood vessels supplying the fibroids) may eliminate or lessen the condition while preserving fertility.

Hysterectomy is often indicated when alternative methods fail or are unlikely to offer relief for symptoms or disease. However, studies show that 20 percent of all hysterectomies are unnecessary. Though women's advocacy groups in the 1980s and 1990s began questioning the need for much of this surgery, in the early twenty-first century the United States leads the world in the percentage of hysterectomies performed each year.

SEE ALSO *Hormones: I. Overview; Reproduction (Procreation).*

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I

IBSEN, HENRIK
1828–1906

Henrik Ibsen, born on March 20 in Skien, Norway, is one of the great dramatists of world literature. He began as a writer of poetic dramas that included the masterpiece *Peer Gynt* (1867) and then turned to prose to write realistic plays that earned him the title "the founder of modern drama": *Pillars of Society* (1877), *A Doll House* (1879), *Ghosts* (1881), *An Enemy of the People* (1882), *The Wild Duck* (1884), *Rosmersholm* (1886), *The Lady from the Sea* (1888), *Hedda Gabler* (1890), *The Master Builder* (1892), *Little Eyolf* (1894), *John Gabriel Borkman* (1896), and *When We Dead Awaken* (1899). Ibsen died on May 23, 1906.

Ibsen's exposure of corruption in government, the hypocrisy of established religion, and above all the inhumanity and foolishness of the gendered division of the world into masculine and feminine spheres made him a major fighter in the European culture wars of the 1880s and 1890s. Influenced by his wife, Suzannah; his mother-in-law, Magdalene Thoresen, one of the first European women of letters; and his friend the novelist Camilla Collett, the founder of Norwegian feminism, Ibsen became an early champion of women. His rejection of traditional notions of male and female identity allowed him to discover the socialization of sexual identity that now is referred to as gender and investigate women as full moral beings struggling against the norms that define and limit them.

Pillars of Society, whose unfeminine spinster hero exposes the corrupt politics and sexist assumptions of the governing class, gave Ibsen recognition in Europe.

His next play, *A Doll House*, brought him world fame. The play is widely regarded as the most eloquent literary argument for the notion that women, like men, are human beings first and spouses and parents second. At the end of the play the protagonist, Nora Helmer, leaves both her husband and her children as Ibsen identifies the source of her oppression: the ideology of a female nature whose sphere is domestic wifehood and whose essence is maternity. Nora's transformation from her husband's plaything to a person took on mythic status in twentieth-century feminism, and her slamming of the door has become the most famous stage direction in theatrical history. *A Doll House* is Ibsen's most frequently performed play.

One of the greatest literary scandals of the nineteenth century, *A Doll House* was attacked viciously in the press. Ibsen responded with the great tragedy *Ghosts*; "after Nora," he said, "Mrs. Alving had to come" (Templeton 1997, p. 146). Like Nora, Helene Alving leaves her inauthentic marriage, but unlike Nora, she returns home to perform her wifely duty, and the result is a syphilitic son who begs her to help him die. The play's metaphorical title points to the core subject of Ibsen's work: the old, dead ideas and beliefs that return to haunt and plague the living.

Ibsen continued to portray women struggling against cultural expectations in *Rosmersholm*, whose scandalous character Rebecca West provided the British feminist Cicely Fairchild with her pen name; in the more optimistic pendant to *A Doll House*, *The Lady from the Sea*, in which Ellida's husband learns to recognize his wife's autonomy; in *Hedda Gabler*, whose protagonist, like Helene Alving, is trapped in a terrible marriage by her fear of scandal but who

Henrik Ibsen. *Author of* A Doll House. **AP IMAGES.**

chooses death over her meaningless life; and in *When We Dead Awaken*, in which a male artist's discarded muse confronts him about his use of her.

Ibsen's portraits of women struggling to replace instrumentality with autonomy, the most striking manifestation of the playwright's modernity, are among the most prized roles in the world's dramatic repertory.

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Joan Templeton

IDE AND OLIVE

La chanson d'Yde et Olive or *The Song of Ide and Olive* is a late medieval French verse narrative centering on incest, a cross-dressing, transgendered protagonist, female same-sex erotic desire, and a marriage between women. The story is analogous to the Ovidian narrative of *Iphis and Ianthe*. However, it appears in a quite different context as a continuation of the epic poem *Huon de Bordeaux*. Consequently the focus on metamorphosis is subordinated to a preoccupation with genealogy.

The Song of Ide and Olive begins with the flight in male guise of the beautiful Princess Ide from the incestuous desire of her father, the King of Aragon. She eventually enters the service of the emperor in Rome. After performing great feats of bravery, she is knighted and rewarded with the hand of his daughter. After Ide submits to the emperor's command to marry, the couple make love (critics debate the extent to which the relationship is consummated), and, following Ide's revelation that she is a woman, Olive vows to keep Ide's secret and to remain true. Their conversation is unfortunately overheard but they are saved by divine intervention: Ide is miraculously transformed into a man. Olive conceives and gives birth to a son. Ide is crowned emperor and eventually returns to Aragon where he also inherits his father's kingdom.

Within this text, inheritance and class play crucial parts in the construction and containment of transgressive sexualities and gender play. Incest is represented as disrupting patrilineage and thus as threatening the established social order. Florence's behavior is depicted as monstrous and condemned out of hand. In contrast, female cross-dressing and female same-sex desire are presented sympathetically, if not entirely positively. Ide has no choice but to run away and to live in disguise and her success on the battlefield is akin to that of any chivalric hero. In the Old French text, Ide's gender change is signalled by the adoption of the masculine form of her name both by Ide herself and by the narrator. Remarkably, Ide seems to alter in more than just her appearance; her values, attributes, and body metamorphose as well. Olive's desire for the valorous knight (reciprocated by Ide) is unexpected in a medieval context and also troubling but, strikingly, not represented as damnable. Yet, when it becomes evident to the emperor that the union of Ide and Olive cannot produce an heir, the transvestism and amorous relationship between the women become problematic and the narrative reaches a crisis. However, with Ide's transformation, normative gender roles and heterosexual structures reassert themselves.

Later adaptations include: a dramatic adaptation from fourteenth-century Paris; a French prose text produced in 1454 (during Joan of Arc's [1412–1431] rehabilitation) and printed in the early-sixteenth century; and a very close English translation of the French prose text published in the first half of the sixteenth century, twice

reprinted in 1570 and 1601. The existence of these various versions illustrates not only the popularity of the narrative, but also its problematic status, as the adapters and translators develop different strategies to try to resolve the perceived confusions in gender and sexuality and to dispel its subversive potential.

SEE ALSO *Body, Theories of; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender, Theories of; Incest; Manliness; Middle Ages.*

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Diane Watt

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception—the belief that the Virgin Mary was conceived without original sin—was promulgated by Pope Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) in 1854, in the constitution *Ineffabilis Deus*. The declaration states that, "The Most Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first instance of her conception, by a singular privilege and grace granted by God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Savior of the human race, was preserved exempt from all stain of original sin." This statement affirms that Mary, as with all human beings, was redeemed by Christ. It is sometimes said that she was more perfectly redeemed, or that she was preredeemed, insofar as the effects of redemption were active in her from conception, whereas for other Christians, this is believed to occur at baptism. Moreover, whereas Christians continue to sin after baptism, Catholics believe that Mary never sinned.

Belief in Mary's sinlessness has been a common theme since the patristic era, although some early theologians such as Irenaeus (died c. 202), Tertullian (c. 160–c. 220), and John Chrysostom (c. 345–407) did attribute fault to her. A feast of the conception of Mary was celebrated in the Eastern Church in the seventh century, spreading to the West in the eighth century and becoming particularly popular in England. The Solemnity of the Immaculate Conception, celebrated on December 8, was established by Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–1484), but until the nineteenth century, it was not an official doctrine of the Catholic Church and it had long been a topic of theological debate. In the Middle Ages, it was questioned by Thomas Aquinas (1224–1274) and rejected by Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) and St. Bonaventure (1221–1274), whereas it was defended by Franciscans such as William of Ware (fl. 1270–1300) and John Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308). Both Protestants and Orthodox Christians reject the doctrine.

Protestants argue that, as with other Catholic beliefs about Mary, the Immaculate Conception lacks scriptural justification and denies the unique sinlessness of Christ. The Orthodox Church affirms the sinlessness of Mary but generally does not accept the doctrine of original sin—the belief that sin is an inherited condition of the human race as a consequence of the fall. Thus Mary is not exceptional in being conceived without original sin, although as Mother of God she is uniquely holy and remains sinless throughout her life.

The idea that every human except Mary (and of course Christ) is conceived in a state of sin has been questioned by many modern Christians, although its themes of primal alienation and conflict resonate with Freudian psychoanalytic theory in positing a fundamental malaise at the heart of the human psyche. However, the Orthodox Church offers a more positive anthropology, with redemption constituting not so much rescue from a state of sin as the bringing to perfection of the human condition, so that Mary is the human in whom this perfection is fully realized.

From the perspective of the Christian understanding of woman, there are different ways of interpreting the Immaculate Conception. When John Henry Newman (1801–1890) wrote in defense of the Immaculate

Conception, he argued that Eve, as had Mary, had been created without original sin. This might invite an interpretation of the Immaculate Conception as the restoration of womankind in Mary to the state of perfection intended by God in the beginning (Beattie 2002, pp. 170–172). However, the idea that Mary is free from the "stain" of original sin could be seen as reinforcing a sense that the natural condition of women is one of sinfulness and pollution (Daly 1984, pp. 102–116).

The Immaculate Conception is often confused with the Virgin Birth, but in fact, the Catholic Church has always taught that Mary was sexually conceived. Although medieval writers were sometimes at pains to suggest that this was a religious duty undertaken by her parents, in the early twenty-first century it might invite a more positive interpretation as the sanctification of sexual love. In the changing iconography of the Immaculate Conception, Mary's parents, Anne and Joachim, were portrayed in the Middle Ages in an image known as the Embrace at the Golden Gate, depicting an exquisite scene of marital love. It is sometimes argued that the Marian tradition offers no positive symbol of female sexuality, but St. Anne might potentially be seen as an image of female sexual sanctity.

In the work of seventeenth-century Spanish artists such as Diego Velazquez (1599–1660) and Bartoleme Esteban Murillo (1617–1682), the emergence of the idealized young woman more familiar to modern viewers is seen (Stratton 1994). In 1858, four years after the promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, Bernadette Soubirous (1844–1879) claimed to witness an apparition of a young woman who declared herself to be the Immaculate Conception at Lourdes, France. Since then Lourdes has been a major site of Marian pilgrimage, and Bernadette's vision of a beautiful young woman in a white dress with a blue sash has become the dominant image of Mary in modern Catholic art and devotion.

Feminist writers have tended to be critical of the Immaculate Conception, but as in all areas of Marian theology, this is a doctrine that is likely to acquire new interpretative possibilities as it becomes the focus of reflection for those informed by insights from contemporary theology and gender theory. The Marian theologian Sarah Jane Boss has suggested an interpretation that identifies the Immaculate Conception with the primal Chaos, bringing a new environmental and feminist consciousness to bear on the ancient belief that sees Mary as the beginning of a new creation (Boss 2004). The doctrine of the Assumption, promulgated by Pope Pius XII (r. 1939–1958) in 1950, signifies the culmination of Mary's earthly life when she is bodily incorporated into the resurrection alongside Christ. At a time when the Roman Catholic Church is increasingly divided about the symbolic significance of the female body, these two papal doctrines might well be a potent resource for those who want to argue that the female body is created, redeemed, and sanctified by God in a way that makes its sacramental significance equal to that of the male body in all aspects of the Church's life.

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Tina Beattie

IMPOTENCY

Impotency, or the state of being impotent, is a condition that prevents males from maintaining an erection throughout the sex act. Culturally, it has acquired the connotation of a general inability to have sex, particularly to carry a sex act to completion. Because the medical condition of impotence does not necessarily imply that ejaculation is impossible, the term largely has been replaced in medical discourse with *erectile dysfunction* (first used in 1974 by H.S. Kaplan in *The New Sex Therapy*), which treats erectile ability rather than ejaculatory ability as the central issue. Although the medical difference between the terms is minimal, they differ greatly in regard to cultural significance. In nonmedical usage impotence often means a general lack of ability or effectiveness, a lack of strength or virility, a condition of weakness or powerlessness. The fundamental qualities of masculinity in essence are negated by impotence. Impotence is the negatively valued aspect of the metaphorical connection between a man's sexual ability and his general agency in society.

CAUSES AND CURES

The most common physiological causes of erectile dysfunction are diabetes and vascular disease, although there are many other contributing factors, including neurological malfunction, inflammation, and drug use; these conditions may cause or worsen other conditions. When

there is a gradual onset of erectile dysfunction, it is likely to be physiological in origin, but when there is a sudden onset, the cause is often psychological. The availability and aggressive marketing of medications to treat erectile dysfunction beginning in the 1990s has contributed to the general belief that the condition is primarily physiological. Medical data suggest, however, that 50 percent of cases probably are psychological in origin and thus are unlikely to respond to pharmacological treatment except when there is a placebo effect. It is unclear how many men whose symptoms persist in spite of medication seek further attention, although the assumption is that many do not.

Before the use of oral medications, treatment for impotence or erectile dysfunction was complicated and invasive. In the 1970s the first penile prostheses or implants were introduced. Although effective, they require surgery as well as manual control, such as inflation with a pump, and often produce an erection that is noticeably artificial in that it is excessively rigid, with little of the pliability or flexibility typical of erections (Wand and Lewis 2001). In the 1980s intracorporal injections were developed to aid erection and, although generally effective, were never a popular choice with patients. They were inconvenient, requiring injection no more than twenty minutes before intercourse, and many patients who injected themselves complained of pain in the penis (Shabsigh 2001). Later in the 1980s vacuum pumps were introduced. They had fewer negative side effects but were less reliably able to produce a lasting erection and all but eliminated the possibility of spontaneity in sexual activity. All these treatments are focused on the treatment of a physiological inability to achieve or maintain an erection and do not take into account the possibility of psychological causes of sexual dysfunction.

Some work has been done to identify common problems in men who have erectile dysfunction, such as Levine and Althof's (1991) three-part schema of contributory problems: performance anxiety, antecedent life changes such as divorce and bereavement, and developmental vulnerabilities. Little progress has been made in treating conditions that arise from those problems, however, and it generally is recognized that research on psychological causes is far behind research on physiological ones.

FRIGIDITY

Like most sex-based conditions, impotence has a counterpart in female sexual function. Frigidity is defined as a severe aversion to sexual activity or the inability to achieve orgasm during intercourse. Although similar in some respects to impotence, it is linked specifically to the pleasure obtained from sexual activity, whereas impotence is understood as the inability to engage in or sustain a sexual act. In simplistic terms, frigidity is linked to desire and impotence is linked to physical function. This division, however, ignores the possibility of male sexual function being linked to desire; it assumes an omnipresent desire for sexual activity in males that is not related to their ability to function sexually.

THE HISTORY OF IMPOTENCE

Impotence historically has been understood as a physical problem: In ancient Greece the penis was thought to inflate with air during erection, and the inability to achieve or maintain an erection was thought to be linked to that process. During the Renaissance the problem was believed to be related to the musculature of the penis (Zorgniotti and Lizza 1991). Although impotence had cultural significance, attempts to explain the condition medically guaranteed that the connection between the physical condition and ideas of masculinity were understood as metaphorical in nature.

In the late nineteenth century the practice of urology developed, placing the study of impotence in the purview of medical professionals. However, early urology largely connected impotence with gonorrheal infection and excessive masturbation, thus figuring it as a preventable condition acquired through personal behavior. The public fascination with the work of Sigmund Freud in the early twentieth century changed the nature of many sexually based conditions in public discourse. Complicated psychological concepts such as the Oedipus complex were simplified for mass consumption and generally were misunderstood. One result was that impotence became linked primarily to issues of identity and masculinity; the metaphorical connection between the condition and the overall maleness of the individual became much more concrete. Although medical research on impotence progressed rapidly after World War II, the popular belief that impotence is fundamentally an issue of masculinity ensured that it rarely was discussed publicly and that an individual would be unlikely to admit to being impotent.

