

Growing Up Sexually

Volume II



The Sexual Curriculum

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Amsterdam, The Netherlands

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Growing Up Sexually

Volume II *The Sexual Curriculum*

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D. F. Janssen (2002-3)

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~ A previous version of GUS Volume II (retrospectively nicked version 0.0) has been integrally web-published in HTML as of January 30th 2003 at <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/GUS/INDEX.HTM> et seq.

~ This GUS v0.0 can be had offline by applying a download manager device on the root <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/GUS>. Such will require approximately 25 Mbs of disk space.

~ The process involved in printing GUS Volume II was to rejoin PDFs (pseudoprints) of individual chapters filed as HTMLs (in .DOC layout); this produces footnote layout rather than an endnote layout. Software used included Microsoft Word XP in conjunction with Adobe PDFmaker 5.0/6.0 for Word.

~ Due to this process Volume's *Index* would not have been functional as such, and was consequently left out in both v0.0 and the present version. Also, only URL and in-chapter linkages were maintained; cross-volume and cross-chapter linkages are printed in noninteractive bold type.

~ No attempt was made to erase obsolete or non-functional features such as dead linkages, etc.

~ No comprehensive spelling-/idiom checks were effectuated since (or before) the initial web-publication. This has not been scheduled either. The author regrets any reading inconveniences.

~ Currently, GUS experiences its continuity at <http://www.topica.com/lists/growingupsexually>. Readers are invited to subscribe or contribute to this email facility.

~ The reader is invited to comment on the project (cf. <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/GUS/GUSINVITATION.HTM>) or to elaborate otherwise (cf. <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/GUS/CHRES.HTM>).

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Historical Background of Project “Growing Up Sexually”¹

This short comment on the historical background of the project identifies the gradual broadening of covered topics, together with the gradual narrowing of presentation formats involved in the processing of review data.

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¹ Unaltered from the 2002 interim edition

0.1 Scheduling, Expert Participation

Originally scheduled January to May 2002, the study was extended till September that year, predominantly due to interim reformulations and expansions of the original format of the study (*vide infra*). Monthly scheduled colloquia were attended by Mr. Humphrey E. Lamur, Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam, Mr. Cees J. Straver, PhD., LL.M. and financial secretary of the Dr. Edward Brongersma Foundation, Mr. Peter Th. M. J. van Eeten, MA, and Mr. Diederik F. Janssen, MD (author). At these interim colloquia, the following subjects were discussed:

- formulation and reformulation of project objectives;
- discussion of methodological and theoretical perspectives;
- subject depth, priority and direction (chapter contents, etc.);
- presentation;
- lateral activities.

0.2 Research Proposal to Final Drafts: Dimensional Evolutions

A first proposal delivered to the Dr. Mr. Edward Brongersma Foundation (dated November 2001) entitled *“Paradoxia among the Primitives: An Atlas of Play Sexuality”* was primarily concerned with extending theoretical and ideological perspectives as addressed in author’s previous surveying of historical material (*“Paradoxia Sexualis”*) to the anthropological record. It was to map occurrence and features of childhood sexual behaviour over the ethnographic span. It was this entry that had been the subject of a limited private pilot study presented in preliminary contacts.

As was established later, a previous effort by Gwen Broude (middle 1970s, Harvard University) resulted in a qualitative paper record (*“we are talking here about thousands of pages of notes”*)² of ethnographic research including links to quite similar topics, but only the numeric measures of *“sexual restraint”* were used in subsequent publications.

The definitive research proposal dated December 12th 2001 entitled *“A Historio-Ethnographic Atlas of Erotic Socialisation”* was to be concerned with

² Personal communication, May 2nd, 2002

"[...] an extensive literature review of sexual behaviour development and sexual behaviour socialization in childhood within an ethnographic paradigm [aiming] at the identification of vertical and lateral systems associated with the area of human erotic expressions at the descriptive level, [covering] as many cultural and subcultural settings as are available in anthropological writing".

In January 2002 it was agreed to proceed along this line with, among minor issues, the following sensible refinements:

- extension of the examined life course period to the full length of the preadult life span, "adult" not clearly being defined;
- presentation, where possible, of a "child's perspective" approach rather than a socialiser's perspective.

A presentation of data collateral to the *Atlas* commodity was gradually developed within an expanding list of subjects that would clarify socialisation processes; these chapters would have to be united in a "Subject Volume". It was agreed upon that the study would have to uncover historio-/ethno-/geographic patterning of sexual life spans as inspired by cultural tendencies to "curricularise" individual trajectories. It was hypothesised that such processes of shaping hypothetical "trajectories" toward established, culturally sanctioned "curricula" could be identified within either pedagogical or sexological contexts (curricula). Consequently, the study was renamed to "*Growing Up Sexually: An Ethnohistorical Atlas on Erotic Curricula and Curricularisation*". At this stage, theoretical formats were left undetermined. Further, the integration of accumulated historical Occidental (as opposed to non-Occidental) material was declared of secondary importance.

A preliminary "Subject Volume" covered some 225 pages of data organised within a number of chapters. It was concluded that some of the chapters, unless theoretically positioned and solidified, could not contribute substantially to a cross-cultural discussion of "curricularisation". It was further established that presentation of data should mainly concern itself with a teleological format, thus identifying cultural motivations for socialisation on the basis of ensuring future or contemporary social structure and functioning. Thus, a tentative second, more comprehensive volume was generated using a selection of previously collected data, and augmented with sociological material mainly covering non-ethnographic sources. This final volume was titled "*Sexual Behaviour Curricula: An Anthropological Attempt. Capita Selecta from an Ethno-Historical Survey*". By this time a cursory survey of academic traditions in describing sexual socialisation processes had established the preference for a contemporary constructionist format (see §1.4 for a legitimisation). This went along a redefinition of the project's main features as providing an anthropological elaboration of sociological models, which could not have been elaborated without such (specifically developmental) anthropologia (cf. Becker), and the establishment of a relativist background for existing models which appear to have been created without much (specifically, developmental) anthropologia (Gagnon). This interim shift of perspective resulted in earlier elaborations (latency, shame, arranged marriage, biocultural perspectives) not being further pursued for the time being.

Concluding, the project evolved from an ethnographic atlas to a rearrangement of sociological positions, and from a perspective on "controlled", "managed", or

“curricularised” sexual behaviour “development” to one on “construed” and “operationalised” sexual identity and orientation performances. Its object evolved from culture to (acculturised) persona. A final main cause was to incorporate ethnographic materials in a tentative, interactionist, and performance-based format.

As a result, a literature review of cross-cultural materials that in earlier phases had been considered central was finally incorporated as an Appendix (**Appendix I**). This is not to say that the materials reviewed here were considered of less relevance; rather, they were situated as contributing to the macrostructural ramification of microcontextual performances that may or may not show similarities over this structural range.

The study thus offers a bird’s eye view of theoretical positioning, centralising constructionist perspectives. The final mode of organising data was informed by the following antiparallel (and to some extent circular) processes:

- extracting ethnohistorical material for accommodation in sociological frameworks;
- identifying frameworks for accommodating ethnohistorical material.

As discussed previously, the accent was placed on the former mode in early stages, and on the latter in later stages, a debatable order.

0.2.1 Webpublication and Continuity

In a late stages of the project, Prof. Dr. R. T. Francoeur and Prof. Dr. E. J. Haeberle were contacted with regard to the possibilities of web-publication via Humboldt University, Berlin, associated with the *Magnus Hirschfeld Archive for Sexology* (<http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology>). The benefits are the following:

- the convenient distribution and retrieval format of accumulated review data, including to individuals not privileged to use academic resources;
- the opportunity for appeal to academic expertise and participation in periodic online additions. This pertains to reference expansion, revision, and further processing;
- the stimulation of further research, interpretation, and elaboration efforts.
- the inclusion of a [Contributor’s facility](#), to support a resource-based colloquium.

This solution was effected as of late January, 2003, at <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/GUS/GUSCONTRIBUTORSWEB.HTM> et seq.

0.3 Final Research Purpose

With both casuistic and theoretical materials, I would like to identify basic entries to preadult sexualities as sensitive to ethnographic variation: as “developing”, as “learned”, as “natural”, and as “problematic” categories. In tune with the chosen theoretical work-up, I have

centralised children's narratives, though rare, and native accounts, though fragmentary. A collateral interest was to some extent positioned as providing a baseline for the project's theoretical agenda: the sexological situating of the "child" as developmental, as protosocial (e.g., protofunctional) and as prenormative. Author's preliminary surveying specifically issued the following topics as sexological explananda:

- pre-institutional performance;
- the social construction and use of curricula, discontinuity and autobiography;
- the interplay of biological and developmentalist (pedagogic) concepts of "development";
- the concepts of behavioural competence, praxis and the mediation of the operative.

0.4 Legitimation

We may argue with Fine (1986)³ that "[...] it may be best for adults not to know what their offspring are doing". However, it should be clear that an ethnographic inventory approach is required for any design of human erotogenesis that does not wish to limit its scope to any given cultural setting. Literature reviewing by the author has revealed a number of voids in the literature on erotic development, and a number of seemingly idiosyncratic choices in curriculum and narrative that might help explain these voids. One void is the relative neglect of the early indefinite and preinstitutional "precursors" of the mental experience of eroticism, as compared to behavioural phenomena. This is particularly true of ethnographic writings. To argue that mental processes are decidedly and distinctly behavioural, which the current work tends to do, of course does not compensate for this methodologically mediated vacuum.

The relevance of a broad understanding of the erotogenetic process has become more urgent given a number of comparatively recent developments in moral and social change. This is potentially significant in issues regarding the electronic globalisation of sexual information availability and its impact on socialisation; the legislative and "moral outreach" of sexual abuse ideologies on an international scale; and the concurrent centralising of phase defined "psychopathologies" in the realm of sexuality, for a large part of the life course. The "cultural factor" in any of these modern motives can not be regarded as peripheral in any substantial sense. Therefore, a comprehensive review of ethnographic observations on ideas, practices and events in the sphere of the erotic paradigm of life will contribute to an understanding of local sexual organisations to which all such concepts are, in a way, relative. As Irvine (1994:p24)⁴ remarked, "social history and cultural analysis are important tools to challenge the biomedical model that privileges individual behavior". Secondly, *ethnohistorical* comparison of sexual development methods would provide preliminary clues to the evolution of human sexual cultures from the "ontogenetic" point of view. Other (lateral) interests include the issue of sexual education (e.g., Irvine, 1995)⁵, especially within biomedical agendas.

³ Fine, G. A. (1986) The dirty play of little boys, *Society*, Nov/Dec:63-7

⁴ Irvine, J. M. (1994) Cultural differences and adolescent sexualities, in Irvine, J. M. (Ed.) *Sexual Cultures and the Construction of Adolescent Identities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, p3-28

⁵ Irvine, J. M. (1995) *Sexuality Education Across Cultures*. San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass

0.5 Definitions

Generally, theoretical delineation on “erotic” development, even within a narrow cultural setting, seldom entails more than a suggestion for perspective. Further reviewing of this point appears to be in operation⁶.

The formation of the narrative and experience of gender and of the erotic aura of existence takes place within a complex set of agenda, reverberating between a variety of multi-stage neuroendocrinological processes, and a multidimensional landscape of sociocultural attitudes. Limiting the formative perspective of human “sexual behaviour” to an economy of environmental claims and a more or less stereotyped curriculum of expressive tendencies has proved to be a commonly utilised technique in classic anthropological approaches to socialisation in general, at least by most of the surveyed literature. The “sexual sphere” included in ethnographic study is limited, by compromise, to the potential set of behavioural phenomena that are natively and / or auctorially (by the ethnographer or ethnologist) included in the field of human eroticism. The environment of this “sphere” is defined by the collective of mechanisms that are natively or auctorially presumed to be of relevance to its actualisation or censorship. At this time, biological factors are best thought of in terms of representation, since the issue of biological agency is not adequately studied.

Since the closely interrelated matters of definition and perspective are to be regarded as crucial in any discourse on human erotic curricula, it is suggested that a survey, including *two* sets of definitions, might contribute to an informed, “meta-auctorial” insight on the anthropology of “sexual socialisation”, within a potentially complex system of “observation” and interpretation. This meta-auctorial (reviewer) level was progressively introduced to address omissions.

0.6 Methodology

All literature relevant to the field delineated above is used to provide a survey that aims at both geographic and historic versatility. Literature is tracked through cross-references. Paper HRAF references are tracked via category 864. Several websites were used⁷. The eHRAF is searched and quoted via category 864, and through additional basic, Boolean and proximity searches. Data and references are drawn from various medical, sociological and psychological electronic databases, including Medline, Psychinfo, Sociological Abstracts, Historical Abstracts, Anthropological Index Online (AIO), etc. The 125 page *Focused*

⁶ Current research sponsored by the Dr. Mr. E. Brongersma Foundation, Amsterdam.

⁷ EHRAF (<http://ets.umd.umich.edu/e/ehrafe/>); also via <http://lucy.ukc.ac.uk/EthnoAtlas/ethno.html>), JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org/>), etc. University websites; NCC via UL sites; AOI via <http://www.lucy.ukc.ac.uk/AIO.html>; ASC at <http://asc.leidenuniv.nl/library/catalogues.htm>; Francoeur (1997) via <http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/IES/BEGIN.HTM>; *Focused Ethnographic Bibliography for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample* found on www.worldcultures.org/~drwhite/worldcul/SCCSbib.pdf; Medline at <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/entrez/query.fcgi>; NISSO at <http://www.nisso.nl/ndbnl.htm>; Homodok Library at <http://www.homodok.nl/>

*Ethnographic Bibliography for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample*⁸, offering pre-coded variables including childhood training (4th digit), was used as a starting bibliography. Another starting source, The Dutch Central Catalogue (NCC), was searched, for instance through GOO code 73.44 (Cultural Anthropology, Sexuality) in combination with additional codes.

Anthropological, sociological and other sources were searched fulltext using JSTOR® (which allows basic, Boolean and proximity searches). Beside digital searches, introductory data gathering has been effectuated using a “shelf approach” in selected sections of university-affiliated anthropological libraries⁹ and other specialized anthropological libraries¹⁰. Special credits go to a number of Dutch sexological collections and libraries¹¹.

A number of references to countries in the fourth volume of Francoeur’s *International Encyclopaedia* are not included due to their unavailability in digital form at the time of writing¹². Fulltext articles were obtained through many search engines, including JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org>), EBSCO Host Research Databases (<http://www.ebscohost.com/>), the MUSE Project (<http://muse.jhu.edu/search/search.pl>), PCI Full Text (<http://pcift.chadwyck.co.uk>), Sciencedirect (<http://www.sciencedirect.com>, including the use of “alert” functions during the project), Findarticles (<http://www.findarticles.com/PI/index.jhtml>), Google (<http://www.google.nl>), Education-Line (<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/>). Selected books were obtained via Blueribbon Books Reborn (<http://blueribbon.books-reborn.org>). A number of authors provided drafts of papers.

0.7 Perspectives: Problematic, Arbitrary and Unsolved “Dichotomies” and Operational Choices

The Atlas is primarily concerned with listing and reflecting on sources describing historical and ethnographic sexualities as activities. A range of problems were encountered in the process of using these data to fit within existing models. Looking back on preliminarily utilised presentations and elaborations, the following “dichotomies” were identified (followed by a brief comment):

— Cultural opposition vs. cultural uniformism.

It was agreed upon on the outset that the project should commit itself to securing cross-“cultural” relativism by means of mapping cultural diversity through cultural contradistinction (juxtaposition). However, it was agreed that this would not have to require a uniform bicultural or tricultural format. It was also argued that the data

⁸ Taken from D. R. White, in *World Cultures* 2,1. Version prepared by William Divale, 2000.

⁹ Particularly those in Amsterdam (UBA), Utrecht (UBU), and Nijmegen (UBN).