Impotence was repathologized in the late twentieth century, emerging under the name *erectile dysfunction*. That term came into common parlance in the early 1990s, when sildenafil began to be marketed under the brand name Viagra as a treatment for the condition. The availability of a pharmacological treatment allowed for the understanding of impotence as being based in pathology, a dysfunction of the body outside the control of the individual. It thus became a neutrally valued condition rather than a source of shame or embarrassment. The marketing campaign targeted primarily middle-aged men and used the former Senate majority leader and presidential candidate Bob Dole as a spokesperson.

Culturally, Dole was perceived as asexual: He was a man of advanced years, was partially physically disabled from a wound sustained during World War II, and occupied a position of respect in the U.S. government. His power was substantial yet was completely outside the realm of the sexual. By appearing in advertisements for Viagra, Dole established himself as a sexual entity and even gained respect in that arena. By extension, middle-aged men who received treatment for erectile dysfunction became seen as reclaiming virility at an age when it was unexpected. A kind of prowess was indicated by the desire to have sex even when that desire was not matched with the ability to do so. Viagra and other similar medications have become commonly used recreational drugs; although this has not been proved medically, they are thought to enhance sexual function in individuals who do not have erectile dysfunction.

Although taking medication to combat erectile dysfunction has become both possible and fashionable, little attention is paid to the fact that a great many cases are not physical in nature and thus not treatable with pharmaceuticals. Nonpathological conditions, that is, those requiring psychological treatment, remain negatively valued and are usually what is meant by the use of the word *impotence*. The term *erectile dysfunction* is used almost exclusively to refer to medically treated conditions. If it is treatable medically, the condition is seen as one of the body and its failures but is not linked in any specific way with identity. When the cause is not pathological, impotence is linked symbolically to the nature of masculinity and therefore is stigmatized. The vast majority of medical literature acknowledges the possibility of psychogenic causes of impotence but does not offer any particular treatment or course of action when this is the case. Instead, the most common organic causes of erectile dysfunction (diabetes and vascular disease) are discussed at length. Even studies that propose taking a patient history that might help evaluate psychogenic causes indicate that the answers given "are by no means completely reliable but only suggestive" (Lakin 1988, p. 28). Thus, even when a psychogenic cause is indicated, doctors are encouraged to be suspicious of those findings.

CHANGES IN THE DISCOURSE

In the post-Viagra era the discourse surrounding the condition changed. The primary shift was in terminology, from *impotence* to *erectile dysfunction*. The renaming of the condition effectively released it from its negative connotations, allowing it to be discussed openly between doctor and patient without embarrassment. At the same time the range of sexual activities associated with erectile dysfunction and impotence expanded in scope. The conditions had been understood almost exclusively as an

inability to complete vaginal intercourse with a woman. Later they were recognized as an inability to maintain an erection until orgasm regardless of the specific sexual act or the sex of the partner.

SEE ALSO *Frigidity.*

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INANNA-ISHTAR

The goddess in Mesopotamia who embodied sexuality in all its aspects was known as Inanna (in the Sumerian language) and Ishtar (in the Akkadian language). Inanna/Ishtar was the manifestation of sex and eroticism—bride of brides, solace of married women, and patron of prostitutes.

It is difficult to evaluate when Inanna was first linked with sexuality. In the fourth millennium BCE, Inanna was primarily venerated as the planet Venus. Her two epithets *morning* and *evening* describe the two manifestations of the goddess, one shining in the morning and one in the evening. Her dyadic character stemmed from her bipolar astral disposition, which incorporated all extremes of behavior in her complex personality. Thus, over time, she became both the beautiful goddess of love, sexuality, and sexual behavior, and the power hungry goddess of war and violence.

By the latter part of the third millennium BCE, 'Ashtar (the earliest form of Ishtar) was invoked in

Inanna-Ishtar. *A terra-cotta relief of Inanna-Ishtar.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/CHRISTIES/EILEEN TWEEDY.**

Akkadian love incantations. This aspect became preeminent in the Sumerian corpus of love lyrics from the Neo-Sumerian period (c. 2112–2004). The theme of this corpus is the love between the young maiden goddess Inanna and the shepherd god Dumuzi as the archetypal bride and groom.

SEXUAL IDENTITY

The sexual identity of this goddess is controversial. In one late text, Ishtar says of herself: "I am a woman, I am a man." Ishtar could be viewed as a beautiful goddess of love who rules the day and as a bearded god(dess) of war who rules the night. It is claimed that the androgyny of Inanna/Ishtar provided a powerful symbol of the ambiguities of pure sexuality reflected in her cult, and in the transvestism of her cultic personnel (Groneberg 1986).

It is not so clear, however, that Inanna (in contrast to Ishtar) had male or androgynous features. In Sumerian poetry, the goddess repeatedly lauds her own sexual beauty, both in lyric song and mythic narratives. Inanna sings: "These [my] female genitals, . . . my moored boat of heaven, clothed in beauty like the new crescent

moon. . . . this high well-watered field of mine: my own female genitals, the maiden's, a well-watered opened-up mound—who will be their ploughman?" (Dumuzi-Inanna Song P, ii 16–26).

In the first millennium BCE, the two appearances of Venus were attributed to two distinct sexual manifestations: As morning star, Venus was female; as evening star, male. The two aspects are said to correspond to the double character of Inanna/Ishtar as goddess of love and war. Among the thousand prayers, hymns and references to her, there are only scattered mentions of a bearded form of Ishtar among the overwhelming evidence that she was female. In his hymn to Ishtar of Nineveh, Ashurbanipal, the king of Assyria (r. 668–627 BCE), describes her as "Like the god Ashur, she wears a beard" (line 7). Ishtar of Babylon is once described as bearded and male. The question is whether Ishtar has a completely separate male manifestation or not. The references to her beard may allude to an astronomical phenomenon because her star, Venus, also has a beard. On the other hand, in Semitic cities, such as Mari, in the third millennium, there were several 'Ashtar manifestations, of which one was a male. Ishtar has been considered androgynous because even in her male role she never becomes fully male, but seems to be a female with male gender characteristics. She is nevertheless always referred to as female with feminine grammatical agreement.

GENDER IDENTITY

Inanna and Ishtar assumed various gender roles. The proper gender role of Inanna is a theme in various Sumerian narratives. For instance,

> "But why did you treat me, the woman, in an exceptional manner? I am holy Inanna—where are my functions?"
>
> Enki answered his daughter, holy Inanna: "How have I disparaged you? Goddess, . . . How can I enhance you? . . . I made you speak as a woman with pleasant voice. I made you go forth [——] I covered [——] with a garment. I made you exchange its right side and its left side. I clothed you in garments of women's power. I put women's speech in your mouth. I placed in your hands the spindle and the hairpin. I [——] to you women's adornment. I settled on you the staff and the crook, with the shepherd's stick [symbols of kingship] beside them."
>
> *(Enki and the World Order, 422–436)*

The feminine gender roles served by Inanna/Ishtar run the spectrum of possibilities: young girl and bride, wife and mother, prostitute, and mistress.

In the Sumerian love poetry concerning Dumuzi's courtship of Inanna, Inanna is portrayed as a young

woman, with her teenage enthusiasms, passionate love, and sexual yearnings for her beloved. Compositions in which the king takes the role of Dumuzi probably had their cultic context in the "sacred marriage" rituals. The royal sobriquet "spouse of Inanna" and the royal love songs for the divine bride are hallmarks of Sumerian kingship.

When Sumerian theologians organized the gods into families, they placed Inanna as a mother of other deities, although her maternity was of no real consequence. The father of the children is not Dumuzi, and her sons play no role in her mythology or worship. In the second millennium and later, however, ordinary individuals appealing to her for clemency addressed her as "mother."

Further, one hymn puts these words into the mouth of Inanna: "When I sit in the alehouse, I am a woman, and I am an exuberant young man. When I am present at a place of quarrelling, I am a woman, a perfect figure. When I sit by the gate of the tavern, I am a prostitute familiar with the penis; the friend of a man, the girlfriend of a woman" (*Inanna Hymn* I 16–22).

CULT OF INANNA/ISHTAR

The festivals of this goddess involved reversals in categories of age, status, and sex. As articulated in one Sumerian hymn to Inanna:

> Inanna was entrusted by Enlil and Ninlil with the capacity to gladden the heart of those who revere her, . . . to turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man, to change one into the other, to make young women dress as young men on their right side, to make young men dress as young women on their left side, to put spindles into the hands of men [——] and to give weapons to the women; to see that women amuse themselves by using children's language, to see that children amuse themselves by using women's language.

> *("Hymn to Inanna for Ishme-Dagan" 19–25)*

The chief participants and actors in the goddess's cult are well known by name but of uncertain sexual identity. These religious officiants may represent the undefined sexless characters who occur in mythic tales concerning Inanna and Ishtar, although gender ambiguity often has religious connotations. While it is known that these cultic functionaries dressed in distinctive garments and adorned their hair and body in certain peculiar manners, their physical and mental constitution are uncertain. They could have been born with physical abnormalities, such as hermaphrodites, or emasculated into physically castrated persons, or they could have been persons whose mental sexual identity was androgynous, such as transvestites. It is also possible that the inversion of their sexual identity and/or gender roles was main-

tained only in the performance of rituals. Through symbolic inversion, such beliefs and rituals provided a context for the resolution of conflicts often associated with gender roles and gender identity.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship.*

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INCEST

Incest refers to the category of sexual relations that occur between kin or family members. A concept that distinguishes this category of sexual relations is found in every culture, and is generally accompanied by moral and legal prohibitions. Family and kin structures differ across cultures, however, and the specific relations considered incestuous similarly vary over place and time. For example, even within the United States, the marriage of a man and woman who are first cousins is legally permitted in some states, but receives civil sanction in a second group of states, and criminal sanction

in a third (Bittles 2005). There is inconsistency between states in the treatment of uncle–niece marriages as well (Carmichael 1997). In Arab Muslim culture, marriage between first cousins is preferred rather than prohibited, and the incest taboo extends even to those considered related through the milk of a wet nurse and her husband (Héritier 1999). Many Asian and European societies consider marriage between first cousins as acceptable. An anthropological perspective looking across cultures around the globe reveals an even more confusingly complex array of differing incest taboo systems. Among tribal peoples, the clan structure, rather than the nuclear or extended family, determines which marriages or sexual unions are prohibited by the incest taboo. Matrilineal and patrilineal systems of reckoning lineage produce different results.

For a century before feminist research shifted the main focus of attention, scholarship on incest engaged in documenting this cultural variability in how incest prohibitions regulate marriages. It also offered several hypotheses to explain, on the one hand, the universality of what came to be called the incest taboo and, on the other hand, the rare but significant culturally accepted breaches of the taboo to be found in the anthropological and historical records. Questions and debates dealt primarily with whether the origin of the incest taboo is biological or cultural, with what function the incest taboo serves in relation to the family and society, and with what social meanings are conveyed through ritualized breaches of the taboo (usually by members of royalty).

Feminist researchers introduced a dramatic shift in focus during the 1970s and 1980s. They began examining an issue that no one seriously addressed previously, that is, the harm done to the children, most often to female children, who are victims of incestuous sexual abuse. Scholars had previously concluded that incidents of sexual abuse of children by their parents or other close relatives were extremely rare in all societies. Consequently the issue of harm to victims was not seen as important. It had not attracted the attention of those whose interest was in the prohibition, more than the practice, of incest. But feminist scholars paid attention to the practice. They listened to the voices of adult women who came forward with accounts of their own childhood experiences of incest and other forms of sexual abuse. They initiated research projects to attempt to measure the extent of incestuous sexual abuse of children, to explain why it exists (in Western cultural contexts, at least), to identify risk factors for its occurrence, to document its harmful consequences in both psychological and sociological terms, and to promote healing strategies for victims and prevention strategies for social policy.

Since the 1980s, research on all these aspects of incest has become extensive. While findings are not uniform, this extensive research has firmly established much higher prevalence rates in Western societies than was previously appreciated. It has explored the relevance of such factors as sex, culturally defined gender roles, and sexual orientation. It has also verified feminist scholars' assertion of definitive harm, and has begun to assess the effectiveness of particular therapeutic and preventative programs put in place to address the harm.

PREVALENCE RATES AND RISK FACTORS

Calculations of prevalence rates vary greatly, reflecting the variety in methods and definitions used by researchers as well as the nature of the sample groups studied, and the response rates obtained. Often incest is subsumed under the broader category of child sexual abuse, making reliable statistical data specifically for incest difficult to obtain. "Table 2. Sexual Abuse in 20 Countries: Prevalence Rates and Proportion Intrafamily Abuse," supplied by a preeminent expert in the field of child abuse, David Finkelhor (1994, p. 412), provides a useful and reasonable basis for roughly estimating incest levels in the general sexual abuse data that are more readily available. In using this table, however, it should be recognized that, though international in scope, the table represents only countries that are predominantly Caucasian, Western, and Christian. Finkelhor points out that data from African, Middle Eastern, or East Asian countries are not included because no equivalent epidemiological studies for them were available, though he cites preliminary studies suggesting that extensive sexual abuse does also occur in non-Western regions, such as in western and southern Africa and in China. Furthermore, child prostitution is well documented in the Philippines, Thailand, and Sri Lanka, and child pornography, including incestuous content, has global reach on the Internet. Child sexual abuse, including incest, is probably an international problem, not an exclusively Western one. Nonetheless, as Finkelhor's table illustrates, the bulk of the research on incestuous child abuse has been conducted in Western cultural settings.

The numbers available in 1994 illustrate clearly not only that incest is a problem of significant proportions but also that girls are more likely than boys to experience both sexual abuse and incestuous abuse. In the United States, figures produced by subsequent studies continue to reveal sexual identity as the most important risk factor. Frank W. Putnam (2003) states: "Community samples typically range from 12% to 35% of women and 4% to 9% of men reporting an unwanted sexual experience prior to age 18 years" (p. 270). Putnam rates girls at "about 2.5 to 3 times higher risk than boys" (p. 270) to

experience child sexual abuse, although the higher ratio for girls is reduced in the case of children with disabilities, such as blindness, deafness, and mental retardation. Socioeconomic status, another identified risk factor, has been shown to have less impact on rates of sexual abuse than it has on rates of physical abuse and neglect of children. Race and ethnicity appear to be insignificant risk factors for sexual abuse, although there is some evidence in the United States to suggest that Latina girls experience more serious emotional and behavioral consequences than white or African-American girls (Putnam 2003).

Studies of family patterns and parental personality traits in cases of incestuous families present a complex, even conflicting picture (Faust, Runyon, and Kenny 1995). Caution is advisable in making generalizations about risk factors in relation to family dynamics even within the Western cultural context. For example, whereas most studies identify much greater risk for girls living with stepfathers than with biological fathers, others show that biological fathers are more likely than stepfathers to engage in full sexual intercourse with their daughters. Moreover, families categorized as displaying higher levels of morality and religiosity, labeled as conservative-fundamentalist Christian families, have been reported as showing higher rates of sexual abuse by biological fathers than by stepfathers.

A high level of religiosity might appear to be contradictory as a variable contributing to family-related risk factors, because laws prohibiting incest in Western culture have a religious derivation, sometimes even incorporating biblical excerpts virtually verbatim. As Calum M. Carmichael (1997) observes, the incest rules in the Bible, particularly those set out in Leviticus 18 and 20 "have had greater effect on Western law than any comparable body of biblical rules" (p. 1). Close analysis of the biblical text reveals, however, that there is no explicit prohibition of father–daughter incest addressed to the father. The text addresses "the child of a family as though he, or she, would be the instigator of an incestuous liaison" (p. 7). Carmichael explains this and other apparent anomalies in the biblical text (such as the prohibition of sexual relations between half-siblings, but not full siblings, and the taboo against nephew–aunt relations but not uncle–niece relations). His interpretation posits that the lawgiver was writing in response to earlier biblical narratives, not setting out a list in abstraction. The earlier biblical narratives include the story of Lot and his daughters (Genesis 19) in which it is clear that the daughters took the initiative, consequently "the lawgiver has not bothered to look at the offense in terms of a father's initiative" (Carmichael 1997, p. 25). Whatever the merits of Carmichael's explanation for the absence of an explicit directive to the father, that significant absence

leaves a loophole for the legalistically minded father who chooses to interpret the Bible literally, as people with higher levels of religiosity are more likely to do. Furthermore, for many centuries in Western culture, traditional Christianity has promoted the patriarchal precept that daughters are the property of their fathers, leaving persistent notions of fathers having supreme rights within conservative religious families especially, and society generally.