¹⁰ These include *Africa Studies Center* (Leiden); *Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology* (Leiden); Dutch Institute for Near East Studies (NINO, Leiden)

¹¹ These include the Dr. Mr. E. Brongersma Collection (Brongersma Foundation, Amsterdam), Dr. C. van Emde-Boas Collection (University of Amsterdam), Homodoc Library (Amsterdam) and the NISSO library (Dutch Institute for Socio-Sexological Research, Utrecht). The author regrets denied access to Dr. F. Bernard’s collection (Bernard Foundation, Rotterdam).

¹² Austria, Colombia, Croatia, Egypt, Iceland, Indonesia, Outer Space, Papua New Guinea, The Philippines, Portugal, Turkey, and Vietnam.

render the anthropologist and reviewer susceptible for essentialist visions on “cultures” as orientations fixed in time and place rather than as evolving, complex, variable and potential life-ways.

— **Preadult “sexuality” as a behavioural vs. psychological substrate.**

The project in its latter stages was more or less redirected from a survey of behavioural phenomena to psychological, psychometric and social constructs. This ultimately was frustrated by the lack of unifying sociological theories as well as quality (ethnographic and cross-cultural) data. Thus, these issues (particularly love/romanticism, eroticism, “eroticisation”) were covered in full for the European / U.S. data available, augmented with only a limited, tentative selection of observations from the ethnographic record. The author regrets this limitation, which in part is due to the author’s prior being unacquainted with sociological traditions.

— **“Ethnographic” vs. non-ethnographic study of pre-adult sexuality.**

It was observed that the extent of sociological study of children’s sexuality was surprisingly modest. However, a certain amount of data could be collected for the work on gender/sexuality within “school” environments. While the author was well acquainted with most non-ethnographic material on preadolescent sexualities, integrating these data with newly generated bibliographies was primarily left to future efforts.

— **Historiographic vs. ethnographic data in constructionist theories.**

The author personally feels that an interactionist / constructionist perspective on “sexual” behaviour and identity development can and should be informed by a mixture of cross-historical and cross-ethnic comparisons. Both entries have been surveyed in this project, though not in a format that separates one approach from the other; any separation, furthermore, would be a spurious one. I would argue that the current (ongoing) collection of references accounts for a rather complete survey of both entries.

— **“Biological” vs. cultural determination/representation.**

The choice of an interactionist/constructionist interpretation of data, together with the stress on the presentation and collection of constructionist data, does not oppose images of biological representation, and also does not reject the image of biological determination. Speaking with Prof. Dr. John Money and referring to the wealth of biosocial entries to the problem, any polarised perspective is an undue simplification; on the other hand, the inability to generate data needed to isolate such polarity necessitates (or perhaps grants) unilateral perspectives. An early preliminary chapter

addressing biological agency in the determination of sexarche in cross-cultural studies was not further elaborated.

— **Academic vs lay native sexologies.**

Cultures vary in their utilisation of sets of rationales to explain the social interactions involved in sexual behaviour and identity socialisation as necessitated by various grounds (developmental sexologies). The European case (**chapter 2**) provides an understanding of how these sexologies vary over time as well. As was detailed in a tentative chapter not included in the final draft, it was hypothesised that the dogmata and issues addressed within such sexologies may be explained by specific ethnohistorical contexts. Extracting “developmental sexologies” from ethnographic sources proved a disappointing task, primarily given the general lack interest and methodological rigour.

0.8 *Selected Limitations*

0.8.1 *Limitations inherent to the Project*

The quality and detail of this review is compromised by a number of problems, including:

- (1) author’s previous inexpertise with the social anthropological discipline;
- (2) the often problematic (or even absent) indexing of monographs;
- (3) the frequently encountered unavailability of sources within national libraries;
- (4) the constructive “forward” approach which includes the gradual expansion of subjects and perspectives, and the consequential “missed references”.
- (5) the purposeful initial ignoring of operational limitations, whether ideological, pragmatic or theoretical. Inherently, the work does not generate hypothetical formulations, and cannot claim to address, statistically or otherwise, the manifold hypotheses it reviews or refrains from reviewing (in preliminary or final essays).

0.8.2 *Limitations inherent to the Materials*

In reference to the observations presented in **Appendix II**, it can be concluded that few materials address non-western developmental sexologies, and very few do so to a satisfactory degree. More dramatically, non-western materials, especially those older than the 1980s, do not commonly address children’s views and narratives. This rendered most non-western material impotent within the (final) theoretical scope of the thematic part of this project.

0.8.3 Statistics

The selected, lateral inclusions of quantitative materials are primarily derived from the author's preparatory literature reviewing, and, strictly, did not follow from the current project's objectives. The use of quantitative methods using the presently identified materials is limited, predominantly due to the methodological format in which they were gathered. Work using SCCS data in SPSS format awaits further processing, and shall be initiated outside the contours of the current project.

0.9 Final Product

Given the limitations identified above, cited references were not as a rule cross-examined, analyzed within a geo- or chronological setting, or, as a routine, challenged with theoretical data. As a result, the survey takes on a global bibliographic character, primarily occupied with the identification of relevant literature pertaining to (i) qualitative and descriptive materials, and (ii) methodological entries. If presented the opportunity, priorities were given to (a) data covering earlier rather than later life phases; (b) non-Western rather than Western data; (c) qualitative rather than quantitative materials; (d) cross-cultural rather than monocultural materials; (e) historical rather than contemporary data; (f) precolonial rather than colonial or postcolonial data; (g) constructionist / interactionist rather than alternative perspectives.

0.10 Personal Note

Personally, the author feels to have gained qualitative insights in the framework of social sciences previously outside his reach. The author, however, regrets his limitations in maximising the potential applicability of a number of the surveyed principles and theoretical positions. Further, it is regrettable that no further academic affiliation could be added to the said colloquia. Therefore, the project remains at a preacademic level as is concerned synthetic elaboration.

Much more data were collected than are presented in the current volumes. For additional references, the reader is referred to interim bibliographies, which will be updated continuously.

The author personally feels that the curricularisation of social *pleasure* is a by-product of the cultural logic of anticipating separation and bonding transitions. The cross-cultural study of

pleasure potential socialisation (e.g., Klein, 1972)¹³ therefore would provide a wider scope for the study of the developing erotic experience. As for a personal (medical) agenda, the ethnographic record does not as yet solve elementary problems in approaching the process of erotogenetics. I agree with Prof. John Money that this is evidently a cultural hesitation localisable in post-industrial currents; there is, however, a universal touch to it. Future researchers might want to try disproving the hypothesis that the issue is essentially unresearchable at the discursive level, and that the many compromised methodologies historically offer more outlooks, less insights. A non-affirmative answer does not make the field a less interesting or less central one, of course.

¹³ Klein, G. S. (1972) The vital pleasures, in Holt, R. R. & Freund, P. et al. (Eds.) *Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Science*. New York: Macmillan, p181-205

Overview

Abstract: This introductory note serves as a guide to the current collection of chapters providing a cross-culturally informed support of symbolic interactionist/ social constructionist sexual socialisation theory, otherwise known as “scripting” theory.

Contents

Preliminary Notes

Structural Design

Data

Introduction to the Chapters

Preliminary Notes

The present literature inventory is concerned with extracting cultural and cross-cultural principles that govern the socialisation and expression of sexual behaviour in the pre-adult individual. The data used for the chapters briefly introduced and legitimised *infra* are partly distilled from the *Atlas Volume*, and are partly the result of additional specific literature searches. As a whole, the chapters represent a condensation and a limitation of an original interim *Thematic Volume* embodying rough topic-organised extracts from the *Atlas*. For full coverage of the subjects and for full referencing, the reader is referred to this former collection, and to the *Atlas*. For the sake of brevity and readability, the current thematic volume refers to original preparatory papers that will not be published.

The *Atlas Volume* provides an ongoing, preliminary, ethnographically organised annotated bibliography for the cross-cultural study of sexual behaviour trajectories. As such, it offered an identification of previously valued entries and paradigms used by ethnographers and sociologists to cover the issue of sexual behaviour “socialisation”. Thus, it is to provide the inspiration for further subject-based and approach-identified literature reviewing. From this material, a selection of topics was chosen to illustrate what had become a compelling entry to viewing matters, namely, the process of securing a ground of existence, evolution and expression for sexual behaviour by attributing to it a pragmatic, social identity, thereby legitimising its enactment. Inherently, the demonstration of cross-cultural variability associated with this process is arrived at via a constructionist-interactionist approach.

Structural Design

Each chapter is introduced by an abstract, an contents clarification, and an introduction. Chapters are concluded with closing arguments.

Data

The material collected in this Volume was arrived at in various stages. Sources were selected for their constructionist approach, their subject, their (cross-)cultural setting, and their availability. No limitation was applied in the selection of sources, provided that crucial material was published in academic periodicals or presented at academic meetings.

Introduction to the Chapters

An addendum entitled “Chapter Abstracts” provides for a cursory overview of the chapter’s contents.

I Theory

Chapters **1-4** explore and formulate theoretical assumptions that govern sexual “developmental” issues; these theoretical baselines are used and demonstrated by ethnographic and historical materials. An introductory chapter (**1**) lists theoretical traditions in developmental sexology, surveying their use for application within a poly-ethnographic format. Chapter **2** outlines historical aspects of the sexological invasion of childhood. Two further chapters (**3** and **4**) delineate and assess the theoretical positioning within the current project as selected from the review in chapter 1, which is a constructionist approach. Departing from a critique on the ramifications used in the “cross-cultural method” (**Appendix I**), chapter **3** overviews applications of an interactionist interpretation of sexual socialisation based on a reformulation by Becker. Chapter **4** cursory explores how, according to theoretical formulations, language mobilises and immobilises the inner- and outer-geography of the sexological order.

II The Sexual Scene

Chapters **5-15** review ethnohistorical materials pertaining to sexual socialisation processes within a constructionist-performative format. This field is approached via diverse entries including the sexualised-operationalised body (**12, 13**), and the interactive order (**7-10, 14**) fostering curricularisation processes (**5**), within its discursive settings (**11**). Within this format, children manufacture, assimilate and invest into a scene that accommodates sexual behaviour (chapter **6**) and romantic love (**15**).

The former chapters are sensitised by an appraisal of multi-agenda ‘colloquial’ discussions of eroticisation processes within the current American context (chapter **16**).

III Selected Conclusions

A closing chapter (**17**) rehearses selected major highlights extracted from the preceding chapters.

Appendices

Five appendices provide lateral and background data.

(I) An appraisal of relevant data generated by the cross-cultural method, providing a cursory exploration of the structural level of sexual trajectories;

- (II) An appraisal of general ethnographic coverage of early sexual behaviour and socialisation;
- (III) A literature review of contemporary interpretations of sexualities located within school environments using a performative approach;
- (IV) A discussion of meta-scientific assumptions on “development”, as a preliminary to “post-developmentalalist” perspectives on sexual trajectories;

Addenda

Supporting specific GUS chapters, or generally.

- (a) addendum to paragraph 12.4.1;
- (b) bibliography supporting **chapter 9**
- (c) bibliography supporting **chapter 14**
- (d) tables supporting **chapter 16**
- (e) list of terms
- (f) [in preparation] addendum to **chapter 8**

Chapter Abstracts

1

The Sociology of Life Span Sexualities: “Anthropological” Traditions and Entries

This chapter identifies sociological traditions in approaching human sexual “development”, resulting in a choice of perspective informing the present literature review. These traditions were tested for their utility in surveying and interpreting ethnographic accounts of sexual socialisation processes. To further map the orientations of academic interests in “developmental sexuality” research, a range of **agenda** in approaching sexual socialisation was tested for the use of ethnographia. To complement this exploration, some preliminary notes are offered on “lateral” constructions and biases in approaching socialised (or sociologised) phase-identified sexual behaviour. The definitive format chosen included constructionist elements informing a “**performed sexuality**” or “modified” scripting perspective.

2

Sexologising Childhood: Historical Antecedents of “Developmental Sexology”

This chapter identifies selected historical antecedents of contemporary sexological conceptualisations of the child, with a reference to ethnographic import. First, it is argued that “developmental sexologies” or ontologies are cultural constructs that describe and legitimise given curricular operationalisation efforts. It is suggested that the theme of age salience in early sexology is neglected by historians. Specifically, masturbation evolved from a poorly curricularised pathological discourse (until 1850s) to one that seemed to be based solely on phase ideologies (1905 to late 1960s). A breakthrough in developmental sexology was established by Von Krafft-Ebing’s considering *all* prepubertal sexual phenomena as “paradoxical” to nature, a pathology not fully eradicated until the 1930s. Slowly, pathology gave way to a stress on early sexuality as “play” and “experimentation”, as illustrated by the ethnographic notes of Tessmann. This seemed to have been arrived at by the transitional recognition of “love” development. It was argued that the influx of non-western data, single authors excepted, was markedly delayed past key theoretical efforts (Freud); the *systematic*, and later *numeric*, cross-cultural approach is still in its infancy, a surprising fact regarding the wide interest in cross-cultural sexology today. Highlights are briefly summarised.

3

Developmental and Developing Sexologies

This chapter provides a theoretical outline of a framework for describing cross-cultural patterns of sexual behaviour socialisation. This framework describes the process of sexual behaviour and identity socialisation in terms of operationalisation rather than permissiveness. This process identifies cultural tasks defining individual curricular sexual identities, and curricular subcultural countertasks by which children and youth respond to, assimilate, renegotiate these claims. That is, a specific (sexual) socialisation curriculum creates a specific (sexual) subculture, as can be described and studied via its being grounded in self-devised forms and self-imposed tasks. On this basis, the current literature review was identified as aiming to facilitate a demonstration of social definitions operationalising any part and level of the process of socialisation: acts, actors, bodies (and their biological evolutions), and body parts (and their biological functions). From an interactionist perspective, the concept of “negative” or antagonist socialisation is theoretically problematic, since, it was argued, antagonist pedagogism always originates in a curricularised positive discourse.

Theoretical disciplines governing sexological principles for different cultures were explored along two dimensions. It was observed that pedagogical cultures, as a whole, may uniformise and institutionalise paradigmatic entries to developing sex, or rationalise practices in a less organised, more individualised fashion.

4

Language, Culture and Developmental Sexology: A Constructionist**Identification**

This chapter explores constructionist perspectives on the developmental representation of sexuality in verbal exchanges. A specifically human trait, language, more than behaviour, is identified as a structuring agent capable of organising and shaping curricular hierarchies within gendered subcultures. This was demonstrated for two male curricular verbal cultures incorporating sexologist narratives: the Afro-American ritual of “sounding”, “homophobic” slander, , and the curricular “sexist” discourse. Ethnographic material expands on this model in suggesting that restrictions and proscriptions on rapport and exchange shape the totality of sexual/erotic timescapes, curricularising and compartmentalising both “exterior”, social spaces (gender, age and kinship dimensions) and “inner”-spaces (bodies). Language, in short, (1) curricularises sexual / body trajectories, (2) segmentalises sexological societies on the basis of several social gradients, and (3) organises discursive and situated sexualities. Poststructural perspectives on sexual/erotic identity are to identify individuals localising themselves within the order of communicated hypothetical sex rather than solely within the biographical realm of lived-experiences. It was emphasised that narratives, albeit *locating* sexuality, are further used to *shape* sexuality on discursive and situational levels. This was tentatively potentialised by addressing how sexualities are autobiographically reconstructed, or fitted within a pedagogical discourse.

5 ***Puberty: Manufacturing, Operationalising and Regulating Chronology and Discontinuity***

This chapter explores cultural operationalisations of puberty, particularly within a sexological context. It was hypothesised that two major identifiers of sexual cultures (chronology and discontinuity) are related to social structure as regarding its curricular organisation of reproductive affiliations. This was approached via three interrelated levels: the manufacturing, operationalisation, and regulation of puberty. It was further demonstrated how discontinuity was effected through nosological and magical operationalisation. On the basis of SCCS data, a rough preliminary baseline was created for cultural sexologies of puberty.