Several feminist authors have analyzed the profound impact of patriarchal religion in this respect (Rush 1980, Herman 1981, Russell 1986). One survivor of father–daughter incest that began when she was very young writes revealingly about how religion may also function as a risk factor when viewed from the perspective of the child.

Sylvia Fraser (1987) recalls how, as a child being molested by her father, she heard God say: "You've been dirty, go naked!" just as, according to her understanding at the time, God had said to Adam and Eve, "You've been bad, go naked!" (pp. 4 and 8). For a long time she was too fearful God would strike her dead to allow herself even to think that she hated her father for his actions. Thus religion may, in effect, compound the child's vulnerability and powerlessness in addition to buttressing the father's power and sense of right. Conservative religious families also tend to follow more rigid gender roles, meaning that fathers are not involved in child care, and lack of paternal involvement in child care has been identified as a familial pattern that functions as a risk factor on its own.

PERPETRATORS

Perpetrators of incest have been studied much less than victims. Nevertheless, the fact that perpetrators are overwhelmingly male is commonly reiterated. Furthermore, the proportion of men who commit child sexual abuse is estimated to be substantial. In a 1987 address to a symposium on child sexual abuse, titled "New Myths about Child Sexual Abuse," Finkelhor cited a U.S. study reporting that 10 percent of men, under conditions of anonymity, admitted to molesting a child. Finkelhor and others argue from facts such as these that sociological rather than psychological analyses are required in order to explain the scope of the phenomenon. Specifically, explanations for the sexual abuse of children by men should be sought in the processes by which boys are socialized to become masculine. Finkelhor outlines three such socialization processes that may be problematic. First, boys may be deprived too early of adequate nurturing, which they are permitted to seek subsequently only through sex, thus leading them to sexualize the expression of their emotions of caring. Later, as fathers, engaging in

the nurturing of their own children tends to evoke these sexual feelings. Second, males are raised to be attracted to females who are younger, smaller, and less powerful, but this is also a category into which children of both sexes readily fall. Third, because men were socialized to leave childhood behind before they were emotionally ready to do so, they have more difficulty relating to the child within themselves and consequently have more difficulty identifying with a child's point of view. This difficulty is exacerbated by child-rearing practices typical of patriarchal cultures because they discourage men's involvement in child care due to the rigid separation of gender roles.

Support for the idea that incestuous fathers have difficulty identifying with a child's point of view is found in a study that explored and compared how fathers and daughters who had an incestuous relationship interpreted their experiences. The fathers frequently "either misread the children's responses or were unable to see, sense or feel their discomfort, pain and distress emanating from the incest" (Phelan 1995, p. 16). Many thought the daughters did not know what was happening because they were asleep, and half believed that the daughters enjoyed the experience. The daughters, by contrast, reported feeling very confused initially, then later feeling guilty for not understanding right away that what was happening was wrong and for not taking immediate action to stop it. They also tended to disbelieve and deny what had happened.

Mother–son incest is the rarest form of incest reported. It has not been studied nearly as extensively as father–daughter incest or brother–sister incest. Studies that have been done usually focus on the forms of sexual abuse that mothers commit, which tend to be more subtle and less intrusive, and on the long-term psychosocial outcomes for men, which are harmful nonetheless, apparently more harmful than father–son incest outcomes (Kelly et al. 2002). But the much lower prevalence rates of incest committed by mothers and other female relatives have not elicited sociological hypotheses for this behavior such as exist to explain the behavior of male perpetrators. The behavior of female perpetrators tends to be treated on a more individualized basis. Because the number of non-offending mothers who fail to protect their children from incestuous abuse is much larger than the number of mothers who are themselves perpetrators, the behavior of non-offending mothers has received more attention and theorization. Early feminist analyses often perceived such mothers as the stereotypically passive and powerless female who has been socialized through patriarchal culture to succumb readily to the domination of a controlling male partner, or as someone who is so preoccupied with her own problems, such as ill health or addictions, that she is emotionally unavailable to her children.

INTERPRETATIONS OF HARM

When feminist scholars first drew attention to the issue of harm caused by incest, they interpreted the higher proportion of female over male victims, and the higher proportion of male over female perpetrators, as evidence that incest functions as a poorly recognized but meaningful part of the prevailing patriarchal social structure. It was seen as an expression or enactment of the cultural belief that males are entitled to have access to female bodies for sexual gratification. It was also seen as a particularly potent means by which compliance and passivity are fostered in females. Earlier scholars had argued that the taboo against incest functions to preserve generational distinctions within the family, which are necessary for the successful socialization of the next generation of children and a stable society. By contrast, feminist scholars maintained that the practice of incest functions to socialize girls into their inferior and sexualized status within a specifically patriarchal social hierarchy.

In advancing their interpretations, feminist scholars such as the psychiatrist Judith Lewis Herman (1981) had to challenge several prevailing professional beliefs. As mentioned above, it was believed that actual incest was exceedingly rare (one case in a million was the accepted estimate). It was also widely accepted that reports of childhood incestuous experiences by psychiatric clients were merely fantasies arising from the child's own incestuous desires. This belief was based on the highly influential psychoanalytic theories that Sigmund Freud had proposed at the end of the nineteenth century, which still dominated clinical practice in the 1970s. The social climate of the women's movement during the 1970s and 1980s, when topics such as rape and physical violence against women were receiving unprecedented public attention, probably made it easier for greater numbers of women who had been child incest victims to speak out and challenge more forcefully than had previously been possible the Freudian paradigm relegating incest to the realm of fantasy.

The intellectual climate was changing during these decades as well. This is when the new interdisciplinary field of women's studies established itself. One of its methodological principles was to treat women's experience, not accepted theory about women, as the starting point for research. In such a climate, researchers were able for the first time to treat girls' and women's memories of their own experiences of incest as authentic, not mere fantasy, and thus worthy of study. Researchers who respected victim reports of harm from incest had to contend, however, with yet another obstacle: Some people were prepared to acknowledge that incest occurs, but not that it causes harm. Evidence of harm from incest that had been recorded in earlier studies on sexual behavior was

suppressed (Herman 1981). Moreover, there was also a vocal pro-incest lobby, as it was called, which published in both scholarly and popular venues, including pornographic magazines. Its proponents argued that whatever psychological harm children may suffer from incest results from the surrounding puritanical cultural attitudes, not from the incest itself.

Despite occasional reports claiming no evidence of harm, most studies in subsequent decades have confirmed a vast range of significant psychological, physiological, and psychosocial harms caused by childhood sexual abuse and incest. They have repeatedly demonstrated that the severity of harm caused by incest increases in relation to the closeness of the relative who perpetrates the abuse, the earlier the age at which the abuse begins, the length of time it continues, the intrusiveness of the abuse, and the degree of force the perpetrator uses. Researchers, therapists, and survivors alike all emphasize that healing is possible (Fraser 1987, Hunter 1990). Indeed, most children who experience incest will not end up seeking clinical assistance. Nonetheless, a lengthy list of symptoms has been identified as significantly correlated with childhood incest experience. These include fear, anxiety, depression, anger, hostility, aggression, precocious and ritualistic sexualized behavior in preadolescence, compulsive sexual behavior and sexual dysfunctions in adulthood, compulsive eating disorders, low self-esteem, self-defeating behaviors, drug and alcohol abuse, self-mutilation, difficulties with intimate personal relations, and in the more severe cases dissociation, multiple personality disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, and suicide. Neurobiological outcomes identified in some investigations include "deleterious effects on the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis (HPA), the sympathetic nervous system, and possibly the immune system" (Putnam 2003, p. 272).

Incest has also been found to be a risk factor for a number of problems that affect both individuals and society. Victims of incest are more susceptible to subsequent revictimization and are at increased risk for additional sexual assaults and sexual harassment. They are more likely to be upset by requests to enact pornography, and to be asked to pose for it as well (Russell and Trocki 1993). They show greater inclination toward antisocial and violent behaviors, including sexual assault against others. They are also more likely to enter prostitution and other sex trade work. And they have a higher risk of perpetuating the cycle of incest through abuse of the next generation.

There are significant similarities and differences in how these symptoms are expressed and experienced by males and females. For example, whereas both males and females may exhibit compulsive sexual behaviors, under cultural conditions in which a double standard is applied to sexual behavior, girls and women tend to suffer more social stigma than boys and men suffer for behavior labeled promiscuous. Efforts that a woman makes to cope with childhood incest, such as emotional numbing and mechanisms of dissociation, may result as well in equipping her with skills that are needed for work in the sex trade, thus increasing the likelihood she will choose such work. A man, on the other hand, may seek the services of sex workers because he is unable to function sexually with the woman with whom he has developed a strong emotional attachment. Men tend to become more inclined toward incestuous abuse of their own children in turn, whereas women tend to become emotionally distant as mothers, struggling with depression, addiction, or tendencies to withdraw from intimate relations, thus increasing by their absence the vulnerability of their children to sexual abuse by others. On the other hand, both men and women display similar rates of depression. Both also become seemingly vainly preoccupied with their physical appearance in the belief that their body is all that other people value in them. Most research focuses on female victims, given their greater number, but the therapist Mic Hunter (1990) maintains that male victims may actually be more susceptible than females to dissociation because boys are also socialized to ignore their feelings. Hunter also argues that men and women need different therapeutic approaches in recovering from sexual abuse: "Men in particular need to be taught that the expression of anger need not be associated with violence nor the expression of sadness with weakness" (p. 126).

While studies continue to highlight the proportionally greater victimization of girls, most scholars suggest that the rate for boys is underreported. Explanations for underreporting of male victims of incest generally implicate cultural norms of masculinity and heterosexuality. Boys are taught to suppress their emotions rather than disclose them. In a patriarchal culture, it is seen as unmanly to be a victim, especially the victim of a woman. Furthermore, the culture categorizes stories about teenage boys seduced by older women as comical rather than tragic or abusive. Boys are expected to eagerly welcome and enjoy such an experience, so they feel confused themselves about their own masculinity when they do not enjoy it, and become even less inclined to divulge the experience as harmful (Hunter 1990). The same attitude means males are taken less seriously by others if they do report suffering sexual abuse by an older female. Among those men who have reported mother–son incest, it was discovered that those who remember the experience as positive were more likely, not less, to suffer psychosocial adjustment problems than those who remembered it as a negative experience (Kelly et al. 2002). This finding suggests that denial of negative emotions by men may

be prompted by cultural expectations about normal masculine sexuality and may be a contributing factor to the psychological harm that men suffer from incest with a female perpetrator.

Furthermore, for boys, norms of masculinity are compounded by cultural attitudes concerning heterosexuality and homosexuality. The boy who does not enjoy a sexual experience with his mother or aunt or other female caretaker figure is likely to wonder whether this means he is homosexual. If the abuser was male, as is more often the case, the boy tends to wonder if he was targeted because he appears homosexual. In either case, once again, the boy's heterosexually oriented masculinity is called into question, increasing the probability that he will not choose to disclose the experience, however painfully experienced. He may also display violently homophobic behavior toward homosexuals in an attempt to prove his own heterosexual masculinity. If the boy is homosexual, on the other hand, he may confuse abusive sexuality with homosexuality, and interpret the older male's behavior as helping the boy to recognize his own sexual orientation rather than as child molestation (Hunter 1990). Cultural condemnation of homosexuality thus sets the stage for homosexual boy victims to feel it is necessary to protect and defend their male abusers rather than report them. Lower reported rates of male victims of incest may also result from the fact that "mental health professionals rarely ask adult males about childhood sexual abuse" and the likelihood that the older boys tend to end up in the "criminal justice or substance abuse treatment systems" rather than in psychiatric samples (Putnam 2003, p. 270).

Scholars interested in psychological, physiological, and psychosocial aspects of harm from incest pay the most attention to issues of sex and gender. Scholars concerned with biological harm, that is, harm to progeny through inbreeding, nonetheless have a few pertinent observations to add. For example, Arthur P. Wolf (2005) argues that, contrary to common assumption, human males have evolved to be as sensitive as females to the sexually inhibiting effects that normally result from attachment bonds forged in close association and caretaking during infancy and early childhood. Wolf therefore concurs with Mark T. Erickson (2005) and others that, as mentioned previously, cultural change to involve fathers much more in child care would probably be one effective remedy for the incest problem in Western culture.

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INFANTICIDE

Infanticide entails actions that result in the death of an infant of the same species. Several species commit infanticide, including birds (e.g., skuas and egrets) and mammals (e.g., gerbils, wild stallions, Serengeti lions, and primates such as langurs, gorillas, and humans). Among species other than humans, infanticide is usually carried out by an invading male to increase his reproductive chances by eliminating the young of a rival male so as to force the female to mate with him. Among humans, infanticide may range from deliberate to not fully conscious actions that result in the death of a child typically less than twelve months of age. The age may vary, however, depending on cultural notions of when the life of a child begins. The term *neonaticide* is frequently used when an infant is killed on the day of its birth, while the term *filicide* is used for the killing of a child (particularly below the age of six years) by one or both parents.

Infanticide has existed throughout human history in different parts of the world, although its form, the motivating factors, and the circumstances surrounding it have varied. The Greeks, Romans, British, French, Inuit (Canada and North America), Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Tikopia of Polynesia, !Kung of the Kalahari, Yanomama of Venezuela and Brazil, and Bariba of Benin have all engaged in it in constant patterns. Infanticide can be traced to the ancient world in the Mediterranean basin, among other locations. It persisted in western Europe during the Middle Ages; although in some cases infanticide was considered a crime, prosecutions were extremely rare and penalties were minor. In parts of Asia (particularly India and China) the practice of female infanticide has continued into the twenty-first century because of a combination of cultural, social, economic, and political factors. Female infanticide usually happens in patrilineal, patrilocal, and patriarchal cultures in which there is a strong preference for males and devaluation of females. In India and China female infanticide has contributed to a significant imbalance in the ratio of males to females.

Among other reasons, infanticide has been used as: a method of family size control; a mechanism for regulating the population; a means to manipulate the sex ratio for personal, economic, cultural, and social ends; a response to the shame and fear of ostracism when pregnancy and birth have resulted from violation of norms;

and a reaction to a cost–benefit analysis of the value for male and female offspring (Caldwell and Caldwell 2005, Dickeman 1975, Spinelli 2005). Infanticide sometimes also results from a postpartum reaction on the part of the mother. Based on a review of ethnographic material, Susan C. M. Scrimshaw (1984) provides four major sources of infanticide: (1) infant deformity; (2) illegitimacy; (3) an infant proximate at birth to a sibling; and (4) an infant of the undesired sex in a society that values males and females differently (especially, in relation to the value of their labor). Methods of infanticide vary from abandoning the infant, death by exposure, withholding of food, suffocation, drowning, and discarding infants in garbage dumps, sewers, or remote areas.

Since the late 1960s, human rights and women's rights organizations worldwide have engaged in an ongoing series of protests and actions to end systematic infanticide, especially female infanticide. These organizations have pressured governments to address the sex ratio imbalance and to take a proactive role in improving the overall status of girls and women as a key to eliminating female infanticide.

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Margaret Abraham

INFANTILE SEXUALITY

In *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) the psychologist Sigmund Freud explored dream processes and from that analysis developed his early psychoanalytic ideas about mental functioning. He posited a dynamic unconscious mind motivated by love and aggression, the idea of psychic determinism (all human behavior is has a cause, often involving multiple forces), and the idea that people are motivated to seek pleasure and avoid pain. Five years later Freud published *The Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), which is considered his second most important work.

At that time strong objections were made to the second essay, "Infantile Sexuality," but soon the influence of Freud's ideas could be affirmed by observing the omnipresence of sexuality in everyday behavior. Freud initially saw infantile sexuality as a precursor of adult sexual behavior but later described sexuality as the mainspring of psychic development. He used the Latin word *libido*, meaning "desire" or "longing," which has a sexualized quality. In this way sexuality is defined broadly, transcending the narrow perspective of genital pleasure. The term *infantile sexuality* acknowledged the existence of sexual stimuli that involve specific body areas and phases of development (oral, anal, and genital) in which the individual seeks pleasure independently of a biological function. In the normal evolution of sexuality the instincts of childhood are integrated into the genital sexuality of the adult. Freud believed that excessive repression or excessive stimulation of infantile sexuality can lead to neurotic or pathological symptoms.