6 ***Coitality, Koitomimesis and Coitarche: Construing Chronology, Status, Scenario, Residence, and Dyadicism***

Taking a contemporary scripting approach (cf. section 1.1.3.1) to human coitus development as a starting point for facilitating a demonstration of cross-cultural variations in prepubertal sexual behaviour, it is explored how the form and formality of such behaviour will closely reflect social contexts used by children to actively shape legitimising scenarios. At this point, this modification is utilised in describing children as “using” legitimising scripts (e.g., marriage) to facilitate the fulfilment of thus *hidden scripts* (genital behaviour). In this sense, children may *modify existing scenarios* to fit specific agendas, and within such ad hoc scenarios recruit (operationalise) potential partners. Coital *patterning* scripts (*curricular scripts*) are closely related to other patterning scripts, such as those addressing intimacy and pairbonding. Thus, form and timing of coitarche proper and coital patterning proper are shaped according to curricularising tendencies that, cross-culturally, are variably operationalised and organised. Genitality in nonprototypical (self-invented scenarios, nondyadicism) or protovariant (non-quasi “marital”) contexts were interpreted as allowing the situational generating and modification of scripts, as opposed to the adoption of complete stereotypical ones.

7 ***Sex Training: The Neglected Fourth Dimension in Erotagogical Ideologies***

The concept of sexual *training*, as it is virtually unknown in Western erotic discourse, is discussed. Observations are reviewed on various instances of explicit and direct transmission of sexual techniques: coitus demonstrations, institutional intructrices, semi-formal age-stratified coital introductions, less flagrant age-dismatched patterns, age-nonsegregated dormitory systems, active shaping of heterosexual identity/role, and enforced coitarche. Compromising previous ramifications, these processes advocate a bidirectional classification of sex education discourses, allowing for positive operationalisations.

8

Preadult Sexualities: Ethnohistorical Materials for a Discourse Analysis

This chapter explores discourses associated with what are identified as “typical” or “non-typical” sexual developmental pathways. It is suggested that the occurrence of these pathways is a function of curricular opportunities and restrictions, and, tentatively, that cultural tolerance levels tend to take these mechanisms into consideration in their attitudes. That is, tolerance for (curricular) atypical patterns is a trade-off for abstinent parenthood. Pedagogue’s positioning follows discourses which for the purpose of this article could be trichotomised as legitimising tolerant, restrictive and stimulative attitudes. A mechanism is suggested that, on *individual* and *subcultural* curricular levels alike, operationalisations of (e.g., partner-identified) sexual behaviour categories represent an economy of possibilities and probabilities, that loses hierarchical definition if and when cultural environments take nonoperationalising positions. While cultural patterns may be typified by an identical set of possibilities and probabilities, any “possible” or “probable” act may still be subject to a specific explanation: frustration, practice, indifference, hesitance, etc. This is suggested by a parallel presentation of historical and ethnological examples.

9

The Doing of Genitalia: Baby’s Genitals and the Grand Scheme of Things Sexual

This chapter explores cultural determinants of nonpreparatory nonhygienic nonmedical genital handling. It was observed that these interactions represent early operationalisations of heterosexual identity, and the intergenerational anticipation and certification of sexual values and functions. Its absence (from public discourse) in industrial societies is linked to the relative nonintervening attitude toward sexual and reproductive ontogenesis as associated with the absence of direct intergenerational interest with these issues.

10

“Primal Knowledge”: Physiology and Traumatology

This chapter explores the generational stratification of sexological technology. This is demonstrated for (parental) coitus as a narrative and as an image. Within the concept of performed sexualities, the prevention of knowledge acquisition thought to operationalise given, or any, sexual behaviour categories is identified as a fundamental principle. This information gradient establishes the age stratification it is thought to be necessitated by, in terms of motivational development. Apart from a poststructuralist approach (sex-knowledge is the currency of Western sexual discourses, and its transmission takes place within power domains) a number of alternative theoretical ramifications are briefly listed.

11

Medicalisation and Curricularisation of Sexual Behaviour

Trajectories

This chapter is concerned with demonstrating how cultures, contrary to Foucault's thesis, *universally* resort to biological and nosological legitimisations of moral choices connected to given sexual behaviour curricula. It is further argued that this tendency continues to be a definite hallmark of contemporary Western society, particularly in the issue of age stratification.

12

Bodies, Functions and Culture I: Operationalising Organs,

Transitions and Erotics

The first of a duet, this chapter explores sociological and cultural determinants in the socialisation directed to organs, providing social meanings and, closely related, grounds for culture-specific experiences of their development. It was argued that the sexual body is gradually and progressively "assimilated" through the curricular assignment of pragmatic identities. Tracking down the assimilated body, instances are encountered where this assignment is delayed, does not occur unambiguously, or does not adequately seem to be assimilated by intergenerational interventions. In any case, the body unfolds within the larger political discourses, that *recruit*, *complement* and *identify* its potential. In traditional societies, for instance, the female body is variably dealt with according its "meaning" within the political scene of bride transferral. A central issue is the dissociation between reproductive and otherwise productive operationalisations of bodies. The operationalisation is demonstrated to be closely related to affective responses to bodies and bodily changes.

13

Bodies, Functions and Culture II: Instrumentalising and De-

Instrumentalising the Coital Body

This chapter expands on the preceding chapter by demonstrating how (especially African) cultures actively promote or incapacitate the young body as an instrument for sexual use. The prosexual techniques include preparation of cunnus (beautification, elongation of labia pudenda), breasts (shaping, enlargement) vagina (introcision, artificial defloration), and extragenital areas (scarification, siccatriation, piercing, etc.); in males, techniques include phallopoesis and preputial preparation. The practices are self-directed or mutual, in other cases it is effected maternally, ceremonially or in less extreme informal age stratified situations. Morphological alterations demonstrate the degrees of instrumentalisation and authorisation of the coital body. Further, anatomical structures (e.g. foreskin) are appointed variable sexological operationalisations which reflect culture's tendency to intervene in and control developmental processes.

14

Curricular Subjectification / Objectification of Erotic Personhood

This paper explores eroticisation processes in age-stratified settings. It is suggested that the cultural erotological meaning attached to childhood and puberty is associated with curricular recruitment into adult sexual cultures. This defines whether the child is in any sense a participating agent (e.g., participating victim) in (hypothetical) contacts with the ruling age class, and if so, what role it is granted. The data suggest that cultures, opposing a universal taboo, may normalise age-stratified contacts by redefining a given basis of exchange or utilisation to pedagogical principles. In other cultures, where *recruitment* occupies a marginalised status because of the need for such recruitment being incidental rather than pervasive, such functions are interpreted as symptomatic of individual, stereotypical failures to accomplish (curricularised) social agendas, the result of which falls subject to pathologising. The conclusion reads that cultures (as do individuals) operationalise children as erotic “objects” when such may be facilitated or required by teleiosocial blockages or lateral interests; if not required, children are *counter-operationalised* as “victims” of such (individual) operationalisation. The result is an individualised (as opposed to a culturally or subculturally peer-shared) *operationalisation conflict*. More generally, *complementation arguments* are used variably to legitimise given social imperatives. If not, *identification* processes are embraced to legitimise social recognition of nascent erotic citizenship. This complementation / identification duality can be used to study cultural operationalisation principles.

A constructionist study of age stratified sexual affiliation is not available in most cases; for the contemporary American situation, ethical implications compromise the methodological soundness of future study.

15

Rolling Down a Hill Together in Each Other's Arms: An***Ethnohistorical Inventory of Play / Rehearsive Love and (Pre-) Institutional Dyadic Affiliation***

This chapter provides a rough sketch of love development trajectories as encountered cross-culturally and historically. As such it explores the extent of cultural diversity in such indefinite concepts as love and romanticism, thereby providing a vademecum for future study of its developmental principles. It establishes a chronological baseline of love as a subjective experience by reviewing relevant numeric data available for Western societies. It further overviews some of the cultural determinants that have been identified as to shape love trajectories. Lastly, some theoretical excursions are offered.

16

Making and Arresting Sexual/Erotic People: A Cultural Issue:***Erotogenetics, Object/Subject Debates, and (Non-) Erotic Citizenship***

This chapter examines cultural ways of regarding, and effecting, so-called sexualisation / eroticisation processes. It was observed that Western discourses avoid a positive, or in any way interactionist, operationalisation of erotic development, and tend to concentrate on the identification of its misdirection in 'pathological' situations, as paralleled with a general "hurried erotics" discourse. Together with this clinical problem, the later 20th century has been characterised by a avoidance of defining the ontogenesis of erotic (rather than sexual or reproductive) personhood. It has been claimed that erotic objectivity and subjectivity are both produced and consumed within a culturally specific economy of complementation and identification requirements, as communicated by scripts and interactions, and within a complex double-axis (horizontal/vertical) plot. It is further suggested that the individual's (erotic) experience of "society" and "society"'s (erotic) experience of the individual provides for an interactionist discourse in negotiating meaning. This is demonstrated by the Islamic and Western "knowing eye". In fact, the "erotic" child is consumed and produced within very misty cultural implicits. Psychoanalytic, feminist and ethnographic impressions of the eroticisation process are provided with an emphasis on the concepts of objectification (complementation) and subjectification (identification). It was noted that structuralist-activist literature has conceptualised female erotic curricula as either manufactured or obliterated within a "sexist" discourse; the male analogy is much more unexplored. It was concluded that the divergence of these views sensitises any constructionist perspective.

17 ***Selected Theoretical Proceedings***

This chapter provides a cursory inventory of theoretical statements made in chapters 1 through 16.

Appendices

Structural Determinants of Sexual Curricula: A Review and Critique of the "Cross-Cultural Method"

The following appendix presents an overview of systematic cross-cultural studies investigating the structural determination of the human sexual behaviour curriculum, together with rough description of their conclusions as organised by a selected number of entries to the problem. (For a more detailed and complete analysis, the reader is referred to a preliminary overview.) The first three entries explore the control of sexual behaviour from within the macrocultural, sexological and pedagogical frameworks. The last entry more descriptively covers the cross-cultural patterns of (gender-specific) curriculum. A short summary and focal critique of the cross-cultural method is followed by a challenging of its fundamental operationalisation ("permissiveness" / "restraint").

//

Ethnographic Coverage of Early “Sexual” Behaviour Development and Socialisation: An Impression

This Appendix provides a rough outline of ethnographers’ tendencies to cover sexual developmental issues. The extent of this coverage is specified using numeric indications as provided by cross-cultural studies; this is followed by a focal critique of this type of studies. Ethnographer’s coverage in a qualitative sense is explored via a rough historical appraisal, and further by a discussion of selected problems in descriptive material encountered in the current study.

///

Playground Sexualities: The Performative-Interactionist Localisation of Schools

This Appendix provides a rough “ethnographic” outline of contemporary preadult sexualities within the U.S. school setting. An argument is made for the curricularising properties of schooling systems, determining the key issues of stratification, mobility, and sexual identity/orientation. Taking a performative-interactionist approach, feminist and gay activist agendas have in the past decade localised school environments as the central arenas in which sexualities “have their go” in the form of positioning and oppositioning, and through the agonism and antagonism of verbal, physical and ideological manoeuvring.

IV

Ontogeneticist Sexologies: The Case for a Post-Developmentalist Course

This concept paper argues for a reappraisal of hegemonic ontologist (especially *ethnocentric developmentalist*) theories of sexual (gendered, erotic) trajectories. The paper further recommends a critical reinterpretation of structural elements through which the sexual-sexological is expressed, particularly in curricular perspective.

1

Sociologies of “Developmental” Sexualities.

Traditions and Entries for an “Anthropological” Format¹

“Instead of teaching the boy civil manners, the father desires him to beat and pelt the strangers who come to the tent; to steal or secret in joke some trifling article belonging to them; and the more saucy and impudent they are, the more troublesome to strangers and all the men of the encampment, the more they are praised as giving indication of a future enterprising and warlike disposition”²

“If you notice, it is the puppies that seem to go against Nature, but grown dogs, never”³

“Is he allowed to take a few favorite toys to bed with him so that before he goes to sleep and after he wakes up, he has things to keep him happy and busy?”⁴

“Knowing, just where you’re blowing
Getting to where you should be going”⁵

Summary: This chapter identifies sociological traditions in approaching human sexual “development”, resulting in a choice of perspective informing the present literature review; this choice serves to inform specific elaborations offered further on, in **chapter 3**. These traditions were “tried on” for their utility in surveying and interpreting ethnographic accounts of sexual socialisation processes. To further map the orientations of academic interests in “developmental sexuality” research, a range of *agenda* in approaching sexual socialisation was explored for the use in doing ethnographia. To complement this exploration, some preliminary notes are offered on “lateral” constructions and biases in approaching socialised (or sociologised) phase-identified sexual behaviour. The definitive format chosen included constructionist elements informing a “performed sexuality” or “modified” scripting perspective.

¹ This paper is a presentation lateral of that offered in a previous essay entitled *Operational Principles of Human Sexual Behaviour Curricularisation: A Theoretical Exploration and Abstract of Cultural-Historical Elements*.

² Burckhardt, J. L. ([1831]) *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*. London. Vol. I, p98, as quoted by Thomas, W. I. (1899) Sex in Primitive Morality, *Am J Sociol* 4,6:774-87

³ From a letter written by “an experienced master in one of the most famous English public schools” to Havelock Ellis, quoted in *Auto-Erotism*. See Ellis, H. ([1936]) *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. Vol. I. New York: Random House

⁴ The Prudential Company of America (1954) *Your Child- Pre-School and School Years*, p70

⁵ Paul Weller, *Wild Wood* (Wild Wood, 1993)

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1.0 Introduction: The "Ontological" in the "Sexologist"

A number of arguments for the study of sexual behaviour trajectories have been proposed, of which the most important ones are reviewed below. These approaches to sexual behaviour curricularisation not usually add up to "pure paradigms", instead appear to be blended so as to inform a range of authors' personally satisfying modes of ideologising. In a literature review of the orthodox cross-cultural method presented in **Appendix I**, it will be concluded that "neither any single entry or level of analysis will be able to explain the total variance of cultural attitudes toward sexological phases. The literature suggests an interplay of pedagogical, sexological and otherwise curricular dynamics, which make a particular activist curriculum seem logical".

The lasting impression that characterises at least some childhood encounters is rarely addressed in available materials⁶, a problem that seems to affect all layers of methodological proximity. With all means of compromise, it can be maintained that "psychosexual development" has been studied on cultural⁷, subcultural (cf. §3.2.1), familial⁸ and individual levels. Of primary interest here, the study of "sexual cultures" (e.g., Herdt, 1999)⁹ is an established discipline within the sexological field. Conducting cross-cultural research on sexuality, however, exacerbates conceptual and methodological issues that occur within singular cultural contexts¹⁰. As "cultural" attributes, sexuality, sexology and sexual socialisation are part of an intimate circle of reality, whether addressed within behavioural, transitional, or identity discourses¹¹. As Herdt¹² states:

"The creation of a sexual culture is an epistemology, a system of knowledge about the world, and about things in the world. Sexual culture provides for a culture its received theory of what human nature is. What is a man? What is a woman? What is manliness? What is womanliness? What is a boy? What is a

⁶ Cohen, S. (1993) Le grand frisson, *Rev Franç Psychanal* 57,2:613-24

⁷ E.g., Vandermeersch, P. (1990) A cultural sexuality or a sexual culture? In Van de Vijver, F. J. R. & Hutschemaekers, G. J. M. (Eds.) *The Investigation of Culture: Current Issues in Cultural Psychology*. Tilburg, the Netherlands: Tilburg University Press, p43-58

⁸ Maddock, J. W. (1983a) Sex in the family system, *Marr & Fam Rev* 6:9-20; Maddock, J. W. (1983b) Human sexuality in the life cycle of the family, in Hansen, J. (Ed.) *Sexual Issues in Family Therapy*. London [etc.]: Aspen, p1-31

⁹ Herdt, G. (1999) Clinical Ethnography and Sexual Culture, *Ann Rev Sex Res* 10:100-19

¹⁰ Frayser, S. G. (2002) Discovering the value of cross-cultural research on human sexuality, in Wiederman, M. W., Whitley, B. E. Jr. (Eds.) *Handbook for Conducting Research on Human Sexuality*. p425-53. Cf. Frayser, S. G. (1994a) Anthropology: Influence of Culture on Sex, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc.

¹¹ Brooks-Gunn, J. & Graber, J. A. (1999) What's sex got to do with it? The development of sexual identities during adolescence, in Contrada, R. J. & Ashmore, R. D. (Eds.) *Self, Social Identity, and Physical Health: Interdisciplinary Explorations*. New York: Oxford University Press, p155-82

¹² *Semiannual Newsletter of the Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities* 6,2 (Spring, 1998).

Taken from http://www.vanderbilt.edu/rpw_center/examine.htm

girl? What is heterosexuality? What is homosexuality? What is sex for? What is good about sex? What is bad about sex? Those questions are all being iterated as a set of distinctions from the locally created theory of human sexual nature. This theory is then being promoted and taught to children, becomes part of their individual ontologies, and then feeds back into what we might call the collective pool of the sexual culture and its public representations for the culture as a whole”.

Hostetler and Herdt (1998)¹³ more recently have positioned the “ontological” within a culturalist approach:

“We do not mean to say merely that identity is a process; we also mean to suggest that the phenomena typically glossed as “sexual identity” includes a narrative of origins (an ontology), a fantasy of an ultimate purpose and future fulfilment (a teleology), (3) and a theory of and/or plan for moral action in the world (deontology)”.

In reminding ourselves of the fact that cultures and ontologies meet at the level of public performance, we might appreciate the portrait of the Choung family, headed by a Chinese immigrant grocery store worker, which provides the following encounter¹⁴:

“Their second son had arrived in the summer of 1986, but had trouble in school. He was placed in a bilingual class, but Mr. and Mrs. Choung were unhappy with his teacher, a Filipino-Chinese, who had taught in Taiwan. The teacher said that their son liked to touch other boys and that people in the United States would think him homosexual. Mrs. Choung said, “He must be crazy. It is normal for kids to play like that. In Taiwan kids do it, so he does it here. I have seen American kids touching each other. They are too young to know about “gays”. Don’t you see the kids play like that in the United States?”.

The focal review below identifies approaches that may help describe cross-cultural as well as subcultural variability in the experience of growing up within gendered and sexualised contexts. Specifically, it is explored how ethnography-derived sexual regulation modalities are to be presented within established scientific faculties. To at least avoid ignorance on involved “subjectivities”¹⁵, this requires a discussion at three levels:

- (a) sociological (versus biological) traditions in approaching human sexuality (§1.1);
- (b) academic uses of anthropology in approaching sexual socialisation as identified by specific agendas (§1.2); and
- (c) “lateral” constructions and biases in approaching socialised (or sociologised) phase-identified sexual behaviour (§1.3).

1.1 Biological versus Sociological Traditions and Age-Based Sexual Stratification

What is “adolescent sex”? Schalet (1994, 2000)¹⁶ found that US parents describe this issue as a biologically driven, individually based activity that causes disruption to the teenager and the family. Dutch parents,

¹³ Hostetler, A. J. & Herdt, G. H. (1998) Culture, sexual lifeways, and developmental subjectivities: rethinking sexual taxonomies, *Soc Res* 65,2:249-91

¹⁴ Chen, H. (1992) *Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, p101

¹⁵ E.g., Walkerdine, V. (1999) Childhood Sexuality and the Subjectivity of the Researcher, in Maier, W., Bayer, B. et al. (Eds.) *Challenges to Theoretical Psychology*. York: Captus Press

¹⁶ Schalet, A. T. (2000) Raging Hormones, Regulated Love: Adolescent Sexuality and the Constitution of the Modern Individual in the United States and the Netherlands, *Body & Society* 6,1:75-105; Schalet,

by contrast, emphasize love relationships and social responsibility of teenagers, making their sexuality a "normal" phenomenon. US parents would exclude "sexuality of teenagers" from conversation and the family, while Dutch parents accommodate culturally prescribed forms of "teenage sexuality" in the home. Schalet demonstrates how two constructions of adolescent sexuality, and the conceptions of personhood and social life that engender them, constitute "fundamentally different cultural logics". However, even reasoning within a single cultural setting, authors argue that "men and women often pursue radically different paths in response to the sexual "awakening" of adolescence"¹⁷.

Sociologists have always -yet progressively- questioned the place of biology, in their search of social ramifications of "sexuality"¹⁸. Stich and Du Bois-Reymond (1999)¹⁹ discussed this growing "sociologisation" for adolescent sexuality. Sociologists have proposed *social control*, *social learning*, *social contagion*, *social exchange*, *differential association* and *strain* theories to explain adolescent coitarche²⁰. Current theorists, however, also tend to refer to "biosocial"

A. T. (1994) Dramatiseren of normaliseren? De culturele constructie van tienerseksualiteit in de Verenigde Staten en Nederland, *Amsterdam Sociol Tijdschr* 21,2:113-47. See also Bozon, M. & Heilborn, M. L. (1996) Les Caresses et les mots. Initiations amoureuses a Rio de Janeiro et a Paris, *Terrain* 27:37-58. Cf. id., As caricias e as palavras. Iniciacao sexual no Rio de Janeiro e em Paris, *Novos Estud CEBRAP* 59(2001):111-35

¹⁷ Sayers, J. (1998) *Boy Crazy: Remembering Adolescence, Therapies and Dreams*. Florence, KY: Taylor & Francis/Routledge

¹⁸ Margold, Ch. W. (1926) The Need of a Sociological Approach to Problems of Sex Conduct. I. Radical Practices Cannot Be Justified by Merely Biological Data, *Am J Sociol* 31,4:455-73. See also 31,5:634-56; Shuttleworth, F. K. (1959) A Biosocial and Developmental Theory of Male and Female Sexuality, *Marr & Fam Living* 21,2:163-70; Sprey, J. (1969) On the Institutionalization of Sexuality, *J Marr & Fam* 31,3:432-40; Ross, E. & Rapp, R. (1981) Sex and Society: A Research Note from Social History and Anthropology, *Comparat Stud Society & Hist* 23,1:51-72; Gindorf, R. & Haeberle, E. J. (Eds., 1986) *Sexualität als Sozialer Tatbestand : Theoretische und Empirische Beiträge zu einer Soziologie der Sexualitäten*. Berlin: New York, NY: W. de Gruyter; Reiss, I. L. (1986a) *Journey into Sexuality: A Sociological Voyage*. New York: Prentice-Hall. Cf. Reiss, I. L. (1986b) A Sociological Journey into Sexuality, *J Marr & Fam* 48,2:233-42; Reiss, I. L. (1989) Society and sexuality: A sociological explanation, in McKinney, K. & Sprecher, S. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: The Societal and Interpersonal Context*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, p3-29; Callero, P. L. & Howard, J. A. (1989) Biases of the scientific discourse on human sexuality: Toward a sociology of sexuality, in McKinney, K. & Sprecher, S. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: The Societal and Interpersonal Context*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, p425-37; Stein, A. (1989) Three Models of Sexuality: Drives, Identities and Practices, *Sociol Theory* 7,1:1-13; DeLamater, J. (1981) The social control of sexuality, *Ann Rev Sociol* 7:263-90. Cf. DeLamater, J. (1987) A sociological perspective, in Geer, J. & O'Donohue, W. (Eds.) *Theories of Human Sexuality*. New York: Plenum, p237-56; DeLamater, J. D. (1989) The social control of human sexuality, in McKinney, K. & Sprecher, S. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: The Societal and Interpersonal Context*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, p30-62; Vance, C. S. (1991) Anthropology Rediscovered Sexuality: A Theoretical Comment, *Soc Sci & Med* 33,8:875-84

¹⁹ Stich, J. & du Bois-Reymond, M. (1999) Jugendsexualität wird ein Thema der Soziologie, *Diskurs* 9,1:6-9

²⁰ E.g., Strouse, J. S. & Fabes, R. A. (1987) A conceptualization of transition to nonvirginity in adolescent females, *J Adol Res* 2,4:331-48; Udry, J. R. (1988) Biological Predispositions and Social Control in Adolescent Sexual Behavior, *Am Sociol Rev* 53,5:709-22; Benda, B. B. & DiBlasio, F. A. (1991) Comparison of four theories of adolescent sexual exploration, *Deviant Behav* 12,3:235-57; Benda, B. B. & Kashner, T. M. (1994) Adolescent sexual behavior: A path analysis, *J Soc Serv Res* 19,3-4: 49-69; Benda, B. B. & DiBlasio, F. A. (1994) An integration of theory: Adolescent sexual contacts, *J Youth & Adol* 23,3:403-20; Benda, B. B. & Corwyn, R. F. (1996) Testing a Theoretical Model of Adolescent Sexual Behavior among Rural Families in Poverty, *Child & Adol Soc Work J* 13,6:469-94; DiBlasio, F. A. & Benda, B. B. (1990) Adolescent sexual behavior: Multivariate analysis of a social learning model, *J Adol Res* 5,4:449-66; DiBlasio, F. A. & Benda, B. B. (1992) Gender differences in theories of adolescent sexual activity, *Sex Roles* 27,5-6:221-39; Hillman, E. R. (1993) Adolescent sexual behavior: A developmental social learning model, *DAI* 53(11-B):5977-8; Rowe, D. C., Rodgers, J. L. & Meseck, B. S. (1989) An "epidemic" model of sexual intercourse prevalences for Black and White adolescents, *Soc Biol* 36,3-4:127-45; Rowe, D. C. & Rodgers, J. L. (1994) A Social Contagion Model of Adolescent Sexual Behavior: Explaining Race Differences, *Soc Biol* 41,1-2:1-18; Rowe, D. C. & Rodgers, J. L. (1991) An "epidemic" model of adolescent sexual intercourse: Applications to national survey data, *J Biosoc Sci* 23,2:211-9; Hovell, M. F. et al. (1994) A Behavioral-Ecological Model of Adolescent Sexual Development: A Template for AIDS Prevention, *J Sex Res* 31,4:267-81; Sprecher, S. (1998) Social Exchange Theories and Sexuality, *J Sex Res* 35,1:32-43; Hogben, M. & Byrne, D. (1998) Using social

models of *specific, adolescent* "sexual" beginnings (coitarche)²¹. In this respect, it could be argued that, "[...] although there may be theories and research that conjoin biological and social influences, there can be no true conjoining of essentialism and social constructionism"²². Selected studies indeed argue for an exclusively sociologist²³ or biologist positioning of sex research, while others seek to "combine" or "integrate" them (e.g., Woodson, 2002)²⁴.

Notwithstanding "modern" biosocial positions, Stein²⁵ demonstrates how sociologists have relocated their emphasis from "drives" (psychoanalysis, traditional sexology) to "identities" / "roles" (functionalism, symbolic interactionism, social constructionism) and to "activities" (post-structuralism). With the latter perspective, Foucault discards agency along structure, creating a diffuse, or rather *un*-localisation of power, which would render its foundations of less direct interest for sociologists, and for idealists²⁶. Stein (with others, including Redman and Angelides) argues for blendings of sociological and cultural analysis that combine insights of psychoanalysis, symbolic interactionism, and discourse analysis to focus on "the cultural scenarios that make sexual practices possible in culture"²⁷; others advocate the localisation of sex at "the interconversion between the body and the social"²⁸.

learning theory to explain individual differences in human sexuality, *J Sex Res* 35,1:58-71; Lauritsen, J. L. (1990) Adolescent Sexual Behavior and Early Childbearing: Empirical Tests of Social Control and Strain Theories, *DAI-A* 50,7, Jan, 2257-A; Dorius, G. L. (1995) Parental Support and Control and the Onset of Sexual Intercourse, *DAI-A* 55,12, June,4005-A; Oyor, S. C. J. & Pandey, A. (1999) Adolescent Transition to Coitus and Premarital Childbearing in Sudan: A Biosocial Context, *J Biosoc Sci* 31,3:361-74

²¹ Martin, N. G., Eaves, L. J. & Eysenck, H. J. (1977) Genetical, Environmental and Personality Factors Influencing the Age of First Sexual Intercourse in Twins, *J Biosoc Sci* 9,1:91-7; Smith, E. A., Udry, J. R. & Morris, N. M. (1985) Pubertal development and friends: A biosocial explanation of adolescent sexual behavior, *J Health & Soc Behav* 26,3:183-92; Udry, J. R. (1988) Biological predispositions and social control in adolescent sexual behavior, *Am Sociol Rev* 53,5:709-22; Smith, E. A. (1989) A biosocial model of adolescent sexual behavior, in Adams, G. R. et al. (Eds.) *Biology of Adolescent Behavior and Development*. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications, p143-67; Halpern, C. T., Udry, J. R. et al. (1994) Testosterone and religiosity as predictors of sexual attitudes and activity among adolescent males: A biosocial model, *J Biosoc Sci* 26,2:217-34; Rodgers, J. L., Rowe, D. C. & Buster, M. (1999) Nature, Nurture and First Sexual Intercourse in the USA: Fitting Behavioral Genetic Models to NLSY Kinship Data, *J Biosoc Sci* 31,1:29-41

²² DeLamater, J. D. & Hyde, J. Sh. (1998) Essentialism vs. social constructionism in the study of human sexuality, *J Sex Res* 35,1:10-8

²³ In a limited study on 17 HRAF cultures, it was found that sexual permissiveness was uncorrelated with either sex-role rigidity or violence (yet sex-role rigidity was highly correlated with violence). Results were incompatible with theories of sex and violence that stress a single physiological or instinctual factor, and support two-factor theories which gave more emphasis to social learning principles than to physiological determinants. McConahay, Sh. A. & McConahay, J. B. (1977) Sexual permissiveness, sex-role rigidity, and violence across cultures, *J Soc Iss* 33,2:134-43

²⁴ Woodson, J. C. (2002) Including "learned sexuality" in the organization of sexual behavior, *Neurosci & Biobehav Rev* 26,1: 69-80

²⁵ *Op.cit.*

²⁶ Horowitz, G. (1987) The Foucaultian Impasse: No Sex, No Self, No Revolution, *Political Theory* 15,1:61-80

²⁷ Stein, A. (1997) Sex after "Sexuality": From Sexology to Post-Structuralism, in Owen, D. (Ed.) *Sociology after Postmodernism*. London: Sage, p158-72

²⁸ Sanday, P. R. (1996) *A Discourse-Centered Approach to Human Sexuality*. Keynote address given at the Second Annual Rutgers Anthropology Graduate Student Conference, "Contemplating Sex," March 23, 1996. [Conference Proceedings published in *Crosscurrents: The Journal of Graduate Research in Anthropology*, Vol. VIII, Autumn 1996, p147-58 [unpaged]

Using a “cognitive scripting” entrance, Carr (1999)²⁹ notes that “ontologies” of sexuality come in three curricula: the “essentialist”, the “anarchist” and the “constructionist” or synthetic. Thus, “culture” has no place in essentialist ontological perspectives, plays a circumstantial or background role for anarchists, and a central role for constructionists.

Various entries can be utilised to describe sexual behaviour identities (adapting from Messner’s³⁰ discussion of gender constructions):

- *interactionist theoretical frameworks* that emphasise the ways that social agents “perform” or “do” sexual identities. These are most useful in describing how groups of people actively create (or at times disrupt) the boundaries that delineate seemingly categorical sexual interactions;
- *structural theoretical frameworks* that emphasise the ways that sexuality is built into institutions through hierarchical structures. These are most useful in explaining under what conditions social agents mobilise variously to disrupt or to affirm sexual identities;
- *cultural theoretical perspectives* that examine how popular symbols that are injected into circulation by the culture industry are variously taken up by differently situated individuals. These are most useful in analysing how the meanings of cultural symbols, in a given institutional context, might trigger or be taken up by social agents and used as resources to reproduce, disrupt, or contest sexological conceptions.

Classical sociological explanations of human sexuality cover a wide range of perspectives³¹. According to Weinberg, these might include so-called (1) structural-functional theories³², (2) conflict theories (Dahrendorf), (3) symbolic interactionism / social constructionism³³, and (4) ethnomethodology and phenomenology. An obvious addition would be (5) post-structuralism. The following section applies these models to the problem of developmental sexuality, providing examples of applications for each model, and exploring usefulness for the presentation of cross-cultural material.