Infantile sexuality in effect begins with the gratification received from sucking. Freud felt that the sucking activity observed in infants should be considered the prototype of all sexual gratification. The hungry infant at the mother's breast has a pleasurable experience being held and pleasurable sensations around the mouth as she or he sucks the breast. The next time the infant is hungry, she or he will remember the earlier experience of satisfaction (Lear 2005). Sucking originally serves the purpose of taking in nourishment but later becomes separate from that function, at which time its sole purpose is pleasure. Freud also suggests that as a result of an infant's fundamentally sensual and sexual nature, it has a polymorphously perverse disposition, suggesting that there is satisfaction in all erogenous zones in childhood; only later is that satisfaction focused primarily in the genitals. Freud also discovered that childhood sexuality is not remembered because of infantile amnesia. The oral, anal, and genital zones are sensitive areas and are profoundly important sites of both stimulation and interaction with caretakers. Thus, they become arenas for formative experiences with others. These early sensual experiences shape personality development.

Freud's discovery of infantile sexuality radically altered the perception of the child from one of idealized innocence to one of a person struggling to achieve control of his or her biological needs and make them acceptable to society through the influence of his or her caregivers (Fonagay and Target 2003). In his own time Freud's descriptions of infantile sexuality were considered scandalous, but in the early twenty-first century it generally is accepted that infants and children are sensual and sexual in nature and that their sexual development contributes significantly to their adult personalities.

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INFERTILITY

The medical definition of infertility is the failure to conceive after one year of unprotected sexual intercourse (six months if the woman is thirty years or older). Under normal circumstances a couple has a 25 percent chance of becoming pregnant after one month, 57 percent after three months, 72 percent after six months, and 85 percent after one year. Ultimately, half of the couples who experience infertility of one-year duration or more will conceive. Treatments are available to help those for whom infertility persists (though many insurance companies will pay for the infertility testing but will not pay for procedures to solve the problem).

Though infertility is not always an undesired condition—birth control is commonly used to induce a temporary infertility, and many individuals opt for permanent surgical sterilization to limit family size— between 10 and 15 percent of all couples experience trouble getting pregnant. Fertility rates have dramatically declined following their peak after World War II because of: (1) the changing role of women in the workplace, (2) couples postponing marriage, (3) couples having children

later in life, (4) the availability of reliable contraception, and (5) the legalization of abortion.

FEMALE INFERTILITY

Though infertility was traditionally considered a woman's issue, research has demonstrated that approximately 40 percent of infertility is due in part or entirely to male factors (with female factors accounting for another 40% and unusual or unknown factors accounting for the remaining 20%). Nevertheless, most fertility research and treatment centers on the woman's contribution.

One of the main factors resulting in female infertility is ovulatory dysfunction (40%)—the failure to ovulate regularly or at all. This condition may be due to any number of reasons, including hormonal irregularities, chronic disease, malnutrition (including extreme dieting; generally women need at least 20% body fat to ovulate), genetic disorders, stress, and notably increased age. Because of the increased tendency to postpone pregnancy, one in five women will have her first child after the age of thirty-five. Though infertility occurs in about one in twenty couples when a woman is in her twenties, it is only one in four by the time she is in her thirties. By the time women reach menopause, around the age of forty-five to fifty, they lose their ability to conceive, primarily because of the loss or depletion of the follicles that contain and nourish the female eggs (though there have been cases where women have conceived and delivered babies as late as sixty-six).

Tubal or pelvic pathology accounts for another 40 percent of female infertility. Infections (especially sexually transmitted diseases) or prior surgery may cause scarring in the fallopian tubes or other reproductive organs and block the sperm from reaching the egg or prevent the embryo from implanting in the uterus. Blocked tubes can be diagnosed using hysterosalpingogram (HSG), a type of X-ray. Women who have experienced at least one episodes of pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) have about a 20 percent chance of developing permanent infertility.

Incompatibility of the woman's cervical mucus with the sperm of her partner may result in infertility. In these cases the mucus contains antibodies that damage the sperm and prevent them from fertilizing the egg. If the condition is due to infection, antibiotic treatment may resolve the problem. Otherwise, sperm may be washed in a culture medium and then artificially inseminated into the uterus, bypassing the cervical mucus.

Other causes of female infertility involve thyroid disease, anatomical abnormalities, exposure to diethylstilbestrol (DES), smoking cigarettes (especially when begun at an early age), and heavy marijuana use. Prior elective abortions (provided no infection occurs) do not affect later fertility. The remaining 10 percent of female infertility comes under the heading of unexplained infertility. The inability to conceive is frequently accompanied by emotional stress and anxiety, which can sometimes exacerbate the initial condition

MALE INFERTILITY

Approximately one in every twenty American men is infertile. This is frequently the result of any of the following conditions: low sperm count, defective sperm, chronic diseases (including diabetes), damage to reproductive tissue due to infection (such as from sexually transmitted diseases or mumps), testicular injury, autoimmune responses (whereby a man produces antibodies that disable his own sperm), hormonal imbalances, genetic factors, cigarette smoking, heavy marijuana use, narcotics, excessive alcohol consumption, and stress.

Though sperm production decreases with age, men continue to remain fertile even into late adulthood. (There is an account of a North Carolina man, born in 1830, who fathered a child at the age of ninety-four with his twenty-seven-year-old wife, though his paternity is subject to speculation [Speroff 1994].) Excessive or prolonged exposure to heat may also contribute to low sperm production, and for this reason, men experiencing infertility are often advised to wear loose shorts instead of tight underwear and to avoid long hot baths, prolonged athletic activity (male long-distance runners are sometimes advised to take a few weeks break from training to build back sperm stores), and even the use of electric blankets. Frequent ejaculations may also contribute to a low sperm count, because it takes approximately seventy-four days to produce viable sperm. The chances of conceiving may be improved in men with low sperm counts by collecting and freezing multiple ejaculates to be pooled together and artificially inseminated in the woman. When that fails, artificial insemination with donor sperm is an option.

TREATMENT

In earlier days before the physiology of reproduction was more fully understood, superstitions surrounded the mysteries of fertility. Many ancient cultures sought fruitfulness and bounty in both the land and the people by worshiping fertility (or mother) goddesses (often depicted with exaggerated breasts, buttocks, and sex organs) or by enacting rituals such as the erection of a maypole with its clear phallic symbolism. Ancient Chinese used bamboo or coins to scrape an infertile woman's back, shoulders, and neck to stimulate her reproductive organs. Others administered herbs or tonics (such as the bile juice of pigs) to be ingested orally, placed on the body, or inserted vaginally or rectally. An old folk remedy to cure

female infertility was to rub wild yam on the woman's abdomen. Modern home remedies include using egg whites as a vaginal lubricant to facilitate the sperm's journey to the egg.

Despite the knowledge that infertility is equally distributed between men and women, modern medicine still centers most of its treatments on women. Doctors will often suggest the infertile woman measure and chart her basal metabolic temperature to determine when she is ovulating and most likely to conceive. She and her partner will then engage in sexual intercourse only during those days immediately preceding and following the day of ovulation. Antibiotic therapy may help resolve underlying infections that may interfere with conceiving (though it will not reverse any damage already sustained). In cases where ovulation is irregular or absent, fertility drugs such as Clomid or Pergonal are administered to stimulate the ovary to release eggs. (Because of the risk of multiple follicle growth, especially with Pergonal, the ovaries are closely monitored with ultrasound to avoid subsequent multiple births.)

Assisted reproductive technologies (ART) offers new hope for many previously infertile couples. ART refers to all procedures involving the direct retrieval of eggs from the ovaries. The most common of these technologies is in vitro fertilization (IVF), first successfully performed in 1978. The procedure involves hyper-stimulating the woman's ovaries with fertility drugs to promote the growth of several follicles. These are then harvested surgically and mixed with the father's sperm in a laboratory dish. Fertilized ova are then injected back into the mothers' womb for implantation. Though success rates vary depending on the fertility clinic, the age of the mother, and male factors, most programs approach a success rate of more than 25 percent with two cycles of IVF (with 30% of the resulting pregnancies involving multiple births and 10% located outside the uterus in an ectopic pregnancy).

Other ART options include gamete intrafallopian transfer (GIFT), a more recent technology where the sperm and ova are inserted into the fallopian tube where fertilization may occur. The new embryo then continues to the uterus and implants in the uterine wall.

Zygote intrafallopian transfer (ZIFT) involves the removal of the mother's egg and the father's sperm (as with IVF). Fertilization occurs in a laboratory dish with the resulting zygote (a very early stage of embryonic development) being injected into the mother's fallopian tubes. Donor IVF is indicated in cases when the mother is unable to produce viable eggs. A donor woman's eggs are harvested and fertilized with the intended father's sperm. The resulting zygote is then placed inside the uterus or fallopian tubes of the infertile woman. In embryonic transfer, a surrogate woman is artificially inseminated with the sperm of the intended father. If pregnancy results the embryo is removed after five days and inserted in the uterus of the infertile woman who will then finish carrying the pregnancy.

In cases where women cannot get pregnant, surrogate mothers are an option. For a fee and medical expenses, a woman is artificially inseminated with the sperm of the infertile woman's husband (or partner). The surrogate carries the baby to term and legally turns the baby over to the infertile couple after birth.

Adoption is an alternative way for infertile couples to have a child. The process is long and frustrating and by no means guarantees a child in the end, as there are fewer babies being given up by their birth mothers. To speed up or circumnavigate the process, many prospective parents seek foreign adoptions.

SEE ALSO *Contraception: I. Overview; Sterilization.*

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INITIATION

Initiation is a ritual practice that transcends historical and cultural boundaries. Initiation rituals often rely on sex and sexual imagery to serve as tools for negotiating the assignment of gender identity. One of the primary goals or functions of initiation is to instill normative ideas about sex and gender.

Initiation rituals are also known as rites of passage. The identification as rites of passage derives from the fact that initiation symbolizes the movement from one stage of life to another. Initiation marks this transition and indicates an official change in the initiand's status within the community. Diverse events or activities can be considered initiations. Baptism, bris, confirmation, bar/bat mitzvah, débuting, rushing a fraternity or sorority, marriage, and taking religious vows all qualify as rites of initiation.

From examples such as these, as well as those drawn from ancient and tribal cultures, historian of religion Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) concluded there are three categories of initiation rituals. The most specialized category of initiation is composed of the rites that mark entry in to a mystical vocation, such as a medicine person or shaman. The next category of initiation is comprised of rites of induction into secret or closed societies. In antiquity these groups included mystery religions or military societies, such as Mithraism. In the modern world, fraternities, sororities, or certain private clubs serve as the locale for this category of initiation. The final type of initiation is the puberty rite or the ritual that indicates the transition from childhood to adulthood. This form of initiation is considered nearly universal in its application and obligatory to all members of society. Puberty rites are therefore the most common experience of initiation.

INITIATION AND SEX

Initiation, especially in the form of puberty rites, has strong connections to sex and gender. The influence of these two factors permeates initiation rituals. The organization, content, and purpose of initiation rites all owe something to issues related to either sex or gender. All initiation rituals are strictly segregated by sex. In many tribal cultures there is a special set of initiation rituals for men and another set especially for women. The sexes do not share a common initiation experience. Nor is it permissible for members of one sex to be exposed to the initiation of the opposite sex. Initiation rituals must take place in a single sex environment.

Another way in which sex factors into initiation is through a ritual emphasis on the sex organs. One of the standard features of initiation is the creation of a physical sign of the initiand's changed status through scarring, piercing, branding, or tattooing. The genitals are frequently selected as the location for displaying these signs. Circumcision is a common mark of initiation for males. A bris, the Jewish ceremony of circumcision for newborn males, is an example of an initiation ritual which includes a physical manifestation of the initiands new status. According to Jewish belief, male circumcision symbolizes membership in the Jewish community. A similar ceremony exists among Muslim men. In addition to circumcision, some cultures, including those in sub-Saharan Africa, practice a more extreme form of genital mutilation known as subincision. Subincision involves the cutting of the underside of the penis. This wound is sometimes interpreted as the temporary creation of a male vulva and blood drawn from this incision is equated with menstrual blood.

Female initiation rites also can include genital mutilation. Clitoridectomy, or female genital mutilation, is an element of the initiation ceremonies that take place in some indigenous African societies. Clitoridectomy involves the cutting, reshaping, or even removal of the clitoris. Its practice is widespread among certain African communities, especially in the south and southeastern part of the continent. Among certain communities the labia may also be sewn almost shut, leaving only a small opening for the passage of urine and menstrual blood. Those who support clitoridectomy claim that the procedure curbs women's sexual appetite and/or helps maintain her virginity until marriage.

The involvement of the sex organs in initiation rites can also appear on a symbolic level. Among the Nkang people of Zambia, girls undergoing initiation are secluded in a hut that is constructed with an arch that is made to look like the legs of a woman spread for sex. During her stay in the hut the female initiand is instructed not to look at the arch. In other cultures both male and female initiands spend time in huts, caves, or other enclosures suggestive of a womb.

Finally the onset of a girl's first menstrual cycle often prompts her initiation. The maturation of the female sex organs dictates the timeline of women's rituals of initiation.

INITIATION AND GENDER

The primary function of puberty initiations is to transition the initiand into his or her proper place in society. Identifying and assigning normative gender roles is a major part of how initiation prepares one for this new status. Initiation rituals are designed to teach boys and girls the behaviors, knowledge, and jobs they must adopt or perform in order to become men and women.

Familiarizing boys with the sociopolitical positions that men are expected to assume is a central feature of male initiation. Male initiation rituals are designed to promote group identity and solidarity among fellow members of the community. Since boys do not have a fixed biological sign like menstruation, male initiation tends to take place in a group setting. All the boys who have reached a certain age—usually the age at which they are presumed ready to be contributing members of society—take part in the initiation ceremony together. The shared experience of initiation is the first step in creating an atmosphere of male bonding that underlies the governance or leadership of the community. Initiation introduces boys to the inner-workings of the power structure of a male dominated society. Fraternity rush, in which a class of initiands called pledges are made to endure ordeals together in order to form a sense of connection, or brotherhood, both with their fraternity and especially with their fellow initiands, is an example of an initiation rite that follows this model of socialization. One of the

Bat Mitzvah. *A girl reads from the Torah at her bat mitzvah.* © ROSE EICHENBAUM.

goals of fraternity initiation is to create a network of connections that provides positions of influence, authority, and leadership to its members.

For girls, initiation is a time to learn the gender behaviors and expectations associated with women. Female initiation rituals are especially focused on encoding the roles of motherhood and wifehood. The instruction given to girls during their initiation includes knowledge about fertility, birthing, and caregiving. The Nkang use initiation to familiarize girls with sexual intercourse and techniques to be used during sex. These lessons serve the dual purpose of promoting reproduction and educating the initiand about her wifely duties. The sexual education of a Nkang girl is the second phase of the three step process of initiation that culminates in her marriage, suggesting that the change of status experienced by the female initiand is that of the transition from child to mother and wife. In European and North American society a similar notion of female initiation as a marker of a young woman's new marital availability can be found in debutante ceremonies or the *quinceanera* parties held in Latino cultures. Both of these events are meant to signal a young woman's official arrival on the social scene. They also showcase her mastery of the skills, such as dancing, that are indicative of her new status as a lady.

Finally as part of its task of codifying gender distinctions, initiation, both male and female, sometimes highlights gender ambiguity. Initiation is described as a period of liminality, which refers to the condition of being in transition from one thing to another, not fully one or the other (i.e., childhood to adulthood). Moments of bisexuality or androgyny transpire in the liminality of initiation, for example the cutting of the penis to create a male vulva or cross-dressing. While these can be potentially dangerous subversions of normative notions of gender, they actually have the paradoxical effect of more clearly inscribing a fixed gender identity. Once the initiand emerges from the liminality of the initiation with the newly acquired knowledge of proper gender expectations, he or she leaves any questions or tendencies

toward cross-gender behavior behind. Playing with the notion of gender during initiation solidifies the understanding of what it is to be a man or a woman.