1.1.1 Structural-Functional Theories

This generation of approaches would explain sexual socialisation as the regulation of “powerful libidinal drives, which have the potential, when unregulated, to disrupt orderly social interaction” or “orders” that are being “advantageous for collective survival”. The norms related to this regulation as typical for specific societies would have to be “compatible with other social arrangements and beliefs” or die out in evolutionary processes. Sexuality represents a threat to social equilibria, and its proper use or control facilitates the erection of, or preserves existing, social institutions based on such equilibria.

²⁹ Carr, C. L. (1999) Cognitive scripting and sexual identification: essentialism, anarchism, and constructionism, *Symbolic Interaction* 22,1:1-24

³⁰ Messner, M. A. (2000) Barbie girls versus sea monsters: Children constructing gender, *Gender & Society* 14,6: 765-84, at p780-1

³¹ E.g., Weinberg, Th. S. (1994) Sociological theories of sexuality, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland Publ.. Inc.

³² Davis, K. (1966) Sexual behavior, in Merton R. K. & Nisbet, R. (Eds.) *Contemporary Social Problems*. 2nd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace & World

³³ Gagnon, J. H. & Simon, W. (1973) *Sexual Conduct: The Sources of Human Sexuality*. Chicago: Aldine; Gagnon, J. H. (1977) *Human Sexualities*. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman; Gagnon, J. H. (1989) Sexuality across the life course in the United States, in Turner, Ch. F., Miller, H. G. & Moses, L. E. (Eds.) *AIDS, Sexual Behavior and Intravenous Drug Use*. Washington, DC: National Academic Press, p500-36; Simon, W. & Gagnon, J. (1998) Psychosexual development, *Society* 35,2:60-8

Major personae in developmental sexology can be located within this tradition (Freud c.s. including Róheim; Whiting and Child; Ford and Beach, etc.). The concepts of "permissiveness" and "restraint" (e.g. SCCS) tend to refer to structural-functional ideas of developing erotic motives.

An ethnographic example:

In Guajiro (Venezuela) society there is an apparent relationship between severe socialisation of female sexual behaviour and the demands made on a woman's behaviour by the institution of marriage (Watson, 1972)³⁴. The success of this severe sexual socialisation of the girl has a bearing on the ability of her family to maintain its status in society and to contract useful political alliances. Severe socialisation is functionally adapted to these demands because it produces "negative fixation in the sexual system", which in turn acts as "a psychic monitoring device" to discourage the unmarried girl from experiencing sexually and thereby increases the likelihood that she will remain sexually chaste, marry well and be potentially valuable to her lineage for cementing a political alliance. This pattern is carried out especially conscientiously by upper class Guajiro who have more at stake in the successful marriage of their daughters.

Structuralist models require a baseline insight to the developmental role of biological agency in social interactions. In contemporary sexology, these issues have been researched to some extent (particularly by Udry and Halpern)³⁵, but the linkage to sociological processes remains hypothetical, and unexamined in a cross-cultural perspective. It appears that structuralist traditions in sexology addressing cross-cultural perspectives have not systematically incorporated biological principles in their models, and that biosexologists have not systematically addressed cross-cultural patterns. Society, here, tends to be interpreted as a univariate monolithical structure, and biology as a likewise constant yet "cryptic" causal determinant. For these reasons, the development of a "biocultural" ontological concept of sexual behaviour falls beyond the scope of the present literature study.

1.1.2 Marxist (/ Conflict) Theory: The Sexual Economy

According to Marxism, sexual organisations are an exponent of the order of production. The economically powerful age (older) strata of society "exploit" the weaker, younger strata members. Cross-cultural approaches unravel how economic groups define their identity and status in sexual matters at the expense of others. Thus, older and younger strata (consequent generations over given time spans) are identified as rulers and ruled, whose conflicting interests are redefined in terms of role-expectations. This approach was used by Meyer³⁶ and others, but, though various ethnographic examples can be referred to, few *cross-culturally* sophisticated attempts have been undertaken. John Money certainly represents an avid protagonist of this model, but his use of ethnologic (along with historical) data was fragmentary.

³⁴ Watson, L. C. (1972) Sexual Socialization in Guajiro Society, *Ethnology* 11,2:150-6

³⁵ Cf. Hutchinson, K. A. (1995) Androgens and Sexuality, *Am J Med* 98,1, Suppl. 1:111S-115S

³⁶ Meyer, J. (1996) Sexuality and power: Perspectives for the less powerful, *Theory & Psychol* 6,1:93-119

It has been proposed³⁷ that, generally, classical Marxism "lacks a clear psychology"³⁸, and that authors may misunderstand "the full nature of sexuality" by concentrating on "adult" sexuality (Zaretsky). Reich, attempting to fuse early Freudian theory of libido with Marxist approaches³⁹, was criticised for his "failure to apply the Marxian analysis of the family as an economic unit to his observations of the family as a sexually repressive structure for women and children"⁴⁰. Marxist interpretations of contemporary sexual society address "the only remaining site of control and autonomy": the body⁴¹.

Building on tentative apologies for Marxist anthropological sexology⁴², further explorations of the use of Marxist ideologies in sexual development issues have to include a critical assessment of (a) Marxist views of child "development" and pedagogy; (b) Marxist visions on sexuality, and (c) the relation of Marxism to other developmental sexologist systems, such as psychoanalysis and feminism⁴³ (For instance, the capitalist order "family" can be interpreted as combining the quartet of production, reproduction, sexuality, and socialisation, thus demarcating the woman's⁴⁴, and child's, "domesticated" world). A Marxist analysis of sexual development requires an evolutionary opposition of communist and capitalist sex, coupled to an opposition of communist and capitalist operationalisations of the "child" persona.

Another entry contains the problem of children (not) being or (not) becoming Marxists, or generally, politically aware beings, themselves, either within economic perspectives⁴⁵ or others, including the sexological discipline.

The application of "conflict" formulations of vertical / hierarchical sexual organisations has proved fruitful in selected cases of the ethnographic record.

Meyer (p100) conceptualised orgasm as a behavioural tool mastered, in contrast to the child, by the adult and utilised in defining sexual reality of the child by means of this "superior orgasmic technology". Further illustrative examples include the distribution and negotiation of sexual partners within gerontocratic polygynic age-set societies (§5.4.4.1). Another situation is that of "sugar daddy relationships" (§14.2.1.1). Further uses include that within activist settings⁴⁶.

³⁷ Rotkin, K. & Rotkin, M. (1975) Freud: Rejected, Redeemed and Rejected, *Socialist Revolution* 5,2:105-19

³⁸ For a disappointing application on gender role formation, see Cummings, S. & Taebel, D. (1980) Sexual Inequality and the Reproduction of Consciousness: An Analysis of Sex-Role Stereotyping among Children, *Sex Roles* 6,4:631-44

³⁹ Angelergues, R. (1976) Reich and the Freudian-Marxist illusion, *Evolution Psychiatrique* 41,4:733-46

⁴⁰ Press, H. (1971) The Marxism and Anti-Marxism of Wilhelm Reich, *Telos* 9:65-82. See also

Sinelnikov, C. (1972) Early "Marxist" Critiques of Reich, *Telos* 13:131-7

⁴¹ Baxandall, R. (1995) Marxism and Sexuality: The Body as Battleground, in Callari, A., Cullenberg, S. & Biewener, C. (Eds.) *Marxism in the Postmodern Age: Confronting the New World Order*. New York, NY: Guilford Press, p235-45

⁴² Adam, B. D. (1980) *What Has Marxism to Do with Sex Research?* Paper for the Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP)

⁴³ MacKinnon, C. A. (1982) Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: An Agenda for Theory, *Signs* 7,3:515-44

⁴⁴ Gimenez, M. E. (1978) Structuralist Marxism on "The Woman Question", *Science & Society* 42,3:301-23

⁴⁵ Cummings, S. & Taebel, D. (1978) The Economic Socialization of Children: A Neo-Marxist Analysis, *Social Problems* 26,2:198-210

⁴⁶ Anon. (1983) Free childhood- free sexuality: a Marxist analysis [part 1,2,3], *Minor Probl* 1(6,7); 2(4); 3(5)

1.1.3 Social Constructionism

1.1.3.0 Basic Assumptions

Symbolic interactionist perspectives (Mead, Heise, Stryker) on sexual identity and behaviour require that sexuality is represented by *meaning*, emerging from *interactions*, organised through *symbolism*, and modified by *reinterpretation* of symbols. The "sexual learning" is in the interaction, contributing to "role identities", as distributed through language.

According to "scripting" theory, "[w]ithout the proper elements of a script that defines the situation, names the actors, and plots the behavior, nothing sexual is likely to happen. [...] Scripts are involved in learning the *meaning* of internal states, organizing the sequences of specifically sexual acts, decoding novel situations, setting the limits on sexual responses, and linking *meanings* from nonsexual aspects of life to specifically sexual experience" (*ital.add.*). Sexual socialisation, thus, requires the assignment, acceptance and application of various of such scripts. Cross-cultural approaches would determine (a) how identical scripts are assigned, accepted or applied across cultures; and (b) to what degree such scripts are indeed identical or comparable.

Apart from incidental specific essays⁴⁷, and a common utilisation by mainstream authors⁴⁸, no cross-culturally sophisticated attempts to explore theoretical dimensions have been undertaken.

An exquisite example is provided by a recent study by Ajzenstadt and Cavaglion⁴⁹ on sex instruction manuals written in central Europe in the nineteenth century Palestine and Israel in the twentieth century providing the basis for broader discussions on religious and scientific discourse on child and adolescent sexuality within the Jewish communities. By tracing the development of forms of expert knowledge, the authors show how expert discourse on masturbation gradually transformed it from a symbolic moral evil into a medical disease and a psychological problem, prior to declaring it a legitimised behaviour.

⁴⁷ White, J. W., Bondurant, B. & Travis, Ch. B. (2000) Social constructions of sexuality: Unpacking hidden meanings, in Travis, Ch. B. & White, J. W. (Eds.) *Sexuality, Society, and Feminism*. Psychology of Women; 4, p11-33; Davis-Stephenson, C. L. (1990) The construction of childhood sexuality: a symbolic interactionist perspective, DAI-B 51/04, oct., p2057. Based on a 1989 Dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, School of Psychology; Plummer, K. (1990) Understanding childhood sexualities, *J Homosex* 20,1/2:231-49. Plummer's primary agenda, however, seems to be the deconstruction of paedophilia. Cf. Plummer, K. (1979) Images of paedophilia, in Cook, M. and Wilson, G. (Eds.) *Love and Attraction*, Oxford: Pergamon, p537-40; Plummer, K. (1981) Pedophilia: Constructing a Sociological Baseline, in Cook, M. & Howells, K. (Eds.) *Adult Sexual Interest in Children*. London: Academic Press, p221-50. Cf. Reid, P. & Bing, V. M. (2000) Sexual roles of girls and women: An ethnocultural lifespan perspective, in Travis, Ch. B. & White, J. W. (Eds.) *Sexuality, Society, and Feminism*. Psychology of Women 4. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, p141-66

⁴⁸ E.g., Jackson, S. (1980) Girls and sexual knowledge, in Spender D. & Sarah, E. (Eds.) *Learning to Lose*. London: The Women's Press, p131-45; Jackson, S. (1982) *Childhood and Sexuality*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. See also Lees, S. (1986) *Losing Out: Sexuality and Adolescent Girls*. Hutchinson: London. Cf. Lees, S. (1993) *Sugar and Spice; Sexuality and Adolescent Girls*. Penguin: London

⁴⁹ Ajzenstadt, M. & Cavaglion, G. (2002) The sexual body of the young Jew as an arena of ideological struggle, 1821-1948, *Symbolic Interaction* 25,1:93-116

Sociologists have re-examined such structuring concepts as "risk"⁵⁰ in localising modern childhood. As Scott et al. (1998:p692) suggest, this requires "[t]he construction of childhood [...] to be understood at a number of different levels: the structural, the discursive and the situated". Gagnon and Simon's *script theory* is widely adopted in discussion of control of the sexual curriculum in childhood (e.g., DeLamater, 1981:p269-71)⁵¹ but is hardly studied in this age group⁵². Following DeLamater's simplification of script theory that children "are unaware of the sexual significance" of behaviours later recognised as "sexual", it would follow that control of children's sexuality relates to the *distribution of awareness* invested in a shared curricular potential, thereby blending a power gradient with a gradient in realism.

The assumption that ignorance is preserved by non-suggestion has been found erroneous in any "sexual" system. Reiss (e.g., 1970:p80)⁵³ together with many others explains the "ease" of sexual practice in the young despite the cult of avoidance as practised among parents. Paradoxically, it may even be said that around the beginning of the 20th century, sexual education was seen as a means of controlling curiosity posing a threat to the information gradient (curriculum). Early constructionists, it could be argued, minimised the child's active participation in his "development".

1.1.3.1 Contemporary Specifications / Modifications of Script Theory

Contemporary authors argue that it is essential to consider the ways in which individuals "construct a sense of themselves as sexual beings"⁵⁴. Gender, for instance, is not so much a

⁵⁰ Scott, S., Jackson, S. & Backett-Milburn, K. (1998) Swings and Roundabouts: Risk Anxiety and the Everyday Worlds of Children, *Sociology* 32,4:689-705. Cf. Scott, S., Jackson, S., Backett-Milburn, K. & Harden, J. (1998) *Risk Anxiety and the Social Construction of Childhood*. Paper for the International Sociological Association; Jackson, S. & Scott, S. (1999) Risk anxiety and the social construction of childhood, in Lupton, D. (Ed.) *Risk and Sociocultural Theory: New Directions and Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, p86-107; Jackson, S. (1990) Demons and innocents: Western ideas on children's sexuality in historical perspective in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology*. Vol. 7. Amsterdam: Elsevier p23-49; Jackson, S. & Scott, S. (2000) Childhood, in Payne, G. (Ed.) *Social Divisions*. New York: Saint Martin's, p152-84. See also Kendall, G., Collins, A. & Michael, M. (1997) Constructing risk: psychology, medicine and child welfare, *J Applied Social Behav* 4,1:15-27

⁵¹ DeLamater, J. (1981) The Social Control of Sexuality, *Ann Rev Sociol* 7:263-90

⁵² See for instance Ende-de Monchy, C. M. van den (1984) *Onderzoek naar het Seksuele Scenario van Kinderen van 6 tot 10 Jaar*. Zeist [Holland]: NISSO; Frith, H. & Kitinger, C. (2001) Reformulating Sexual Script Theory: Developing a Discursive Psychology of Sexual Negotiation, *Theory & Psychol* 11,2:209-32. Examples of studies on adolescents include Krac, A. & Williams, C. J. (1979) *Sexual Scripts and Female Masturbation: A Test of Gagnon and Simon's Theory of Sexual Socialization*. Paper for the Society for the Study of Social Problems; Hillman, Ph L. (2000) Negotiating the Dominant Sexual Script: Middle-Class Black Girls Tell Their Story, *DAI-A* 60, 7:2698-A; Steele, J. R. (2000) Adolescent sexuality: Negotiating the influences of family, friends, school and the mass media, *DAI* 60(7-A):2275; Carpenter, L. M. (1998) From girls into women: Scripts for sexuality and romance in Seventeen magazine, 1974-1994, *J Sex Res* 35,2:158-68; Gilmore, S., DeLamater, J. & Wagstaff, D. (1996) Sexual decision making by inner city black adolescent males: A focus group study, *J Sex Res* 33,4:363-71; Villanueva, M. I. M. (1997) *The Social Construction of Sexuality: Personal Meanings, Perceptions of Sexual Experience, and Females' Sexuality in Puerto Rico*. Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. For another application, see Daverveld, M. J. C. (1991) *Scripts van Kinderseksualiteit: Een Exploratief Onderzoek naar Scripts van Kinderseksualiteit bij Leerkrachten*. Maastricht / Utrecht [Holland]: Rijksuniversiteit Limburg / NISSO

⁵³ Reiss, I. L. (1970) Premarital Sex as Deviant Behavior: An Application of Current Approaches to Deviance, *Am Sociol Rev* 35,1:78-87

⁵⁴ Buzwell, S. & Rosenthal, D. (1996) Constructing a sexual self: Adolescents' sexual self-perceptions and sexual risk-taking, *J Res Adolesc* 6,4:489-513

construed, but a negotiated *performance* in which the child represents an assertive and productive agent, however choosing from available choices. Gender, as what I would call “performed performance”, is a “social contract”, renegotiated and relocated through “a cycle of practice”⁵⁵. For constructionists, childhood “exists as a type of performance space or ‘cultural geography’ in which various images and identities are enacted”⁵⁶. Constructionists describe “how pubertal events (menarche, breast development, shaving, voice change, weight gain) evoke cultural meanings about gender and gendered bodies that adolescents then use to construct personal meaning and sexual subjectivity”⁵⁷. Research suggests that individual scripts are in fact personal modifications of subcultural scripts. Exploring developmental Ghetto sexual identities, Hillman⁵⁸ found that girls had to “negotiate the dominant [stereotypical black, “ghetto”] sexual script and their own personal narrative to create personal and social equilibrium”. Using Edwards’ theory on “**script formulations**”, it could be argued that “[d]iscourse does not simply reflect or express ready-made cognitive schemas; rather, scripts are actively constructed in interactions through which people ‘work up’ events as scripted (or as breaches of scripts), and this ‘script talk’ is analysable in its own right” (Frith and Kitzinger, 2000:p216). Scripts, thus, do not create (sexuality), they get created. This specification of “performative sexualities” reinvents essentialist and monolithic notions such as sexual “learning”, “informing”, “thinking”, “knowing”, “perceiving” and “understanding” (e.g., Goldman and Goldman), “theorising” (Freud)⁵⁹, and so on. Ergo, as Carpenter (1995)⁶⁰ has verbalised,

“[...] it is through the manipulation, rejection and re-creation of their cultural world that young people simultaneously search for and validate their voice and so situate themselves culturally”.

1.1.3.2 Scripts: Culture to Individual

Informative to our problem of proximity gradations, Whittier and Simon’s (2001)⁶¹ discussion of individuals’ “personal sexual culture” issues the concept of “intrapsychic scripting” in sexual scripting theory, demonstrated by “the exhibition of several major domains of

⁵⁵ Jordan, E. & Cowan, A. (1995) Warrior Narratives in the Kindergarten Classroom Renegotiating the Social Contract? *Gender & Society* 9,6:727-43, at p740

⁵⁶ Woodson, S. E. (1999) Mapping the Cultural Geography of Childhood or, Performing Monstrous Children, *J Am Culture* 22,4:31-43

⁵⁷ Martin, K. A. (1995) Puberty, sexuality, and the self: Gender differences at adolescence, *DAI-A* 55(9-A):3006

⁵⁸ Hillman, Ph. L. (2000) Negotiating the Dominant Sexual Script: Middle-Class Black Girls Tell Their Story, *DAI-A* 60, 7, Jan,2698-A

⁵⁹ Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1981) *Children’s Sexual Thinking: A Comparative Study of Children Aged 5-15 Years in Australia, the United States of America, England, and Sweden*. London: Routledge: & Kegan Paul; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1981) Children’s concepts of why people get married, *Austr J Sex, Marr & Fam* 2,3: 105-18; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1981) What children want to know about sex, *Austr Sci Teachers J* 27:61-9; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1981) Children’s perceptions of clothes and nakedness, *Genet Psychol Monogr* 104:163-85; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1981) Sources of sex information for Australian, English, North American and Swedish children, *J Psychol* 109:97-108; Goldman, J. (1990) The importance of an adequate sexual vocabulary for children, *Austral J Marr & Fam* 11,3:136-48

⁶⁰ Carpenter, C. H. (1995) *In Our Own Image: The Child, Canadian Culture and Our Future*. Paper for the 9th Annual Robarts Lecture, March 29

⁶¹ Whittier, D. & Simon, W. (2001) The fuzzy matrix of “my type” in intrapsychic sexual scripting, *Sexualities* 4,2:139-65

meaning as they are contained in the subject's reports of their sexuality". Simon had argued before⁶² for a classification including **cultural scenarios** (instruction in collective meanings), **interpersonal scripts** (the application of specific cultural scenarios by a specific individual in a specific social context), and **intrapsychic scripts** (the management of desires as experienced by the individual). Interpersonal scripts are seen as the ordering of representations of self and other that facilitate the occurrence of a sexual act; intrapsychic scripts represent the ordering of images and desires that elicit and sustain sexual arousal. Using this model, the process of scripting through various stages is explored "as a function of cultural expectations, with problems resulting from both the culture's and the individual's reliance on scripts developed in adolescence [note Simon and Gagnon's systematic disregard for earlier socialisation processes] and young adulthood impeding the development of a healthy [!?] adult sexuality".

1.1.3.3 Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionist theory⁶³ has been applied to developmental sexology by a number of authors (e.g., Swedish author Helmius)⁶⁴. Dutch sexologists Straver and Rademakers describe how adolescents "learn" sexuality in a "step-wise" process involving anticipation, barrier taking, decision making, the "discovery" of relational perspectives, the "appropriation of relational insight", and the "awareness" of a "growing interactional competence"⁶⁵. Interactional competence is a gradually acquired function related to an "operative self-concept", and the negotiation of operative and normative rules. Within a socio-cultural scale (Straver, 1986:p28-70 comparing the U.S. and Scandinavian adolescent

⁶² Simon, W. & Gagnon, J. H. (1984) Sexual Scripts, *Society* 22,1(153):53-60; Simon, W. & Gagnon, J. H. (1986) Sexual scripts: Permanence and change, *Arch Sex Behav* 15,2:97-120; Simon, W. (1996) *Postmodern Sexualities*. New York: Routledge

⁶³ Cf. Gecas, V. & Libby, R. (1976) Sexual behavior as symbolic interaction, *J Sex Res* 12,1:33-49

⁶⁴ Helmius, G. (2000) *Manus för Mognad. Om Kärlek, Sexualitet och Socialisation i Ungdomsåren* [Scripts for Maturity. On Love, Sexuality and Socialisation in Adolescence]. Revised from author's doctoral dissertation. Sala: Mimers Brunn [For a further bibliography, see http://www.soc.uu.se/staff/gisela_h.html#publ]

⁶⁵ Straver, C. J. (1976) *Jugendsexualität: Versuch zur Gestaltung einer Theorie*. Paper für die Tagung der Sektion Familien- und Jugendsoziologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie, München, May 28-29; Straver, C. J. (1977) *Jugendsexualität: Versuch zur Gestaltung einer Theorie*, *Soziologenkorespondenz* 4:121-50; Straver, C. J. & De Boer, J. (1977) *Toenaderingsgedrag van Jongens en Meisjes. Deel 1: Onderzoeksgegevens, Theorie en Conclusies*. Zeist [Holland]: NISSO; Straver, C. J. (1980) *Jong Zijn en Contact Zoeken; Problemen en Processen rond Toenaderingssituaties*. Deventer [Holland]: Van Loghum Slaterus; Straver, C. J. (1983) Erotic overtures and sexual contacts; competence, rules, attitudes and problems, in Everard, W., Hindley, C. B. Bot, A. & Van der Werff ten Bosch J. J. (Eds.) *Development in Adolescence: Psychological, Social and Biological Aspects*. Boston, MA: Martinus Nijhoff, p149-66; Straver, C. J. (1985) *Toenaderingsgedrag van jongens en meisjes. Een verwaarloosd thema in SI onderzoek*, in Arts, W. A. et al. (Eds.) *Betekenis en Interactie*. Deventer [Holland]: Van Loghum Slaterus; Straver, C. J. (1985) *Soziale und sexuelle Interaktionen bei Jugendlichen: ein handlungstheoretischer und empirischer Ansatz*, Sonderndruck aus *Schriftenreihe Sozialwissenschaftliche Sexualforschung* 1:179-96; Straver, C. (1986) *De trapsgewijze interactie-carrière*, in Rademakers, J. & Straver, C., *Van Fascinatie naar Relatie: Het Leren Omgaan met Relaties en Sexualiteit in de Jeugdperiode; Een Ontwikkelingsdynamische Studie*. Zeist [Holland]: NISSO, p1-128; Straver, C. J. & Rademakers, J. (1996) *De seksuele ontwikkeling van jongeren in de huidige samenleving: een overzicht van gegevens en enkele consequenties voor de voorlichting*, *Nederlands Tijdschr Opvoeding, Vorming & Onderwijs* [Dutch] 12,2:76-99. For more on Straver's approach, see Regt, W. De (1980) *Toenaderingsgedrag van adolescenten en de daarop gerichte seksuele relationele vorming*, *Tijdschr Seksuol* [Belgium / Holland] 5,1-2:21-33. More on this theme is found in Stapel, D., Fock, O. & Van der Zwaan., M. (1987) *Tussen Blik en Eerste Zoen. Toenaderingsgedrag bij Adolescenten*. Amsterdam

case on the basis of Ribal's 1973 study) there are differences in value ambiguity, the presence of positive valuation, anticipated contextuality (e.g., "steady relationships") and the role of experience in the formation of a close relationship. For girls, sexual behaviour trajectories could be differentiated as "steadily pleasurable" (Scandinavia) or "interrupted" (U.S.) by the interference of negativist principles in what could have been a positivist development, Straver argues. For boys, differences were noted in (1) the degree of curricular privatising of the reference sphere; (2) curricular degree of broadening of meaning spectra; (3) the curricular use of external rather than internal (e.g., sensory) criteria for self-evaluation processes; and (4) the existence of a curricular sexual dissonance rendering development nonparallel, less workable, and less satisfying.

[Arguing that American curricular inegalitarianism undermines the effectuation of a "working consensus", it appears that Straver normalises Scandinavian sexual trajectories as "positive", pleasurable and effective, and denormalises the U.S. case by the use of negative qualifications, and the pathologising of sexual dissonance, rendering "development" (1) "restricted"; (2) "halted"; and (3) "blocked" due to "conflict" and "tension"; thus (4) "structurally" problematic (*ibid.*). Straver also recognises a "distinct" male Scandinavian "B" pattern opposing a "typical" "A", which entails much of the "structurally" negative qualities ascribed to the U.S. male pattern, but nonetheless would be "clearly separable" from it. There is no statistical testing of the perspectives offered, as Ribal's study was based on a loose, nonnumeric juxtaposition, or inter-subject colloquium. While this is a rather interesting format, it allows a large space for interpretation.]

1.1.3.4 Sexual Pedagogy and Civilisation

This debate appears to be a predominantly German/ Flemish one. Within figurational sociology, Elias⁶⁶ had argued how, over the past centuries, "sexual impulses" became

"[...] slowly but progressively suppressed [away] from the public life of society. [...] And this restraint, like all others, is enforced less and less by direct physical force. It is cultivated in the individual from an early age as habitual self-restraint by the structure of social life, by the pressure of social institutions in general, and by certain executive organs of society (above all, the family) in particular. Thereby the social commands and prohibitions become increasingly a part of the self, a strictly regulated superego" (Elias, as quoted by Van Krieken, 2000)⁶⁷.

Thus, it would be

"[...] the web of social relations in which the individual lives during his more impressionable phase, during childhood and youth, which imprints itself upon his unfolding personality where it has its counterpart in the relationship between his controlling agencies, super-ego and ego, and his libidinal impulses. The resulting balance between controlling agencies and drives on a variety of levels determines how an individual person steers himself in his relations with others; it determines that which we call, according to taste, habits, complexes or personality structure" (Elias, as quoted by Van Krieken, nd)⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ Elias, N. (1939) *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation: Soziogenetische und Psychogenetische Untersuchungen*. Basel: Haus zum Falken

⁶⁷ Van Krieken, R. (2000) Norbert Elias and Process Sociology, forthcoming in Ritzer, G. & Smart, B. (Eds.) *The Handbook of Social Theory*. London: Sage, p353-67

⁶⁸ Van Krieken, R. (nd) *Beyond the 'Problem of Order': Elias, Habit and Modern Sociology, or, Hobbes was Right*. Online paper, earlier version given at the 1996 Conference of the Australian Sociological

In the late 1980s, Duerr⁶⁹ began to question Elias's assertion that there is a tendency in the West to curb feelings and amend drives to meet social expectations (Wouters, 1994)⁷⁰. Elias in turn argued that there is no absolute beginning point of the long-term process of the development of socially generated self-constraints in humans (Bogner, 1992)⁷¹.

More directly addressing sexual pedagogy, Jos van Ussel⁷² had in the late 1960s argued that

"the socio-economic situation of the bourgeoisie has created a more and more anti-sexual moral system since the basic values of the bourgeoisie make a pro-sexual position impossible. In the 19th century, an involuntary or unconscious anti-sexual syndrome was evident, which was a conjunctive and residual phenomenon. This syndrome had its origin in Christianity and was not specific to the 19th century"⁷³.

Van Ussel's 1967 thesis was introduced by him as an elaboration on Elias, a point missed by Vandekerckhove's (1980)⁷⁴ later analysis of "somatic cultures" (Vincke, 1983:p228-9)⁷⁵. In this thesis, Vandekerckhove analyses the social embeddedness of sexual education (p164-215) with a specific reference to Van Ussel and Schnabel⁷⁶.

As it appears, outside Van Ussel, sexual enculturation is a neglected issue in the whole discussion; that is, how must one conceive the "civilisation" of children in "civilised" society? On the whole, the "adult-child relation has not been extensively theorized as a structuring principle in bourgeois society", according to Stephens⁷⁷. This author argued that children are considered in terms of the problems which their relatively uncontrolled and 'uncivilized' movements pose to adult society, while adult society's relation to childhood is considered in terms of the strategies and devices the adult society has developed to restrict children's movement.

[For an Elias vs Foucault, see Smith⁷⁸.]

Association in Hobart, Tasmania, 4- 7th December

1996. [<http://www.usyd.edu.au/su/social/elias/confpap/order.html>]

⁶⁹ Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess*. 2nd ed.

⁷⁰ Wouters, C. (1994) Duerr und Elias. Scham und Gewalt in Zivilisationsprozessen, *Zeitschr f Sexualforsch* 7,3:203-16. "Duerr allows that levels of shame and embarrassment have changed over the course of history, but argues against Elias that such changes are not a genuine part of evolution. Duerr further argues that social pressure to conform was/is far stricter in face-to-face, traditional societies than in industrialized societies. Duerr's arguments are rebutted using Elias's text and observations on the paradoxes of social control".

⁷¹ Bogner, A. (1992) The Theory of the Civilizing Process-An Idiographic Theory of Modernization? *Theory, Culture & Society* 9,2:23-53

⁷² For a discussions of Van Ussel vs Elias, see Schnabel, P. (1973) Seksualiteit in de welvaartsstaat, *Sociologische Gids* [Dutch] 20,3:189-206

⁷³ Van Ussel, J. (1969) Socio-Economische Grondslagen van de Seksuele Moraal [Socio-Economic Factors and Sexual Morality], *Tijdschr Sociale Wetensch* [Belgium] 14,2:155-206. Based on author's two-volume thesis

⁷⁴ Vandekerckhove, L. (1980) *Gemaakt van Asse: Een Sociologische Studie van de Westerse Somatische Cultuur*. Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, Fakulteit der Sociale Wetenschappen, Departement Sociologie

⁷⁵ Vincke, J. (1983) De normering van de lichamelijkheid: een kanttekening bij Vandekerckhove's 'Gemaakt van as', *Tijdschr Sociale Wetensch* [Belgium] 28,3:226-32

⁷⁶ *Op.cit.*

⁷⁷ Stephens, M. Ch. (1994) *The Shiftiness of Childhood*. PhD Dissertation, Bowling Green State University [DAI 1996, 56, 8, Feb 1996, 3333-A]

⁷⁸ Smith, D. (1999) The Civilizing Process and the History of Sexuality: Comparing Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault, *Theory & Society* 28,1:79-100

1.1.4 Ethnomethodology and Phenomenology

This approach identifies the ways how people actively construct reality and then act on the basis of these social constructions. Ethnomethodologists at this point proceed to unravel the actual methods that native people use to construct the meaning of sexual socialisation in their everyday lives. Contrary to what is designated as the “orthodox consensus”, an ethnomethodological perspective (Garfinkel, 1967) would aim to explore how sexual behaviour (and thus, the sexual behaviour curriculum) is construed by the common man (child) particularly by means of linguistic interactions, instead of what it constitutes within the grand scheme of macrosocial cause and effect. It explores the socially embedded, tacit assumptions that make it possible for individuals to understand, control and manipulate mundane events; “sexuality”, ergo, is not merely a biological given, it is an accomplishment by social actors in the course of everyday life. Ethnomethodological research on sexual behaviour socialisation processes, however, seems to be more ethically compromised as any kind of investigation, particularly because of its reliance on close inquiry and the use of dissonant situations.