SEE ALSO *Circumcision, Male; Female Genital Mutilation.*

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INQUISITION, SPANISH

In 1478 Pope Sixtus IV granted a bull of inquisition to Queen Isabel of Castile and King Fernando of Aragon, thereby enabling the Catholic monarchs to define and police heretical acts and beliefs in the Spanish kingdoms. This was an unprecedented enlargement of royal power in the spheres of religious orthodoxy and cultural practice, especially when considered against the insignificance of the medieval inquisition in Aragon and its absence in Castile, where the norm had been religious tolerance (*convivencia*) among Christians, Jews, and Muslims.

SCOPE AND POWERS

The creation of this new, quasi-judicial, religious and bureaucratic body called the Holy Office coincided with the rising hegemony of Castile at a key historical juncture just prior to the expulsion of the Jews, the conquest of the Muslim kingdom of Granada, and the colonization of the Americas. As royal power grew so did that of the Holy Office, which was unique in its scope; its courts, prisons, and officials were active in principal urban centers of the Iberian peninsula—Seville, Toledo, Valladolid, Zaragoza, Barcelona—as well as in the rest of Europe and the New World—Salerno, Mexico, Lima, Cartagena. The Inquisition thus became the arbiter of cultural and racial limits in the context of autocratic kingship and global empire.

Initially, the narrow purview of the Holy Office was to police the sincerity and purity of Christian converts of Jewish extraction (*conversos*), who first began to embrace Christianity in large numbers in 1391 after waves of violence against Jewish communities. But over the years the specific contents of the heresy that was investigated, archived and then admitted by the subject in the *auto de fe*, or public penance, broadened considerably. In addition to prosecuting so-called Judaizers, tribunals summoned others (the majority being members of the dominant caste of Old Christians, i.e., those supposedly untainted by Muslim or Jewish ancestry) to confess their sins and misdeeds according to institutionally constructed categories of cultural difference. Thus, the Holy Office investigated *Moriscos* (or New Christians) suspected of secretly observing Islamic law, women healers, religious reformers, and other so-called *luteranos*—mystics, visionaries, bigamists, blasphemers, lascivious priests, perceived enemies of the Inquisition, and, in the modern period, liberal political thinkers influenced by the ideas that evolved during the French Enlightenment.

SODOMY AND GENDER

Whereas sexuality in general and sodomy in particular were firmly within the jurisdiction of secular justice, *delito nefando* (the unmentionable crime) first entered the Inquisition's expanding portfolio of dissident acts under Clement VII in 1524. The inclusion of sodomy was representative of the kind of racial thinking that had initially led to the foundation of the Holy Office. The precedent-setting case that secured the formal link between race and sexuality occurred in Aragon. In 1524 Don Sancho de la Caballería, member of a prominent *converso* family that had already experienced persecution for their alleged covert *judaizing*, was charged with sodomy. From the outset opponents saw the application of a sexual rather than a religious category of deviance as an expression of the same racial animosity that had driven earlier accusations leveled at the highly placed Caballerías. The case against Don Sancho dragged on for years (ending in 1531 with his death) and resulted in papal and royal decisions supporting inquisitors' assertions that the Aragon tribunal—and not the secular courts—was competent to prosecute sodomy.

This widening of inquisitorial jurisdiction at the expense of the established laws and traditions of Aragon also extended to other peninsular Holy Office tribunals in Barcelona and Valencia. The tribunals in Sicily, though not formally authorized to hear sodomy cases, acted as if they had such power. The addition of sodomy to the operative category of *heretical depravity* that could be investigated and extirpated by the Holy Office altered inquisitorial legal procedure in Aragon: Informers were no longer protected by secrecy, which was the norm for Inquisition tribunals. Defendants learned the identity of

their accusers at the first interrogation and could physically confront and cross-examine them.

However, the definition of sodomy remained, as philosopher Michel Foucault argued, "an utterly confused category" (Foucault 1978, p. 101), as it encompassed all sexual acts of a nonprocreative nature, including bestiality. Most death sentences issued by the Zaragoza tribunal in the 1570s, for instance, were for the commission of acts of bestiality rather than of homosexual acts between men. Lesbian sex was included as sodomy in principle but is rarely discussed in surviving tribunal records. The legal definition of lesbianism specified the use of an instrument in sex acts between women. In cases where a dildo was not used, authorities were not able to prove that the accused had committed the offense. In Aragon, for example, accusers alleged that several women had had same-sex relations, allegedly performed "without any instrument" (Monter 1990, p. 281). Lacking material evidence of phallic appropriation, jurists and theologians could not decide whether the case warranted prosecution under the newly expanded jurisdiction over sodomy. The Supreme Council of the Inquisition (*la Suprema*), which closely supervised all tribunals in the Spanish empire, instructed the Zaragoza inquisitors not to prosecute the women on the grounds that lascivious acts committed without a penis substitute were not sodomy. Given this very narrow and highly materialistic definition of female sodomy, it should not be surprising to find women underrepresented in sodomy offenses. The case of Eleno/a de Céspedes, who was tried in 1587 in Toledo, illustrates the inquisitors' obsessive interest in documenting the use of a dildo in lesbian sex—although in the Céspedes case, the gender of the accused was also in dispute.

Of graver concern to *la Suprema*, however, was what it regarded as excessive zeal on the part of some tribunals in prosecuting male sodomy. In 1525 *la Suprema* ordered the Zaragoza tribunal to pay less attention to sodomy and more to nonsexual heresies, saying "although you may try Don Sancho [de la Caballería] and others of his type, you must not forget about crimes of heresy and apostasy, since this is the main business of the Holy Office of the Inquisition" (Monter 1990, p. 278). Some notable exceptions aside, those prosecuted for sodomy were the victims of ethnic profiling, as, typically, those summoned to explain and confess their dissident sexuality tended to be foreigners or ethnic minorities. In Aragon, for instance, Italians were frequent targets, and Turks and sub-Saharan Africans were disproportionately represented among those *reconciled* as sodomites. Moriscos, however, were rarely prosecuted for sexual misdeeds.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Eleno; Middle Ages; Witch Trials, Europe.*

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INTERNET

The growth of the Internet and online resources has allowed the Net to become a source of a great deal of varied material related to sex. The Internet offers access to numerous forms of sexual material, some of which are interactive. It also has facilitated the dissemination of material that is similar to off-line forms of pornography; that material is not new but has become easier to obtain. However, the Net also has enabled new forms of communication, and people who use those media have created or adapted sexual behaviors that are more or less new and unique to the Internet.

INTERNET PORNOGRAPHY

A common form of sexual material on the Internet is pornography on commercial sites. Susanna Paasonen, who researches media studies and digital culture, notes: "Commercial porn sites were among the first financially profitable online services that also survived the downfall of dot.com businesses … and increasingly, are central arenas for the distribution and consumption of pornography in general" (Paasonen 2005, p. 164). Reasons for the popularity of online pornography, as opposed to print and video formats, may include the privacy of accessing material online and the manner in which material can be located on the Internet. Search engines and keywords make it easy to find very specific subjects, and people with special sexual interests are likely to find the kinds of material they are after. This is both a benefit and a danger of the way material is disseminated on the Internet.

Although the Internet caters to many tastes, it is difficult to regulate the material that is put online. It is as easy to find child pornography or violent pornography as it is to locate more mainstream pornographic subjects, even though the percentage of people interested in special-interest pornographic material is much smaller. In a sociological analysis of online pornography, Jennifer Lynn

Gossett and Sarah Byrne state: "Violent pornography, the pornography most linked in research to actual violence against women, is just as accessible as nonviolent or soft pornography on the Internet" (Gossett and Byrne 2002, p. 705). Historian Philip Jenkins (2001) showed that child pornography is widespread and easily accessible on the Internet, which has created a threat that is hard to police. Donna Hughes (1999), education and research coordinator of the Coalition against Trafficking in Women, described the ease with which the Internet allows men to form groups to discuss and arrange prostitution and sex tourism, supported by web sites and bulletin board systems (BBSs). Those groups exemplify the kinds of sexual activity on the Internet that have made critics warn about online predators and call for more regulations. Calls for censorship and regulation have been common since the Internet started gaining general use in the 1980s and often show a failure to recognize the positive aspects of sexual behaviors on the Internet.

STUDENTS AND THE INTERNET

The Internet first became widely accessible on college campuses, and many of the early users were college students. When it became clear that students were using the Internet for sexual activities, numerous campuses implemented screens to block access to such material from their computers. Although some of the material on the Internet may be regarded as perverse or dangerous, other material can be considered educational and beneficial as a means of dispersing safe sexual experience and knowledge. Leslie Shade argues that a college-aged audience "might find the information posted in the newsgroups ... to be practical guides to sexuality and safe sex practices, a necessary component of the undergraduate curriculum, which students might not have recourse to otherwise" (Shade 1996, p. 18). The Internet provides a safe place in which individuals can find out about sex and experiment with sexual activity (known as tinysex, cybersex, or cybering) without harming themselves or others.

INTERNET-SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

Developments unique to the Internet include an increase in amateur pornography in which users create home pages or blogs that record their sexual experiences and fantasies or provide access to their webcams. Chat rooms and MUDs (multiuser dungeons) are forums supported by the Internet that allow sexual encounters in ways that other media do not. Whereas e-mail lists and BBSs allow asynchronous communication, chat rooms and MUDs provide synchronous communication, creating a higher level of interactivity between users. BBSs, listservs, chat

rooms, and MUDs feature a wide range of topics, but subjects involving sex and sexuality thrive.

MUDs originated as online role-playing environments that often were social and not necessarily sexual in nature. MUDs have developed that revolve specifically around sexual role play, often with specific themes. For example, one multiuser chat kingdom (MUCK) that specializes in anthropomorphized animals has a thriving subculture for sexual encounters between the animal avatars of its players. Drawing on interviews with the players, Shannon McRae observed: "The lack of physical presence combined with the infinite malleability of bodies on MUDs complicates sexual interaction in interesting ways. While many individuals engage in the fairly limited standard rituals of singles cruising, both gay and straight, others seek out erotic experiences that would be painful, difficult or simply impossible in real life" (McRae 1997, p. 77).

Another form of experimentation that MUDs and chat rooms enable is the shifting of gender. Although most sites request members to register a gender, the gender that is chosen need not correspond to a member's off-line gender. Some sites offer the choice of more than two genders, including neuter and one that can be changed at will. Some theorists point to the radical potential of such gender play, whereas others see it as a form of identity tourism that leads more to gender stereotyping than to a rethinking of gendered identity.

Whereas sexual experiences traditionally implied close physical contact between the partners' bodies, the Internet and the relative insignificance of the geographical location of its users allow people to get involved sexually without meeting in the flesh. Such relationships may point to one way in which the Internet can influence redefinitions of human sexual behavior by encouraging textual forms of communication in which physical characteristics of the participants, such as appearance, race, and gender, have no relevance. The technologies and possibilities of online communication are advancing rapidly, with users continuously adapting to the new developments, and so it is difficult to determine the influences of the Internet on sexual behavior definitively. Even the potential of text-only communication may be superseded by the availability of audiovisual equipment, so that Internet users will return to communication based on seeing and hearing one another.

SEE ALSO *Chat Room.*

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Barbara Postema

INTERSEX

Intersex is an umbrella term that typically is used to refer to a wide variety of conditions in which a person (or another animal) is born with something other than the anatomy considered species-typical for males or females. A person born with genitals that are between the typical male and typical female types usually is considered intersex, as is a person born with the external anatomy of one sex but most of the internal anatomy of the other sex. Many people also consider intersex any person with atypical sex chromosomes, for example, a person with mosaic sex chromosomes in whom some cells contain XX (female-typical) chromosomes and the rest contain XY (male-typical) chromosomes or a person with more or fewer than two sex chromosomes in each cell. (*Sex chromosomes* is a misleading term because genes on other chromosomes also make critical contributions to sex development and sex physiology and because some genes on the sex chromosomes code for traits that are not related to sex development or sex physiology.) The term *intersexuality* generally is disfavored because it suggests that the issue is eroticism or sexual orientation (sexuality), when in fact intersex is primarily an issue of biology (sex).

DEFINITION AND INCIDENCE

In practice, intersex activists and advocates have used the definition provided in the first sentence of this entry but have recognized that the category remains fuzzy because of the imprecision of the concept of "species typical" and the challenge of deciding what counts as critical sex anatomy so that variation from it can constitute intersex. Many intersex activists and advocates have attempted to distinguish intersex from transgender, with the latter term typically referring to people for whom the gender category assigned to them at birth does not reflect their sense of self. Most intersex activists and advocates argue that in the absence of evidence that a person's congenital anatomy differed at birth from that of the standard male or standard female, that person should not be counted as intersex.

Approximately one in two thousand children are born with obvious genital ambiguity. Significantly more are born with intersex conditions that are less obvious and may not be detected until well into adulthood, if ever. Some but not all intersex conditions are associated with metabolic problems such as critical hormone imbalances and pathological development of the urinary system. For this reason, when intersex is suspected, expert physicians should be consulted. This is especially true for newborns because congenital genital ambiguity may signal a case of congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH), a condition that can be fatal if it is not treated.

Exactly which conditions count as intersex remains a subject of debate in medicine in large part because of disagreement about what constitutes a sufficiently significant deviation from the standard male or standard female. Some physicians claim that a stretched-penis length less than 2.5 centimeters at birth constitutes "micropenis" and a stretched-clitoris length greater than 1 centimeter at birth constitutes "clitoromegaly," and the patients of those physicians have been treated as intersex and subjected to "normalizing" genital surgeries. Other physicians consider small penises and large clitorises benign variations of masculinity and femininity. Similarly, some physicians consider as intersex only people whose brains were exposed prenatally to the hormone mix typical of the development of the "opposite" chromosomal sex, but many physicians find that definition inadequate because it limits intersex (and thus sex) to the prenatal history of the brain. Some physicians consider variations from the typical sex chromosome complements to be intersex—thus, they count people with XXY (Klinefelter syndrome) and X(O) (Turner syndrome) as intersex—but others disagree.

In the past the term *hermaphrodite* was used to refer both in medicine and in the general culture to many people with intersex. The popular imagination presumes that hermaphroditism endows a person with all the parts and functions of both males and females. However, this is a physical impossibility because one body cannot create and maintain both a complete complement of male sex anatomy and physiology and a complete complement of female sex anatomy and physiology.

In the late nineteenth century there was a medical consensus that people with sexual ambiguity who had testes would be called male pseudohermaphrodites, people with sexual ambiguity who had ovaries would be

called female pseudohermaphrodites, and people with both ovarian and testicular tissue would be called true hermaphrodites. That terminology held sway for generations and was employed in a well-known and politically important 1993 article, "The Five Sexes," published in *The Sciences* by the biologist and feminist critic Anne Fausto-Sterling. However, that terminology with its tripartite division has largely fallen out of favor because it lacks scientific rigor (it ignores many important aspects of sex other than gonadal structure), is clinically confusing (some people who are obviously girls and women may be labeled male pseudohermaphrodites, and people who are girls and boys may be labeled true hermaphrodites), and is unnecessarily stigmatizing.

Since the early 1990s the use of the alternative umbrella term *intersex* has enabled effective political organizing of people with diverse biological and medical histories. However, there has been the start of a movement in some sections of the medical and intersex activist/advocate communities to replace that umbrella term with *disorders of sex development* (DSDs). The reasons for this include the fact that (1) some people with DSDs and some parents of children with DSDs find that the term *intersex* stigmatizes them and implies gender confusion and (2) physicians cannot agree on what conditions they are talking about when they talk about intersex. Detractors object that the term *DSDs* implies that a person with intersex has a disorder.

TREATMENT OF INTERSEX IN THE PAST AND INTERNATIONALLY

The treatment of people with intersex has varied from culture to culture. In many times and places people with intersex apparently blended into the general population. For example, the American Billy Tipton (1914–1989) worked as a minor jazz artist without many contemporaries knowing that he was intersex. The small segment of the modern medical literature that has traced the lives of people who have grown up with "ambiguous" genitalia and other forms of intersex suggests that in general people with intersex have led largely unremarkable lives.