1.1.5 Post-Structuralism: *La Croisade des Enfants*

According to post-modern, perhaps inevitably poststructuralist, sexology, sexual/erotic subjectivities are constituted through the (perhaps chronologically inconsistent, perhaps contradictory) adoption of “subject positions”, within *discourses*, “discourse” referring to a “linked [set] of meanings and interpretations, a field of terms and explanatory hypotheses established both in written texts and localized in conversations and self-understanding” (as in Leahy)⁷⁹.

In his *History of Sexuality* Foucault⁸⁰ argued that the rise of medical and psychiatric science has created a discourse of sexuality as deep, instinctual and mysterious. This discourse became accepted as the dominant explanation, and its assumptions began to seep into the discourse of the everyday. In this way the human subjects’ experience of their own sexuality is shaped and controlled by the discourses that purport to explain it. The search for knowledge does not simply uncover pre-existing ‘objects’; it actively shapes and creates them. Specifically, children’s sexuality came under the reign of pedagogical discourses. Pedagogisation of children’s sex is one of four deployment strategies, or “great strategic unities” together constituting the “production of sexuality” in the modern period. Stoler⁸¹, for instance, describes how “[...] a cultivation of the European self (and specifically a Dutch bourgeois identity) was affirmed in the proliferating discourses around pedagogy, parenting, children’s sexuality, servants, and tropical hygiene [...]” (p11).

⁷⁹ Leahy, T. (1991) *Negotiating Stigma: Approaches to Intergenerational Sex*. PhD thesis presented to the University of New South Wales. Online ed., Books-Reborn; Leahy, T. (1992) Positively experienced man-boy sex: the discourse of seduction and the social construction of masculinity, *Austr & NZ J Sociol* 28,1:71-88. Leahy utilises post-structuralist principles to locate “subcultural” and individual negotiations of meaning within dominant discourses of “intergenerational” sexual interactions (§14.4).

⁸⁰ Foucault, M. (1976) *Histoire de la Sexualité*. Vol. 1. 1980 English ed., New York: Vintage Books. Cf. Karmanoil, A., Knecht, C. & Parrat-Day, S. (1992/3) Le discours sur la sexualité infantile. Évolution du XIXe siècle à nos jours, *Bull Psychol* 46(409):121-9

⁸¹ Stoler, A. L. (1995) *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Foucault's aborted, intentional, thematic schema (discussed in Elden, 2001a,b)⁸² included the never finished "La Croisade des Enfants" as the third of five works that would delineate sexuality's four constituent subjects. His earlier lectures *Les Anormaux*⁸³ dealt with this discussion of *The Masturbating Child*⁸⁴ to some extent. Beside Foucault, poststructuralist principles have been applied to children's sexuality in selected cases⁸⁵.

Foucault has opened up a post-modern discussion of the history of 'development thinking' as well as 'sexological thinking' from a dramaturgic point of view. He describes the nascent citizenship of personae critical to the child's (mothers, pedagogues, criminals) as related to changing (intensified) academic spectatorship.

Applying cross-ethnographic data to this schema, such data would have to prove useful in performing discourse analysis, that is, the identification of discursive positions and strategies versus pedagogical and in-group curricula. Particularly, it would have to provide an analysis of relationships between discourses and social practice. Anthropological material only diffusely discusses cultural discourses associated with sexual upbringing, and rarely addresses strategic positioning and subjectivity of children within this process. Foucault has contributed little to the ontogeny (rather than phylogeny) of discourse. Being applied to Western settings only recently, a full cross-cultural demonstration using a post-structuralist framework is beyond currently available data. However, such data *can* be used for a preliminary and hypothetical outline of practices as resulting from culture-identifying discourses.

1.2 Academic Traditions in Approaching Sexual Socialisation: An Agenda Classification

Below are identified a number of arguments organised on the basis of their *operational agenda* rather than their scientific location. Within its limited format, depth and scale, the schema provides for an exploration of the manners anthropological / cross-ethnic data may be employed to fit variable agendas, providing diverse frameworks. These agendas include psychoanalytic / "psychocultural", psychohistorical, pedagogical, medical and demographic, ethological, "zoologist", folklorist, "sexologist" and assorted "activist" agendas. By no means

⁸² Elden, S. (2001a) *The History of Sexuality and the Constitution of the State*. Paper prepared for delivery at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2 [<http://pro.harvard.edu/papers/002/002037EldenStuar.pdf>]; Elden, S.

(2001b) The constitution of the normal: monsters and masturbation at the Collège de France, *boundary 2*, 28,1:91-105 [<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/boundary/v028/28.1elden.pdf>]

⁸³ Foucault, M. (Ewald, F. et al., eds., 1999) *Les Anormaux; Cours au Collège de France (1974-1975)*. [Paris]: Gallimard / Seuil

⁸⁴ Referred to in Britzman, D. P. (1998) *Lost Subjects, Contested Objects*. Ithaca, NY, USA: State University of New York Press, p4; Bristow, J. (1997) *Sexuality*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge, p176; Simons, J. (1995) *Foucault & the Political*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge, p35; Sommer, M. H. (2000) *Sex, Law & Society in Late Imperial China*. Stanford, CA, USA: Stanford University Press, p5; Hannah, M. G. (2000) *Governmentality & the Mastery of Territory in Nineteenth-Century America*. Port Chester, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, p20

⁸⁵ Beside Stoler, see Tien, L. (1994) Children's Sexuality and the New Information Technology: A Foucaultian Approach, *Soc & Leg Stud* 3,1:121-47. Also consider Rogers, W. S. & Rogers, R. S. (1999) What is good and bad sex for children? In King, M. (Eds.) *Moral Agendas for Children's Welfare*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge, p179-97

these agendas should be conceived of consisting of, or having been used as, unilateral employments.

1.2.1 The Psychoanalytic Agenda

Psychoanalytic anthropology and historiography proper have originally been informed by the need for approval or disapproval of Freudian claims regarding the so-called “psychosexual” space of the socialisation curriculum. As Freud postulated, “[i]n general, our most reliable proof of infantile sexuality, if we do not wish to refer to the sexuality of children among primitive peoples, is the neurosis”⁸⁶. Needless to say Freud never “wished” to elaborate this reference. The use of psychodynamic concepts in anthropology, by contrast, generally illustrates the operationalisation of the Freudian reference as an *explanans* of gender configurations, ethnopsychiatric observations, etc. Anthropological challenging of Freudian sexology is fragmentary, at least for psychosexual development. This corresponds to the general appraisal of “infantile sexuality” and its alleged sequelae being a largely hypothetical set of doctrines, as generations of critics have issued.

[A bibliography could be compiled on the role of ethnology on psychosexual theory, resulting from a preliminary chapter not included in the present report. For a quick sidestep to the “latency” debate, see the **Appendix on Latency**].

1.2.1.1 The “Psychocultural” / Psychoanalytic Anthropological Agenda

Geza Róheim (1891-1953), a Hungarian-American psychoanalyst was the first ethnologist to utilise a psychoanalytic approach to interpreting culture. He (1934a,b; 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943)⁸⁷ maintained that the structure of any given culture is determined by the infantile neuroses typical of that area. The institutions of the culture serve as defence mechanisms against infantile libidinal urges. This is a result of man’s retardation, i.e. of his being born at a comparatively undeveloped stage biologically. Growing up consists of returning to the desired infancy situation by finding substitutes for the original love objects.

Róheim’s psychocultural agenda mainly addresses fundamental causality problems by starting from solid psychodynamic grounds. In so doing, the author has not succeeded very well. Hence, Róheim’s considerate observations on childhood sexual behaviour (Atlas: **Australian Aboriginals** and **Normanby Island**), and references to the cross-cultural case, are best studied in the light of the general agenda (§1.2.1).

⁸⁶ Sigmund Freud, cited by Sadger (Febr. 5th, 1913) *Minutes of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society*, 188, p158-61

⁸⁷ Róheim, G. (1934) *The Riddle of the Sphinx*. London, Hogarth, chapter 3; Róheim, G. (1934) The evolution of culture, *Int J Psycho-Anal* 15:387-418; Róheim, G. (1940) Society and the individual, *Psychoanal Quart* 9:526-45; Róheim, G. (1941) The psycho-analytic interpretation of culture, *Int J Psycho-Anal* 22:147-69 / *Int Zeitschr f Psychoanal & Imago* 26:9-31; Róheim, G. (1942) The origin and function of culture: I. Delayed infancy, *Psychoanal Rev* 29:131-64; Róheim, G. (1943) *The Origin and Function of Culture*. New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs 69, esp. p3-39

1.2.3 The Psychohistorical Agenda

Founded in the early seventies, what has become known as *psychohistory* represents the claim of a close connection of social and political structures, with socialisation practices. In 1998, DeMause wrote that his conclusion from a lifetime of psychohistorical study of childhood and society is “that the history of humanity is founded upon the abuse of children”; most of his statements are (literally) equal to those a quarter of a century ago. DeMause’s conceptualisation of childhood as a “nightmare”, from which, so much is obvious, *he* has just recently woken up, was conveniently attributed to the collective “we” of academic historiography, to the dissatisfaction of many historians. The “abuse” paradigm of psychohistorians to early sexual behaviour socialisation is expectedly entirely unilateral and to some extent absurd; DeMause himself never commented on positive sexual experiences in children for he simply denies it was part of history (or either western or non-western world). The comparable infrequency of data that might challenge these views may be based on the neglect of sources to mention the phenomenon of childhood sexuality purely because it failed to constitute of a negatively formulated concern. Notable academic exceptions include the historian Jos van Ussel [see §1.1.3.4], more or less introducing Holland into its “sexual revolution”.

Again, historians’ insights to the history of early sexual experiences are very limited as this issue was not studied objectively even until the later 20th century. The psychohistorical pursuit, therefore, seems to be primarily informed by the (selective) application of orthodox psychodynamic dogma to a contemporalist moral order reminiscent of that of feminism. Inherently, psychohistory is more activist and antagonist than it is reflective. DeMause’s interpretation of age-graded homosexualities, and of genital soothing customs (*vide ibi*), is illustrative of this ethic code⁸⁸.

1.2.4 The Pedagogical Agenda

The sexological elements in child rearing have been the specific focus of cross-cultural reflection roughly since the 1950s (U.S.), and sporadically in more recent studies of immigrant families (U.S., and to some extent, Europe). This latter excursion may parallel the nascent study of childhoods in nontraditional families (bimaternal, bipaternal, single-parent, foster care), cross-continental adoption families, etc. As reviewed, only a selected number of authors have studied or reviewed cross-cultural perspectives on sexual behaviour socialisation, which contrasts poorly with the paucity of child rearing studies including sexology at all (consider linguistic, motoric, lexic, intellectual development).

⁸⁸ Cf. Janssen, D. F. (2003) Enculturation Curricula, Abuse Categorisation and the Globalist/Culturalist Project: The Genital Reference, *Issues in Child Abuse Accusations* 13 [http://www.ipt-forensics.com/journal/volume13/j13_1_2.htm]

1.2.5 The Medical⁸⁹ and Demographic Agendas

Medical sexology, or rather the interest of sexologists in anthropological and historical data, is informed by an awareness of the interactions of sexual cultures and the prevention, management, meaning and future of sexually transmittable diseases, with a prominent place for HIV since the middle 1980s, and female reproductive trajectories. Closely related is the demographer's interest in family planning perspectives. Notably, the observations from many large demographic studies are comparatively limited in explaining *psychological* depths of sexual experiences, as they have *traditionally* tended to concentrate on incidence rather than lived experience. Most of the studies adopt or advocate specific interventionist concepts of multi-hierarchical (multigenerational, multi-institutional) "sexual information" systems. However much has changed since the 1960s, and valuable qualitative accounts do exist, studies operating solely from a biomedical agenda can rarely be used in the description of *preadolescent* life, notwithstanding a definite tendency for researchers to question and address younger (and indeed prepubescent) populations. This selective approach, of course, may or may not parallel local or national interventionist curricula.

1.2.6 The Ethological Agenda

The human ethology approach has sporadically been utilised in sexology⁹⁰ to describe such phenomena as mock "genital presenting behaviour" in children (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Schievenhövel), childhood coitus (arguable, Langfeldt), and may be used to explore maternal "genital parenting" behaviour, genital selfmanipulation, observance of visual avoidance, etc. (various chapters in this project). However, it seems (and has been) ineffective to address the wider social context in which these occur. More urgently, ethology has proved little instrumentality in the establishment of an inclusive theory of sexual behaviour, or its development.

1.2.7 The "Zoologist" Agendas⁹¹

Celebrated Desmond Morris⁹² argued that "no real", "no functional" sexual activity can be seen before puberty, "apart from a large number of so-called sexual games". Morris⁹³ later seemed to acknowledge "symbolic love play", only in the broadest "instead of the limited sexual sense". Similarly arguing on the developmental sexual "human animal", zoologist Kinsey reached conclusions quite at odds with this perspective⁹⁴.

⁸⁹ A compartment of less relevance to the cross-cultural case include paediatric associations of psychoneuroendocrinological deficit and sexual behaviour symptomatology. For a review, see author's manuscript "Paradoxia Sexualis".

⁹⁰ Feierman, J. R. (1994) Ethology and sexology, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. From online ed.

⁹¹ See also preparatory review material on aimal sexual behaviour development.

⁹² Morris, D. (1967) *The Naked Ape*. 1986 ill. Dutch ed. Bruna & Zn., p59-60

⁹³ Morris, D. (1977) *Manwatching*. 1987 Dutch ed. Amsterdam/Brussel: Elsevier, p270

⁹⁴ Kinsey's [et al.] use of ethnologia was biased to demonstrate the precocious (notably 1953:p108n8) and thus counterbalance (oppose) Western discourse. Levine (, A. J. (1994) 'Errorgenous' Zones?

Others, including Money and Harlow, used animal models in discussing human and cultural errors and errata. Money's recurrent, collateral use of zoological and ethnological data in his idealist claims is remarkable. This use, at least in the narrative of Money, seems limited but served a salient political perspective. Born in New Zealand, Money (Money et al., 1970) claimed to have taken his trip to **Australia** to specify his ideas on childhood sexuality/coitality, which, if authentic, is a remarkable motivation, especially for a non-anthropologist.

According to the comparative zoological claim, human societies tend to curricularise, spatialise, psychologise and politicise developmental eroticism and reproductive capacity, thereby delaying both dimensions of experience and their necessary precursors, replacing this simple curriculum by a multi-axial pathway issuing the same (and alternative) behaviour via a delineation of hypothetical possibilities, entrenched as they are in their developmental linguistic structure. The operational application of this concept, within this structure, is predictably variable. Specifically, society selectively provides legitimisation fora, or at least an explanatory curriculum, for this variability, and for the nonreproductive "aims" of behaviour that apparently equals the mimesis (fragments of) the reproductive routine, whether in normalised or nonnormalised formats. Social recognition of developmental pathways, then, theoretically allows a congruent degree of variability, the theory depending on current genetic ideologies.