The Western cultural approach to intersex has been motivated largely by the desire to maintain heterosexual norms. Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park have found that in Renaissance France people labeled as hermaphrodites were required to adhere to one gender and partner only with someone of the other gender to avoid the appearance of homosexuality. Alice Dreger (1998, 1999), Christine Matta, and Elizabeth Reis have shown that a similar system was employed in Europe and the United States throughout the nineteenth century.

In other times and places "third sex" or "third gender" categories were available to (or possibly thrust

upon) people with intersex and sometimes on nonintersex people who had same-sex attractions or in some other way did not fit the more common sex/gender categories. In India the caste of *hijras* includes some people born intersex as well as biological males who in the West would be called transgendered. Hijras typically live in groups and undergo ritual castration. They perform certain religious ceremonies for the non-Hijra population and have a relatively low social status. Before colonialism certain Native American cultures included people called "two-spirit" (labeled by anthropologists as berdache). Two-spirit individuals appear to have been intersex in some cases but often to have been people born nonintersex; the basic idea was that those individuals had both male and female spirits. They seem to have been considered to have had special strengths and powers, often performing particular spiritual ceremonies.

5-alpha-reductase deficiency is an enzyme deficiency that causes male fetuses to develop externally to look female. Thus, at birth they look mostly like girls. At puberty these children masculinize: Their clitorises grow to look more like penises, their testes descend into their labia, and their bodily conformation in terms of muscular, fat, and hair development looks classically masculine. Because of intermarriage the genetic frequency of 5-alpha-reductase deficiency is elevated in at least two cultures, and there categories have been created for affected individuals. Herdt traced what he said was called the *guevedoche* ("balls at twelve") system in the Dominican Republic, and Imperato-McGinley's work focused on the "turnim-man" of Papua New Guinea.

WELL-KNOWN CASES OF INTERSEX

Cal (also known as Caliope), the protagonist in Jeffrey Eugenides's Pulitzer Prize–winning novel *Middlesex*, has 5-alpha-reductase deficiency, and millions of people have come to know about intersex through Cal's story. However, since the advent of the modern gay and lesbian rights movement and then the intersex rights movement (in 1993) many people also have come to know the stories of real people with intersex. Michel Foucault published the memoirs of the French Herculine/Abel Barbin with an extensive commentary in 1980. Barbin was born in 1838 and died of suicide in 1868. Raised a girl, she ended up undergoing an essentially masculine puberty and falling in love with a woman. Exposed to the religious, medical, and legal authorities, she had her sex legally changed to male and became ensconced in scandal.

Probably the most famous case associated with intersex did not involve a person born intersex. David Reimer was born a nonintersex identical twin boy in 1965. When he was age eight months, a doctor botched a circumcision

Cheryl Chase. *Founder of Intersex Society of North America.* **AP IMAGES.**

on Reimer and essentially burned off his penis. Reimer's parents were advised by John Money, a well-known psychologist at Johns Hopkins University, to sex reassign David surgically and raise him as a girl. Money saw the case as a perfect experiment to prove that gender is the result of nurture; after all, David was born nonintersex and had an identical male twin. Money reported again and again that the case—known as "John/Joan"—was a success and that his theory of gender identity development was therefore well supported.

Many years later the sex researcher Milton Diamond followed up that case and discovered that David had never settled into the female gender. Money had lied; his own records of the case show that David's behaviors, interests, and life differed dramatically from Money's public reports. When David had become suicidal as a teenager, his parents decided to tell him the truth about his medical history, and David immediately resumed life as a boy. He later married a woman and adopted her children. His story was documented in *As Nature Made Him* by John Colapinto. Reimer killed himself in 2004.

Cheryl Chase founded the intersex rights movement in 1993. Chase was born in 1956 with ambiguous genitalia, and her parents were advised to raise her as a boy. When she was eighteen months old, a different team of doctors decided she would be better off as a girl, and they

removed her clitoris and explained to her parents that they had discovered she was "really" a girl. Even when she was an adult, Chase repeatedly was denied her medical history and records. As a lesbian woman Chase became politically conscious of queer rights as well as the women's health movement, and in her mid-thirties she began seeking out other people with intersex.

ADVOCACY AND ACTIVIST GROUPS

In 1993 Chase founded the Intersex Society of North America (ISNA), the first support and advocacy group for intersex people. The first national announcement of ISNA came in Chase's letter to *The Sciences* responding to Fausto-Sterling's "Five Sexes" article. The mission of the ISNA of "building a world free of shame, secrecy, and unwanted genital surgeries for people born with atypical sex anatomies" was mirrored by other groups that formed later.

Chase remains an internationally recognized scholar and advocate. Several other intersex scholar-activists have risen through the ranks of the movement, including Emi Koyama and Iain Morland. A number of nonintersex academic advocates have aided the intersex rights movement, including Alice Dreger, Anne Fausto-Sterling, Suzanne Kessler, and Sharon Preves. There are many diagnosis-specific support groups, including the CARES Foundation (for congenital adrenal hyperplasia) and the Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome Support Group (AISSG). Nationally based intersex advocacy groups have been founded around the world, including groups in Japan, Poland, New Zealand, South Africa, and Germany.

The intersex rights movement began largely as a response to the medical management of intersex in the United States. The approach used by John Money in the case of David Reimer was developed in the 1950s as a way to manage intersex children. Money, John Hampson, Joan Hampson, and other colleagues at Johns Hopkins University formulated what came to be known as the optimum gender of rearing model. That model held that gender is primarily a product of nurture and that as long as a child's social gender identity (including genital appearance) was stabilized as male or female before about age eighteen months and the child was raised unambiguously, the child would grow up to be a typical man or woman. Consistent with the long-running heterosexist approach to intersex in the West, at Hopkins the idealized outcome generally was understood as a straight and straight-acting man or woman.

Money and his colleagues believed that sex (i.e., physical) ambiguity necessarily would lead to gender (i.e., psychosocial) ambiguity, and so they recommended that children with intersex be subject early to "normalizing"

genital surgeries designed to make their genitals appear typically male or typically female. Because surgeons found it easier to make a believable-looking girl than a believable-looking boy, most children with ambiguous genitalia were surgically constructed to appear female. (Cheryl Chase was treated according to this model.) Children who were subjected to removal of their gonads also were given hormone supplements at the age of puberty and beyond to further their sex-appropriate development.

Like Money, many medical professionals who treated children with intersex misled or misinformed their patients even when the patients reached the age of maturity. This appears to have been done out of the belief that knowledge of their intersex history would cause patients confusion or distress, but judging from the recollections of intersex people and their parents as well as older medical professionals, it probably also was done because medical professionals found intersex a shameful sexual matter.

Intersex activists and advocates raised numerous objections to the optimum gender of rearing model. Chief among their criticisms was that this system generally resulted in a shroud of shame and secrecy and, more specifically, that childhood genital surgeries interfered with the health and well-being (both physical and mental) of many patients. Critics also pointed out that the "standard of care" subjected children to irreversible surgeries and hormone treatments because of specious social norms regarding sex, gender, and sexuality; did not address parental distress and anxiety directly; treated children labeled boys and those labeled girls according to asymmetrical values (sexual potency was valued for boys, and reproductive potential and sexual receptiveness for girls); was not based on meaningful evidence that it was necessary, safe, or effective; and condoned and sometimes even seemed to require deception of patients.

For some time the medical establishment largely ignored the criticisms of the intersex rights movement or misunderstood them, believing that activists were upset because they felt they had been assigned the wrong gender. In fact, relatively few people with intersex feel that the gender assignment given to them at birth was the wrong one, and the critiques of the optimum gender of rearing model went well beyond a criticism of Money's nurture-heavy theory of gender.

Within a few years of the founding of ISNA and the intersex rights movement, advocates managed to cultivate a few allies in the medical profession. The most focused and influential of them have been the American pediatric urologist and surgeon Justine Schober, the British gynecologist Sarah Creighton, and the American pediatric urologist turned pediatric psychiatrist William Reiner. More recently, in the United States the French-born

geneticist and pediatric urologist Eric Vilain has been influential in arguing for improved treatment of intersex children, including an understanding of the prenatal development of brains in terms of gender identity.

In the early twenty-first century the medical establishment recognizes some of the core problems with the optimum gender of rearing model, including the role biology must play in gender identity development, the fact that lying to patients or withholding critical medical history is wrong, and the fact that there is an ethical duty to find out about the long-term effects of this practice. Controversy remains in regard to how children with intersex and their parents should be treated. Many surgeons refuse to believe that the genitoplasties done for appearance-normalizing reasons will result in the dysfunction and sense of shame many intersex adults report. Meanwhile, many psychosocial specialists have grown impatient with the institutional failure to provide professional mental health and social work services for these families from the start.

THE PATIENT-CENTERED MODEL OF CARE

In 2006 a consortium consisting mainly of three stakeholder groups (adults with DSDs, parents of children born with DSDs, and clinicians who treat people with DSDs) issued clinical guidelines for a "patient-centered model of care" meant to replace the optimum gender of rearing model. This was based on the patient-centered model of care of the ISNA, but the independent Consortium on the Management of Disorders of Sex Development (DSD Consortium) included the founders and leaders of most of the major support and advocacy groups as well as clinicians from all the major disciplines involved in DSD care. The tenets of patient-centered care are as follows:

1. Providing medical and surgical care when dealing with a complication that represents a real and present threat to the patient's physical well-being.

2. Recognizing that what is normal for one individual may not be what is normal for others; care providers should not seek to force the patient into a social norm (e.g., for phallic size or gender-typical behaviors) that may harm the patient.

3. Minimizing the potential for the patient and family to feel ashamed, stigmatized, or overly obsessed with genital appearance; avoiding the use of stigmatizing terminology (such as pseudo-hermaphroditism) and medical photography; promoting openness (the opposite of shame) and a positive connection with others; and avoiding a "parade of white coats" and

repetitive genital examinations, especially those involving measurements of genitalia.

4. Delaying elective surgical and hormone treatments until the patient can participate actively in decision making about how his or her own body will look, feel, and function; when surgery and hormone treatments are considered, health-care professionals must ask themselves whether they are truly needed for the benefit of the child or are being offered to allay parental distress; mental health professionals can help assess this.

5. Respecting parents by addressing their concerns and distress empathetically, honestly, and directly; if parents need peer support or professional mental health care, helping them obtain it.

6. Directly addressing the child's psychosocial distress (if any) with the efforts of psychosocial professionals and peer support.

7. Always telling the truth to the family and the child and answering questions promptly and honestly, which includes being open about the patient's medical history and about clinical uncertainty where it exists.

The DSD Consortium also recommends that the parents and physicians in consultation assign a gender (as boy or girl) to newborns on the basis of the likely ultimate gender identity of the newborn, recognizing that no baby's gender identity can be predicted with certainty. Reception among medical professionals of the DSD Consortium's guidelines has been extremely positive; this suggests that a consensus is building around this approach. A consensus also is forming around using a dedicated multidisciplinary team that provides long-term integrated care.

As can be seen in the work of the DSD Consortium, the goal of the intersex rights movement has been to try to demedicalize intersex while engaging in medical reform. Some intersex advocates have been working specifically to make intersex understood primarily as an identity rather than a medical issue. Indeed, some have agitated to add an "I" to the GLBT/Q (gay, lesbian, bi, transgender, queer) acronym. This approach has met considerable resistance in the medical profession, which tends to see intersex as a medical problem and to maintain a substantial level of homophobia, particularly in male-dominated fields such as pediatric urology. It also has met resistance among some people with intersex who do not think of themselves as personally or politically queer and among people with intersex who feel that intersex is not a big enough part of their personal or political history to justify the status of an identity.

Nevertheless, intersex advocates are likely to continue their relationship with advocates for GLBT/Q rights because of the shared sense of what it means to be oppressed for being a sexual minority. The idea that intersex rights are a matter of civil rights was made manifest in the 2005 decision by the San Francisco Human Rights Commission (SFHRC) to declare the treatment of people with intersex a human rights issue (Arana 2005). The investigation conducted by the SFHRC was initiated through the work of intersex activists David Iris Cameron and Thea Hillman and coordinated by Marcus de María Arana of the SFHRC. Partly in response, Sally Gross, the founder of the Intersex Society of South Africa, has been working with the South African Human Rights Commission on producing a similar declaration.

SEE ALSO *Genetics and Gender; Transgender; Transsexual F to M; Transsexual M to F.*

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Alice D. Dreger

INTIMACY

The term *intimacy* comes from the Latin word for inmost, or inner, and signifies the deepest or closest kind of friendship and confidence. The word *intimate* comes into English in the seventeenth century to describe individual inner personal qualities, as well as one's very close associates and familiars. To intimate is to communicate with minimal gestures, suggesting that the closest of intimate relationships is such that the formality of language is nearly unnecessary. Intimacy describes the close, personal relationship of good friends, or confidants, who share secrets and private matters. Intimacy also serves as a euphemism for sexual intercourse, especially in more recent times, and thus an exchange of intimacies could involve secrets, sex, or both. Because intimacy suggests the closest kind of relationship between people, its transformation from a term indicating both friendship and sex in the seventeenth century, from an era when friendship was considered the best kind of relationship people could share, to a term associated in the early twenty-first century almost solely with sexual relationships, marks the gradual privileging of sexual relationships as the closest form of human relating, and the gradual devaluation of friendships as less intimate kinds of human connection.

Like sex, with which it has become synonymous, intimacy can take many forms. It can be heterosexual or homosexual, between men and women, women and women, or men and men. However, while "sex" can happen between any number of partners at the same time, "intimacy" retains the traces of privacy and inwardness contained in its original meaning as a term of confidence between two people. Intimacy also suggests the presence of great feeling. In the nineteenth century, terms such as *passionate friendship* or *sentimental friends* described an intensity of intimate romantic feeling between men or between women that was socially sanctioned and widely celebrated. Abraham Lincoln, Emily Dickinson, and Walt Whitman had passionate friendships that may or may not have been sexual, but were understood by them and their peers as noble intimate relationships of the highest order. This esteem is partly explained by late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century notions of women as creatures without lust, and partly by the prevailing view that it was difficult for men and women to attain the heights of intimate friendship available between those of the same sex.

In places where the physical touching of friends is not uncommon, the line between social intimacy and physical intimacy is not so clearly drawn. Intimacy in the sense of sharing body space is more common in other countries than it is in the United States, where only lovers or family members share body space. In Italy men touch men more, and women touch women. This is also true in Arab countries and Spain. Women in most parts of the world share each other's physical, intimate space in a way men do not.

The private and domestic world of intimacy is presumed to be necessary to the building of close relationships, but this view shows that contemporary notions of intimacy are grounded in the heterosexual couple form. Queer critics, most notably gay men and their allies, have argued that one can have closeness without the sharing of secrets or even names, and that there is even in anonymous public sex an intimate quality of value and world making that can sustain communities. The term intimacy is increasingly interchangeable with *physical intimacy*, a term once used to distinguish sex from friendship, but that now has a redundant quality. Physical intimacy implies sexual touching in some form, being in another person's bodily space, and eye contact. Sexual touching can include holding hands, stroking, hugging, kissing, licking, rubbing bodies together, caressing the genitals, oral sex, and vaginal, anal, or oral penetration with fingers, a sex toy, or a penis.

The rise of companionate marriage as a twentieth-century social ideal meant that couples were increasingly encouraged to see their spouses as friends and lovers, rather than merely domestic and reproductive partners. This meant locating all of one's most urgent emotional needs in one place with one person, viewing that sexual relationship as a friendship, and prioritizing that relationship over other kinds of "outside" friendships. Intimacy was thus located squarely within the domestic couple form, as either a prelude to marriage or part of it. Intimacy in the twenty-first century usually describes the closeness of lovers who share every secret, dream, and thought with each other, lovers who are presumed to be best friends as well as sexual partners. This association of intimacy with sex, its use to describe the strong feelings between sexual partners, suggests that one cannot

truly be close to another person without sex, and, conversely, that sex itself makes people closer.

Intimacy between adult men and women in private is the most permitted form of sexual physical intimacy, followed by intimacy between adolescent boys and girls of the same age. Sexual physical intimacy between adult women is somewhat tolerated, as is sexual physical intimacy between adolescent women in countries where lesbianism is either seen as titillating by heterosexual men or regarded as nonthreatening, nonsexual, or both. Sexual physical intimacy between adult men is somewhat permitted where homosexuality is legal, but it is often considered shameful, and can be punished by violence. Places where homosexuality is illegal can punish homosexual physical intimacy with violence, dismemberment, and even death. Sexual physical intimacy between adolescent boys is heavily policed in most parts of the world because sexual conservatives consider male homosexuality to be a tragic choice, and because teenagers are supposed to be either asexual or heterosexual until they reach legal adulthood. Sexual physical intimacy between adults and minors remains the most prohibited kind of human physical intimacy, except in countries that allow older men to marry young girls.

Teenagers in the United States often measure sexual physical intimacy using a baseball metaphor, in which the progress of a sexual encounter is likened to running bases, where the scoring runner is male and the infield is female. Kissing a girl gets a boy to first base, fondling her breasts gets him to second base, touching her genitals gets him to third, and sexual intercourse, or "going all the way," gets him a home run. Supposedly girls share in the scoring as well, but the fact that it would strike most people as unusual for a girl to claim she "got to second" by putting her hand in a boy's shirt shows that when teenagers describe their sexual encounters with baseball metaphors, it likely that the boy is doing the scoring and the girl is getting carried along for the ride.

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Jaime Hovey

IRON, GENDERED SYMBOLISM

One of the distinguishing features of African economic production is the social construction of iron technology. African iron technology is much more than the application of engineering principles to produce economic wealth and well-being. As important as the final products of the smelt are the nontechnical, symbolic processes that the makers use to obtain their final result—often represented as a newly born child or fetus.

The play of tropes that transform iron production into vibrant human reproduction have long engaged anthropologists and historians of Africa: These include the iron smelting furnace as a metonym for a woman's body—featuring breasts and a human womb; the use of bellows symbolic of testes, and blowpipes symbolic of penises; the apotropaic rituals that protect the furnace from witchcraft and displeased ancestors; the healing rituals that ensure the fertility of the furnace as a reproductive female; the widespread taboos against sexual activity linked to industrial production; and, the taboos pertaining to pregnant women and menstruating women vis-à-vis iron production. All of these cultural attributes bundled together are known as the *reproductive paradigm* that characterized African iron production in the early-twentieth century. Research, however, shows that this characterization is an incomplete and truncated representation, abbreviating the female reproductive cycle by emphasizing the exclusion of menstruating women and portraying menstruation as a stage of infertility.

The embodiment of industrial production in Africa—as reproduction in a female body—is one of the most profound examples of such transformation found anywhere. These transformations unfold during a series of ritual activities in which the furnace equipment is changed from material substance into living human matter. The rituals of transformation are first unveiled at the beginning of the smelting process when the furnace is infused with attributes linked to female identity and physicality. Many examples can be referenced, but one that best illustrates the first stage of the ritual cycle is the excavation of a pit in the bottom of the furnace, a phenomenon dated to the early first millennium CE and continuing into the twentieth century.

Ritual processes among the Barongo iron smelters living south of Lake Victoria illuminate symbolic meanings tied to this activity. They place *medicines* into a small pit excavated in the furnace floor. Among these are herbs, leaves, and pieces of trees with potent symbolic properties intended to protect the furnace from witchcraft and from unhappy ancestors. Also included are medicinal devices to cure infertility and to enhance fertility—showing clearly the close linkages with curative

rituals normally performed by healers. A red bleeding bark symbolizes menstrual blood. Using their exposed genitals, the head smelter and the ritual specialist push earth on top of the symbolic devices in the pit, a ritual imitating sexual intercourse with the furnace. Additional rituals occur before smelting commences; these include the head smelter and his wife spitting beer on the furnace, employing a nuptial ritual signifying and ensuring mutual fertility.

The deepest insight derived from Barongo practices is a blood sacrifice using the pulsing arterial blood of a goat to saturate the furnace prior to smelting. If it were not for the presence of symbolic menstrual blood in the furnace base, then the blood ritual could be interpreted as simply a consecrating sacrifice. The spilling of ritual menstrual blood and the incorporation of symbolic menstrual blood with fertility symbols unveil a more holistic tropic representation of the entire female reproductive cycle—from cleansing of the womb to readiness for conception, pregnancy, and finally birth. These findings indicate that earlier interpretations of the reproductive paradigm were based on incomplete studies of interwoven industrial and ritual cycles.

The widespread belief in taboos relating to sexual intercourse have many interpretive applications, including: 1) the idea that women who have married in from other patrilines will steal important economic knowledge if not barred from iron production; and 2) the notion that power relations between the genders are manifest by excluding women from industrial production, further reifying separation of economic domains—with females responsible for agricultural production and men economic production. This theory collapses when the unity of agriculture and iron production under the symbolic umbrella of human, female reproduction is understood: Production of iron yields tools for agriculture and, hence, the capacity to reproduce society signifies an intimate weave of reproduction, iron, and agriculture.

Gendered iron production is an ancient concept, going back to the early Iron Age shortly after the introduction of ironworking in Africa. Evidence from Gabon dated about 500 BCE shows that early symbolic renderings used intense male symbols, for example, a blow pipe made of clay (representing a phallus) standing upright in a furnace pit and filled with kaolin, a substance widely used to represent semen and purity in east and central Africa. By the early first millennium CE, symbolic representations had shifted to those more complementary to the integrity of the female womb, with fertility a primary concern. By the middle of the second millennium CE, increased population and competition over critical resources introduced a new suite of ritual devices, along with those ensuring female fertility, to defend against the use of sorcery or malicious manipulation of ancestors by spirit mediums employed by competing social groups.

SEE ALSO *Africa: I. History; Marriage.*

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ISIS

The ancient Egyptian goddess Isis, originally a mortuary deity, and once widely venerated in the Near East, in the Greco-Roman world, still fills a role for a limited number of devotees and worshippers in the early twenty-first century as a representative of feminine power, devotion, magic, fertility, and renewal. Through the millennia, the focus of her activities has grown and changed as she accrued new roles and appeared in different places, eventually evolving such that worshippers honored and some still honor her as a universal—in some senses, the universal—deity, the mother of all.

ISIS IN ANCIENT EGYPT

When first encountered in the religious texts of the later Old Kingdom, around 2350–2200 BCE, Isis and her sister Nephthys sought, found, lamented, and nurtured the deceased king Osiris, actually Isis's brother and spouse. The two sisters appeared as kites, that is, birds which eat carrion eaters, and as carrion eaters do in nature, they found the deceased and incorporated him or her into new life. These sisters continued to act as mortuary deities throughout Egyptian history, serving as mourners, as have women in many times and cultures.

Contemporaneously, Isis also appears as the mother of Horus, the living king and successor to her husband-brother Osiris, the resurrected king and underworld judge, a role that lent her increasing importance as time passed. The mythology surrounding this triad of deities saw Horus conceived posthumously by Isis who "played
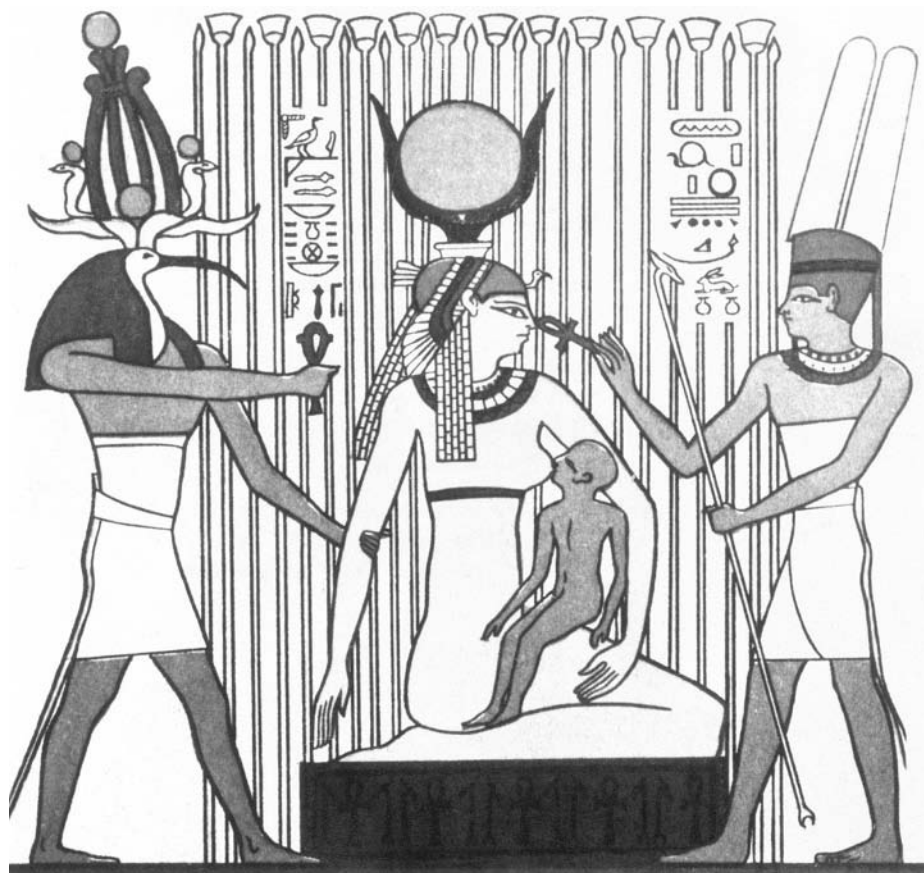
Isis. *Isis suckling her son, Horus. Toth, the god of wisdom is on the left.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

the part of a man" (Griffiths 1960, p. 60) and "raised the weary one's [Osiris's] inertness" (Lichtheim 1976, p. 83) by "acting like a man" so the deceased Osiris could engender an heir. Indeed some of the iconography, particularly from the later periods, shows Isis in the form of a bird, hovering above the ithyphallic Osiris lying on a bier. In this way she ensured the continuation of the kingship, thus living up to her name *aset*, throne. In other depictions, she appears as the ideal royal mother, seen in various sculptures nursing her son Horus.

As time passed, Isis assumed a greater and greater role related to kingship. By the last half of the second millennium BCE, she began to take on the roles and symbols of Hathor, an earlier cosmic and royal goddess whose name means "House of Hathor" and who was the mother of Horus the elder. Isis, on the other hand, was mother of Horus, the son of Osiris. In doing so, as Isis assumed the various Hathoric attributes, such as the latter's headdress of cow's horns with a sun disk set between them and worship with the sistrum. Contemporaneous narratives such as the "Memphite Theology," "The Secret Name of Re," and "The Contendings of

Horus and Seth" illustrate her various roles and activities. The full myth of Isis and Osiris, although with evidence of intrusive Greek materials, appears in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, dating to around 120 CE.

ISIS IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD

Worship of Isis expanded enormously with the rise of the Greeks and the spread of their influence, particularly through the conquests of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) in the fourth century BCE. By the seventh century BCE, Isis had already begun to receive a cult in Byblos, a town on the north Syrian coast where Hathor had held sway as the Mistress of Byblos for the previous two millennia. In the succeeding centuries, most especially with the rise of Rome and its conquests, Isis gained many cult places outside Egypt, including locations in the eastern Mediterranean, the Italian and Iberian peninsulas, and, with Roman conquests, even in the British Isles and northwest Europe. In the Roman world in particular, she assumed the role of savior deity, and she began to be known as the universal mother and mother of all, sub-

suming, in time, most of the functions of goddesses from the cultures of the times.

In Egypt itself, following the death of Alexander in 323 BCE and the rise of the Ptolemaic rulers, Isis continued to gain prominence. Notably, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 283–246 BCE) built a temple for her on the island of Philae in the Upper (Southern) Egyptian area of Elephantine where he depicted his queen, Arsinoe II, as divinized and identified with Isis. The hymns in this temple present the goddess in all her forms—those characteristic of her in Egyptian history and those now related to her more universal aspects, showing her roles as bellicose goddess, maker of kings, nurturer, and mistress of magic. From this late period also derive the Isis aretalogies, narratives of miraculous deeds, along with various cultic hymns which also detail her many roles. Finally Book XI of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (commonly known as the *Golden Ass*) tells of the protagonist's priestly initiation into Isis's service. At the same time, the literature in Egypt itself, notably the ''Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys'' and the ''Songs of Isis and Nephthys,'' continued to hymn Isis in tandem with her sister in their traditional roles respective to the deceased.

ISIS IN THE COMMON ERA AND IN MODERN WORSHIP

Worship of Isis continued openly into the sixth century CE, when its threat to Christianity led to the cessation of public worship, though it appears to have continued in secret, according to the Ammonite family in Cairo. This family, headed by Her Grace Sekhmet Montu and including her husband Ptah Hotep and their son Neb Heru, the latter understood to be the incarnation of the ancient royal god Horus, traces its lineage back to Isis herself. Also claiming a lineage from Isis is the Fellowship of Isis based at Clonegal Castle in County Carlow, Ireland, where Olivia Robertson (b. 1917), arch priestess and hierophant of Isis, oversees worship and cultic practices related to the goddess. In addition, one finds various other groups and individuals around the world who engage in worship and rituals honoring Isis—clearly responding to, often openly, the patriarchal religions of the modern world. Various prayers and notes of celebrations appear readily available on the Internet, and one can only imagine other New Age activity that does not make the public sphere. Finally much of Isis's imagery continues to appear in the iconography related to the Virgin Mary and her son. Thus Isis, initially one of a family of deities four and half millennia ago, has developed and continues to play a major role for many supplicants in today's world.

SEE ALSO *Egypt, Pharaonic; Goddess Worship.*

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ISLAM

Questions of sex and gender in Islam are particularly controversial for several reasons. Sex roles and rules have been for centuries a major weapon in what is sometimes called the clash of civilizations. Westerners have stigmatized Islam as a religion that imprisons and degrades women, a position that reached its extreme in the fascination for the harem as an erotic locus. More recently, anti-Western Muslims have pointed to the West as a space of debauchery and a sexual freedom that destroys families and morality.

A major interpretative problem between the cultures is created by the fact that Islam is both a world religion and a civilization with a historical existence in time and space, which identified itself by its *appartenance* to that religion. Given that in the last two centuries educated Muslims have become increasingly sensitive to the way their mores are described in the West, it has always been possible to argue that a given trait (now seen as unflattering) can be attributed to the culture and not the religion.

Historically, religions and cultures interpenetrate. Religions develop in a given cultural environment, which they in turn influence. Islam has been dominant in societies across Asia and Africa. Despite local variations, however, there is a remarkable consistency in the basic approaches taken by historically Muslim societies to questions of sex and gender, a consistency that is even greater with regard to the central Islamic lands from North Africa to South Asia. This can be understood as elements brought to these societies by Islam, as elements already present that made Islam attractive to them in the first place, or as a combination of the two.

After the rapid conquest of a territory from what is today Portugal to Pakistan, Muslim jurists began a process, which extended through the eighth and ninth centuries, of formulating a legal system. Called the sharia, this code covers all aspects of life, from international law to personal hygiene, and of course addresses questions regarding sex and family life. It is based on the Qur'an (which includes a limited number of legal items as well as more general moral strictures), the hadith (or sayings and exemplary actions of the Prophet Muhammad [570–632]), and the historical usages of certain Muslim societies. It is conventionally divided into four legal schools (with Shiites sometimes being considered a fifth), which can be arranged from the more conservative (the Hanbali) to the more liberal (Hanafi). Nevertheless, the differences between these schools (which are usually dominant in different regions) are relatively minor. Even the schism between Sunnis and Shi'is, which is theologically and historically considerable, has minor impact on sex and family law.

While the sharia evolved within a historical society, and unavoidably reflected many of its values, it also was in some respects an ideal construction. Put another way, as in other times and places, people chose which legal and religious precepts to observe rigorously and which to honor more in principle than in practice.

PATERNITY AND SEPARATION

Like its close relatives, Judaism and Christianity, Islam has historically been a patriarchal religion. But it has approached common patriarchal values in two distinctive ways. The first is by privileging physical separation as the only effective way of regulating sexual conduct; the second is by emphasizing the preeminent need to ascertain the identity of the father in all cases.

One of the most popular hadiths says: "When a man and a woman are alone, the devil is the third." This means that the sexual drive will win out over any moral compunctions. Males and females over puberty must be rigorously segregated with the exception of certain close family members. The ultimate expression of this system is the harem, or separate women's quarters. Obviously this is easier for wealthy individuals, but even many modest villages have kept women segregated. As much as is economically possible, women should remain at home, with public space being treated as male.

When a woman enters male space she must be veiled—that is, the veil is a form of female modesty that defines the entry into public space, as a woman does not need to be veiled when in her own home surrounded by her close family. The principle of the veil as a marker of public space and female Muslim identity is quasi-universal in the Muslim world in the early twenty-first centry. What

varies is its degree of modesty. In its most limited form, the veil covers just the hair. In its more modest versions (such as the chador or the burqa) it can cover the whole body and even the face and hands. The logic behind the veil is that the less a woman is exposed to view, the less likely she will be able to sexually excite the men she might encounter. (Male standards of modesty are less restrictive and are not defined by presence or absence from the family home.)

Paternity dominates the regulation of sexual behavior. Sexual relations are licit between a man and his wife, and a man and his concubines. While the number of wives is limited to four, concubinage and sexual slavery were limited only by wealth. (Slavery is presently illegal as a matter of civil law.) A divorced woman can only remarry after she has had a period. An extreme version of this is the Shi'i institution of mut'a, or temporary marriage. This is for a preset period that can be as short as an hour. Because Muslim marriage (like Jewish marriage) is a legal contract, such temporary marriages can be accompanied by payment. The continuum between concubinage and marriage can be seen in the practices of the Ottoman sultans (who were also caliphs). These rulers kept numerous concubines, and would transform into legitimate wives—those (up to the legal four) who produced male offspring.

LICIT AND ILLICIT ACTS

In Islam, sex acts are not limited to procreative activity, but they are limited to those who would be otherwise able to procreate: men and women in some legally recognized relationship. Oral sex and anal sex in such circumstances are perfectly acceptable and were freely discussed. Anal penetration of the woman by the man appears as a possible area of marital dispute, with women defending their right to withhold consent to the practice, or with it being compared to polygamy, as a deprivation of vaginal intercourse.

Sexual activity between men is clearly prohibited in Islamic law. Nevertheless, it was commonly practiced and universally recognized in the historically Islamic societies of the Middle East and North Africa. Anecdotally it was very common in literary sources; homoerotic writings were legion and in no sense marginalized. In an effective continuation of the mores of the ancient world, anal intercourse was chiefly seen as humiliating for the penetrated and not the penetrator. Female to female sex, referred to as *ishaq* (rubbing), perhaps because it was not explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an, was treated more leniently, with some legists suggesting that it could be a neutral, or permitted, activity. Human sexuality in most of its forms (including bestiality) was always frankly, and

often explicitly, discussed in literary sources of the highest cultural level.

Because sexuality was controlled by physical separation, there was never any need to deny its nature. Celibacy has always been condemned in Islam; and men (or far more rarely, women) who live without appropriate companionship have traditionally been seen as a threat to the moral stability of the community because it is presumed that they will obtain sexual satisfaction in an illicit and socially disruptive manner. Sexual pleasure is considered a gift from God to be enjoyed by men and women (who are considered, like men, to have a right to sexual gratification). In folk practice, it is often held that a man must pleasure his wife (or each of his wives) at least once per week. In some countries arugula is popularly sold just before the Sabbath to help the man fulfill this periodical obligation.

In partial contradiction to the above lies the practice of clitoridectomy (excision of the clitoris), sometimes also called female circumcision. Tolerated in Muslim law (it is either listed as recommended or permitted, never as required or prohibited), clitoridectomy is practiced in many Muslim societies, especially on the African continent, as well as in some non-Muslim African societies. Though the amount of tissue removed varies from a partial to a total elimination of the clitoris, and though this practice can be understood (like male circumcision) as a symbolic ritual, its most common justification in Muslim societies has been as a necessary limitation of female sexual desire, whose anarchic and insatiable nature would otherwise threaten the stability of the patriarchal unit. In Egypt, clitoridectomy is almost universal among the lower classes and many in the middle classes, though rarely admitted to foreigners. A dismissive view of women's moral fiber is also expressed through the oft quoted hadith, which states that the majority of the inhabitants of hell are women, as well as through the popular expression of Quranic origin, which states that "their (feminine plural) guile is great."

Sexual union between a man and a woman outside the bounds of marriage or concubinage is *zina*, or fornication, and strongly prohibited. Though the penalty in Islamic law is severe (stoning for adultery), the legal requirements for proof (witnesses to actual penetration) are almost insurmountable. In practice, however, Islamic courts have considered the pregnancy of an unmarried woman de facto proof unless she can prove (her testimony is not enough) that she has been raped.

Adultery and premarital sex are normally handled in almost all Islamic societies through the extralegal honor code. A female who has brought dishonor on the family (either through improper actions or even just the reputation of such actions) must be killed to restore the family's honor, most commonly by stabbing—which should be carried out by the brother if there is one. While such extralegal executions are technically murder in Islamic law, in no Muslim societies have authorities sought to treat them as such (nor have most scholars called for such prosecution). Recently, when the Jordanian royal family sought to change laws that gave lenient treatment to men who avenged the family honor through gynecide, the conservative Muslim opposition blocked the law in the parliament, claiming that it would unleash immorality, reward prostitutes, and violate Islamic principles.

STATUS OF WOMEN

Islamic law gives women a protected but generally inferior legal status. Apologists stress that Islamic law (supported by custom in most places) grants the wife control over her own property (unlike the traditional Western transfer of control to the husband) and that Muslim wives do not take their husband's name. Critics of Islam like to note that women have less weight as witnesses in court and receive half of the male share in inheritance (with apologists explaining that this is fair because they do not have to support others, as men do). The Qur'an explicitly gives men authority over women in marriage and states that a man may beat his wife to restore this authority if milder forms of persuasion (verbal admonitions, the deprivation of sex) have failed. Legists have been careful to stress that any corporal punishment should only be as a last resort and should do no permanent damage.

Divorce exists in two forms in Islamic law. The first judicial divorce, open to men and women, must be for cause. The second, or repudiation, is open to men only and does not require cause. In this case, however, a woman will recover any dowry brought into the marriage. Effectively, a woman's marital security depends upon the economic resources she brought to the relationship.

GENDER AND THE WORLD

The Muslim conception of God is one of total transcendence and incomparability. Hence, God cannot have gender, and the Christian notion of divine paternity is considered blasphemous and absurd. Sufis, or Islamic mystics, have, however, used gender as a way of organizing the universe as a combination of equal and complimentary male and female principles. This may be related to the relative popularity of Sufism among women and to the relative openness of the Sufi tradition to exemplary women, such as Rabi'ah al'Adawiyah (713–801). There was also a flourishing genre of poetry in which mystical love is expressed through profane models (in some cases there is dispute whether the intended meaning of the

verses is profane or sacred). In such poetry both homo-erotic and heteroerotic images can be models (along, also, with intoxication from alcohol). The Islamic philosophical tradition, in partial overlap with Sufism, included a misogynist strain, which identified the female with the earthly and dreamed of a world without women. This was especially true in the illuminationist school.

Verses in the Qur'an have traditionally been understood as promising the believers sexual access to beautiful virgins in paradise. While many still preach this interpretation, some modernizers have suggested that the verses should be understood allegorically. Abdelwahab Bouhdiba (1985) has argued that the Muslim paradise promises a reconciliation of man with his body and his sexuality.

MODERN TIMES

Western imperialism, which took away the independence of virtually all Muslim societies, had an enormous impact on gender regulation. Many Muslim modernizers (sometimes called male feminists) believed that the liberation of women from traditional restrictions was a key to full membership in the modern world with all of its material benefits (including national independence). Customs bent under the gaze of the powerful Westerner. In Iran and Turkey the veil was banned (to be replaced among upper-class women by hats); and even where veiling survived it was reduced to a compromise that generally left the face open. Among the elite, many adopted slightly more conservative versions of Western clothing. There remains, however, a gendered approach to Westernization as something safer, and more permissible, for men. In all but the most extreme cases (such as in the Taliban) the males can wear the latest jeans, whereas women must honor tradition in dress or behavior.

Family law has been a major area of struggle between conservatives and reformers, as well as has been women's access to public space. Divorce and polygamy have been particularly controversial. The most common compromise has been to permit polygamy but restrict it, for example, by requiring the consent of the first wife before a second is taken. In some countries, high-status women have written such a right into their marriage contracts. Women are still struggling to improve their conditions for divorce and their rights to child custody.

But Westernization also brought Victorian prudery. Educated Muslims quickly discovered that their civilization's traditional sexual frankness (and its absence of homophobia) both titillated Westerners while providing fodder for their sense of moral superiority. Contemporary Islam has thus taken to adopting nineteenth-century standards of censorship in sexual matters, often censoring (or patently ignoring the existence of) the sexual discus-

sions in their own classics. The Islamist movement, which has operated with greater or lesser strength in all Muslim countries, and which transcends the Sunni and Shi'i divide, has reinforced this prudery and even blames homosexuality (and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome [AIDS]) on Western (or Israeli) plots to destroy the Muslim family.

More generally, the mounting political pressure of Islamist groups since the mid-1970, has pushed virtually all Muslim governments (with the possible exceptions of Kuwait and Morocco) toward more conservative positions on the segregation of men and women in public space (such as universities) as it has pushed the women in these societies to greater public modesty. It is far easier for the generally authoritarian regimes of the Muslim world to give ground on such moral matters than to share any real political power with the opposition.

The situation of those who would wish to create a modernist revision of Islam is complicated by the fact that virtually all Muslims consider the Qur'an a perfect text, as the unmediated word of God. Hence it cannot be historicized (as modernists have done with the Bible). Instead reformers are often reduced to arguing that the verses do not mean what they have always been understood to mean, sometimes through creative philology. Against polygamy, modernists argued that because the Qur'an says a man should not take more than one wife unless he can treat them all equally, and because it is impossible for the human heart to be free of partiality, God intended to ban polygamy. Traditionalists quickly countered that because God would not have authorized something that was impossible, the requirement of equality applied to the material conditions of support.

There is a small but growing group of Muslim radical feminists (some of them self-declared lesbians), but they receive far more attention in the West than in Muslim lands where they are effectively cut off from the masses of women.

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ISRAELITE SOCIETY

Ancient Israel was a lineage-based tribal society with an agricultural economy. Like many such cultures, gender rules and boundaries were deeply enmeshed in virtually every aspect of life. The analysis of gender issues provides an entry into subtle interrelations among the forms of knowledge, mechanisms of power, and models of the self that operated in Israelite society. The Hebrew Bible, the major source of evidence, represents these matters through various genres (narrative, law, proverbial wisdom, etc.) and with varying perspectives and interests. These representations are sometimes fantastic, utopian, or polemical, and so must be treated with care. But gender rules are generally consistent throughout the text, illuminating the implicit and durable forms of biblical culture.

THE LOCATION OF GENDER

Everyday behavior and economic life were marked in ancient Israel by a gendered distinction between domestic space and public space. The domestic domain is predominantly female space, where women prepare food, weave textiles, tend children, and run the household (including, for a wealthy household, supervising servants). The public domain is predominantly male space, where men work the fields or tend livestock, pursue commercial activities, or engage in politics, war, or other public activities. There are many exceptions to this spatial opposition—daughters may tend sheep or work in the vineyards, wives may engage in some commercial transactions, and sons may cook—but the general spatial domains are clear. One of the few public places where unrelated males and females may mix is at the well, since it is women who fetch water. The traditional scene of "meeting at the well" occurs several times in Genesis and Exodus as the site of love and betrothal.

The association of women with tent and house has many discursive and behavioral consequences. A man can "go into" a house or "go into" a woman. Married and betrothed women are veiled outside of the tent, maintaining their (and their husband's) private space in public. City and nation—by metonymy with house and tent—are figured as feminine.

HONOR AND SHAME

Honor is an ascribed status—it is granted by others—which is a key component of the "practice of the self" in ancient Israel. Generosity, hospitality, and moral probity are conducive to honor, as is the proper regulation of sexual behavior within one's household. The patriarchal stories of Genesis 18–19 illustrate well the interplay of gendered spaces and the code of honor and shame. Abraham is the ideal man who offers exceptional hospi-

tality to his unknown (divine) guests, while Sarah prepares fine food in the tent. The men of Sodom, the archetypes of wicked men, seek to shame the unknown guests by gang-raping them, which is the inverse of Lot's hospitality. Lot attempts to preserve his honor as host by offering his daughters to the men of Sodom in place of the guests, but in so doing shames himself as head of his household. Later, Lot's daughters, in their new domestic space (the cave), exercise domestic skill by tricking their father into impregnating them, which seals his dishonor and that of his heirs, which are the foreign nations of Ammon and Moab. Honor, shame, sexuality, morality, gendered spaces, and ethnic identity are intertwined in these stories.

Notably, what Western culture calls "homosexuality" is in this narrative a matter of gendered categories of dominance and shame, that is, a matter of power relations. The male (insertive) role is marked as dominant, while the female (receptive) role is marked as subordinate. For a male to insert his phallus into another male is to subordinate—and shame—that male. The Sodom story and the biblical laws about sexual conduct have nothing to do with homosexuality as sexual preference or orientation (note that Lot offers his daughters as an acceptable sexual substitute), but rather refer to a form of sexual shaming, comparable to the daughter-father incest at the end of the Sodom story.

CREATION MYTHS

The two creation myths in Genesis—which derive from two different sources, the P source (Genesis 1:1–2:4) and J source (Genesis 2:5–3:24)—present differing views on the origin of gender relations. The first creation account describes humans, "male and female," as created "in the image of God." It is not clear what this description implies, except that male and female equally participate in some kind(s) of God-like qualities, which may include moral, physical, and political attributes. Sexual relations, which follow immediately in the blessing and requirement to "be fruitful and multiply," are associated with these God-like qualities. In this account, which presents an ideal initial world-order, there is no institution of gender hierarchy or distinctive gender roles (aside from the activity of procreation). Humans as a whole are the pinnacle of creation, created to rule all the creatures of the world.

The second creation account presents a different view of the origins of sex and gender. Male and female have different histories—the first human, Adam, is inchoately male, although his sexuality is not foregrounded until the creation of Eve. Eve is made from Adam's flesh and bone as his proper counterpart (literally "helper corresponding to him"). She is created for com-

pany, not immediately for childbearing, and sexual relations between them involve a return to "one flesh," a pleasurable restoration of primal unity. As a result of Eve's and Adam's violation of God's prohibition of eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (an act with implicit sexual connotations), they first realize their sexual difference (and feel shame at being naked) and later are punished with expulsion from paradise and a hard life. Eve is punished with painful childbirth and male domination, Adam with hard agricultural work, and both with the painful awareness of mortality. Gender hierarchy is one of the aspects of the imperfect world outside of paradise. Here we see the institution of gender hierarchy accompanied by its implicit critique as a hard consequence of primal transgression.

PURITY AND COSMOLOGY

The Israelite body is regulated by various rules, including the rules of purity. Here as elsewhere, the opposition of male/female intersects with the metaphysical distinction of human/divine. Human bodies are not allowed in close proximity with divine space (particularly the Jerusalem Temple and its courts) if they are presented as sexual bodies. Hence, a priest must not expose his phallus in the Temple court, and bodies that drip fluids from penis or vagina are prohibited from entering the Temple precincts or touching holy objects. Such impurity has no moral implications, but renders the body ritually impure for cultic activity. Because major impurities are contagious by touch, bodily impurity restricts interpersonal contact in the cases of childbirth, abnormal genital fluids, and menstruation, but not in the case of sexual intercourse (which causes a lesser degree of impurity). All bodily impurity requires separation from divine space until ritual purification occurs.

Presumably because God is a transcendent (disembodied) being, divine space is antithetical to human sexuality and reproduction. Although God creates humans as sexual creatures, sexual expressions are inimical to God's cultic presence. Hence, there is a spatial and sexual contrast between the holy and the profane. Holy space is beyond sexuality, and profane space is the domain of sexuality. This contrast between sexuality and holiness gave impetus to some later traditions of sexual asceticism. These traditions, while exegetically derived, are radical departures from the positive value of sexuality in ancient Israelite culture.

SEE ALSO *Judaism.*

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