1.2.8 The Literary/ Folklorist Agenda

Rarely explored, nonacademic writings on human development, especially "ego documents" (diaries, autobiographies, prose, school essays) and works of literary significance may provide a valuable contribution to human sexual cultures. No studies to date use these sources as an entry to sex research. More than an alternative methodology, sexual representations in human literary or other cultures of art may describe hypothetical situations rather than factual ones, and as such provides a compelling alternative exploration of the boundaries of cultural organisation. However, writers, academics not excluded, tend to be individualists, and also aim to produce what shall be consumed. This renders the study of actual consumption of these materials inherently problematic. Autobiographies are rarely if ever used in a cross-cultural methodology.

1.2.9 The "Sexologist" (Homosexologist) Agenda

It can be inferred that few studies addressing the sexual behaviour curriculum originate from a purely sexological (erotological) motive, that is, to describe sexual and sexologically

Kinsey's Sexual Ideology, *The World & I* Online, 9, p426) notes: "Kinsey repeatedly implied that the sexual customs of the West were unique, or nearly so, and based wholly on arbitrary assumptions. His vague references to anthropological data were highly selective. In his eyes, "the reactions of our social organization to the various types of behavior are the things that need study". Kinsey declared that mores originated neither in accumulated experience nor in scientific examination and objectively gathered data. The sociologist and the anthropologist find the origins of such customs in ignorance and superstition, and in the attempts of every group to set itself apart from its neighbors".

informed practices and ideologies. I would suggest this study is intended, partially, as an exception to this rule. Some contributions to the developmental question are found within the ethnohistorical study of male and female homoeroticism, but not in any systematic scope and only to some degree as organised around ontological hotbeds (berdaches, ritualised initiations), stressing gender identity and sexual orientation (→1.2.10.3). For the developmental case, it appears that there has been a considerable piling of ethnographic material, but few specific ethnological efforts.

1.2.10 Activist / Interpretationist Agendas

Activist agendas have had a definite impact on theoretical models addressing the established of gender and erotic gender orientation mediated "identities" and hierarchies. Combined, including the subspecies of "gender activisms", provide interesting examples in the advocacy, application and modification of theoretical models. Activist agendas have been categorised as addressing the "emerging" local, female, (potential) minority, and world citizen.

1.2.10.1 The Liberalist / Political Agenda, Especially in a Globalist Perspective

The idea of "sexual rights" of children is not new⁹⁵, and seemed to have had its Days of Glory in the seventies and early 1980s. The concept of childhood sexual rights has to be seen

⁹⁵ Lee, J. A. (1980) The politics of child sexuality, in Samson, J. M. (Ed) *Enfance et Sexualité*. Montréal [etc.]: Éditions Études Vivantes, p56-70; cf. Lee, J. A. (1982) Three paradigms of childhood, *Can Rev Sociol & Anthropol* 19,4:591-608; Adams (1980) Sexual freedom for children versus adult sexual abuse of children: description of a community action program, in Samson, J. M. (Ed) *Enfance et Sexualité*. Montréal [etc.]: Éditions Études Vivantes, p676-81; Millett, K. (1984) Beyond politics? Children and sexuality, in Vance, C. S. (Ed.) *Pleasure and Danger*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p217-24; Wells, H. M. (1977) *Le Droit de Votre Enfant à la Sexualité*. 1976 original *Your Child's Right to Sex*. Stein & Day; Youth Liberation (1979) Children and sexuality: a youth libertaion view, *Gay Insurgent* 4-5:22-4; Youth Liberation (1981) Children and sex, in Tsang, D. (Ed.) *The Age Taboo*. London: Gay Men's Press, p46-52; Blasius, M. & Millett, K. (1980) Sexual Revolution and the Liberation of Children, *Semiotexte* special #2. Reprinted in Tsang, D. (Ed., 1981) *The Age Taboo*. London: Gay Men's Press, p80-3, and *Paidika* 2,4[8](1992):83-5; Aigner & Canterwall (1984) *Barnas Kjaerlighetliv*; Archard, D. (1993) *Children: Rights and Childhood*. London [etc.]: Routledge, p74-81; Brongersma, E. (1977) On loving relations human and humane, *Childhood Rights* 1:1; Calderone, M. (1977) Sexual rights, *SIECUS Report*; Constantine, L. L. (1979) Sexual rights of children: implications of a radical theory, in Cook, M. & Wilson, G. D. (Eds.) *Love and Attraction*. Oxford [etc.]: Pergamon, p503-8; Constantine, L. L. (1979) The sexual rights of children: implications of a radical perspective, in Constantine, L. & Martinson, F. (Eds., 1981) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p255-63; Farson, R. (1974) *Birthrights*. New York: Macmillan; Foster & Freed (1972) A bill of rights for children, *Fam Law Quart* 6:343-75; Guyon, R. (1948/50) The child and sexual activity [2 parts], *Int J Sexol* 2,1:26-34/3,4:237-47/4,1:51; Holt, J. C. (1974) *Escape from Childhood*. New York: E. P. Dutton, p270-6; Kirkendall (1980) The sexual rights of children and youth, *AEP Journal* 5,4:38-9; Kirkendall & Moglia (1979) *The Sexual Rights of Children and Youth*. Paper presented at the 5th International Symposium on Sex Education, Tel Aviv; Ives (1986) Children's sexual rights, in Franklin, B. (Ed.) *The Rights of Children*. Oxford [etc.]: Blackwell, p144-62; Knudsen (1987) Sex in childhood: aversion, abuse or right, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 13,1:16-24; Martinson, F. (1990) Current legal status of erotic and sexual rights of children, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology*. Vol. 7. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p113-24; Ramer, L. V. (1973) *Your Sexual Bill of Rights*. New York: Expositions Press; A New Bill of Sexual Rights and Responsibilities, *The Humanist*, January/February, 1976

within the emergence of child protection legislation in general, obligatory "sex ed" programs, and the need for an organised "children's right movement", which has been dated back to 1852 (Evans, 1993)⁹⁶. Evans states: "Inevitably legal judgements on age of maturity, consent and parental and state responsibilities, no matter how painstakingly arrived at, can be little more than token gestures, bound to vary between and even within modern societies". Evans distinguishes two paradigms of protection: "one of sexual being from harm because of their immaturity and ignorance; the other of the non-sexual from the perversity of sexual indoctrination" (p216). Thus, while children are *scripted into sexuality* (p217), and *trained in abuse scripts* (p223), children are left with the unilateral right to say "no", and to "tell" (p224) when approached sexually. Into paradigms, Lee (1980; cf. 1982)⁹⁷ argues:

"If the property paradigm of childhood and children's sexuality correlated with the other paradigms of a pre-Copernican, pre-industrial, hierarchically rigid world, and the protection paradigm with an industrializing, socially mobile world constantly expanding the frontiers of Progress, it may be that the new personal paradigm will fit well with a post-industrial world, a Conserver Society where Growth is not gospel. *Grown-up* may become a pejorative label of a licence to vote, to travel and choose one's residence and to have sex. We may simply allow everyone to grow up" (p68).

Invariably, age and development factors are decidedly underrepresented in universalist proclamations and declarations of "sexual" and sexological rights. Rudolf Goldscheid's early reference to "sexual rights"⁹⁸ presented to the 4th congress of the World League for Sexual Reform (WLSR) in Vienna 1930, does not seem to have specifically addressed issues of development [1933]. When the 13th *World Congress of Sexology* (Valencia, Spain, June 1997) issued *The Valencia Declaration on Sexual Rights*, childhood was not addressed specifically, although it was agreed that "all children should be desired [?] and loved"⁹⁹. In an apparent revision of priorities, the World Association for Sexology's *Declaration of Sexual Rights*, adopted 26 August 1999, issues the "right to comprehensive sexuality education. This is a lifelong process from birth throughout the lifecycle and should involve all [?] social institutions"¹⁰⁰. In June 1983¹⁰¹, this was not yet part of the WAS' program.

It appears that most of the "Rights" paradigm operates from a protectionist (anti-interventionalist) basis (see for instance the IPPF "Charter on Sexual and Reproductive Rights"¹⁰²). Combating "abuse" is a very obvious project: 1999 and 2000 ECPAT *International Annual Reports*¹⁰³ and other major communications (1997-2001)¹⁰⁴ do not elaborate on the

[<http://www.americanhumanist.org/about/sexual-rights.html>]; Haroian, L. ([2000]) Child Sexual Development, *Electronic J Hum Sex* 3, Feb. 1 [<http://www.ejhs.org/volume3/Haroian/body.html>]; Roberts, E. J. (Ed., 1980) *Childhood Sexual Learning: The Unwritten Curriculum*. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Pub. Co. A convention on children, sex and human rights was held at the Faculty of Laws, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London on April 3rd, 1998.

⁹⁶ Evans, D. T. (1993) *Sexual Citizenship*. New York: Routledge, esp. p209-39

⁹⁷ *Op.cit.*

⁹⁸ <http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/MAGNA.HTM>

⁹⁹ World Association for Sexology (2000), *Scand J Sexol* 3,1:27-8. Check here:

http://www.hisbdsm.com/freedom/sexual_rights_kinsey.htm

¹⁰⁰ Check here: <http://www.siecus.org/inter/inte0006.html> or here: <http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/DECL13E.HTM>

¹⁰¹ http://home.zonnet.nl/ioncoo/nvshnota/bijlage_1a_tekst.htm

¹⁰² <http://www.ippf.org/pdf/charter1.pdf>. For another example, see East, P. & Adams, J. (2002) Sexual Assertiveness and Adolescents' Sexual Rights, *Perspectives on Sexual & Reproductive Health* 34,4:212-3 [www.guttmacher.org/pubs/journals/3421202.pdf]

¹⁰³ Download from http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/annual_report/index.asp

¹⁰⁴ See for instance 5 consecutive reports on the implementation of the agenda for action adopted at the world congress against commercial sexual exploitation of children, Stockholm, Sweden [http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/monitoring.asp]

establishment of "exploitation" categorisation from any ethnographic / ethnological understanding, nor do they offer an integral perspective on sexual development. The 1996 *Declaration and Action for Agenda of the World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children* suggests that "The child [should not be] treated as a sexual object [as in, for instances, "early" marriages] and as a commercial object". It is argued that in such marriages, "The child [theoretically, under 18] does not have the opportunity to exercise her right to choose. For this reason, early marriages are also referred to as forced marriages".

In 1975 the WHO¹⁰⁵ issued coverage in the training curriculum of health professionals of such items as "children's question", "latency period", "sexual curiosity", and "pubertal experimentation" under the heading of "main sexual problems". In an attempt to further "sexual health", WHO later (2001)¹⁰⁶ argued that "[a] necessary component of a sexually healthy society is universal access to age-appropriate, comprehensive sexuality education across the lifespan", which should be at least school-based. As for "health rights", the RHR/HRP¹⁰⁷ (1998:p80; 1999:p92; 2000:p88; cf. 2001:p122)¹⁰⁸ sought to generally

"enable people to experience healthy sexual development and maturation and enhance the capacity for equitable and responsible relationships and sexual fulfilment".

"Rights" and "health" considerations fuse in the understanding of sexual politics and sexual medicine. Two decades ago, John Money (1982)¹⁰⁹ observed that

"Children are too young to liberate themselves militantly [...]. In consequence, their sexuality remains unliberated. Many adults justify continued imposition of the sexual taboo in order to "protect" children from exposure to anything sexual. The paradox of such protection is that it really exploits children in order to maintain erroneous theory, neglecting their development of sexual health and subjecting them to child abuse when they exhibit any significant manifestation of healthy sexual development" (p5)¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁵ WHO (1975) *Education and Treatment in Human Sexuality: The Training of Health Professionals*. Report of a WHO Meeting. Technical Report Series Nr. 572 [<http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/WHOR.HTM>]

¹⁰⁶ Pan American Health Organization, World Health Organization & World Association for Sexology (2001) *Promotion of Sexual Health: Recommendations for Action*. Proceedings of a Regional Consultation, Antigua Guatemala, Guatemala, May 19-22, 2000 [<http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/FIRST.HTM>]

¹⁰⁷ The WHO Department of Reproductive Health and Research (RHR) was created in November 1998 by joining the UNDP/UNFPA/WHO/World Bank Special Programme of Research, Development and Research Training in Human Reproduction (HRP) and the former WHO Division of Reproductive Health (Technical Support) (RHT).

¹⁰⁸ Department of Reproductive Health and Research (RHR), Jejeebhoy, S. J., Shah, I. H. & Yount, K. M. (1999) Sexual and reproductive health of adolescents, *Annual Technical Report*, p91-104, at p92 [http://www.who.int/reproductive-health/publications/HRP_ATRs/1999/pdf/adolescents91-104.pdf]; Jejeebhoy, S., Shah, I. H. & Bott, S. R. (1998) Sexual development, maturation and growth, *Annual Technical Report*, p69-79, at p80 [http://www.who.int/reproductive-health/publications/HRP_ATRs/1998/sexual.pdf]; Jejeebhoy, S.J., Shah, I. H., Bathija, H. & Warriner, I. (2000) Adolescent reproductive health, *Annual Technical Report*, p87-98, at p88 [http://www.who.int/reproductive-health/publications/RHR_01_11_annual_technical_report_2000/ATR2000-fulldocu.pdf]; Jejeebhoy, S., Bathija, H., Shah, I. H. & Warriner, I. K. (2001) Promoting sexual and reproductive health of adolescents, *Annual Technical Report*, p121-33 [http://www.who.int/reproductive-health/publications/RHR_02_05/Section_5.PDF]

¹⁰⁹ Money, J. (1982) Sex: How young is too young? *Br J Sexual Med* 9,oct:5-6

¹¹⁰ This is not just an impulsive statement. Money ([1983]): "[P]rohibition, prevention, and punishment in children [of species-typical erotosexual rehearsal play] amounts to what is, indeed, a form of child abuse" (p19). See Money, J. (1983) Sexosophy & sexology, philosophy & science: 2 halves, 1 whole [Part I], *Br J Sexual Med* 10, April:16, 18-9

The cross-cultural argument has been used more or less routinely within unmistakably political discussions of developmental sexualities (blatant examples including Guyon, Reich, Money, O'Carroll, Brongersma). Certainly, it must be clear that the *informal* sexual "liberties" of children vary extremely, whereas the *formal* rights are nowhere acknowledged outside apparently modernist constructs of education, consent, etc. The global "rights"/"health" movement has proved unable to address concepts of "multiplicity"¹¹¹ when addressing "sexuality", and is, inherently, likely to contribute to globalist age / life phase categorialism.

[Guyon's interpretation of "the legitimacy of sexual acts" specifically operates from a cross-culturalist, Orientalist foundation. See also his 1951 pamphlet "Human Rights and the Denial of Sexual Freedom"¹¹² briefly addressing "the refusal of sexual knowledge and sexual experience to children and adolescents"].

1.2.10.2 The Feminist Agenda¹¹³

Not so much a distinct theory, feminists use sexual scripting theories (e.g., "sexual objectification" theories) to facilitate the image of suppressed and oppressed "femininity". Notwithstanding antipsychoanalytic sentiments, the scripted woman is the child of the scripted girl, that is, a product of what is considered "patriarch" values and positions. Feminists conduct "ethnographic" impressions on school environments to explore girlhoods and the construction and negotiation of gender that up to recent eras was invariably seen to have compromised the natural emerging of "Woman". Thus, feminists have collaborated in turning the school environment into a suitable workshop for "ethnographic" explorations (interpretations) of gender dynamics, together with, increasingly, interventionist intentions. Specific ethnological agendas have issued genital modifications as "mutilations" of such womanhood, early marriage, the commodification of female teenhood, etc., themes often addressed within overtly universalist crusades for Improvement of the Female Condition. With the rise of communication technology, this "outreach" has magnified considerably in recent decades and there will probably be a growing cross-cultural extrapolation of values and "truths" along established antagonist lines (anti-"Islam"ism, for instance).

1.2.10.3 The Gay Theorist / Activist Agenda

Whereas ethnography and historical materials are extensively used by authors on homosexuality issues, the developmental problem is rarely addressed in its own light, or perhaps not at an obviously activist level (Herdt). Authors have provided a definite contribution to developmental sexology in providing autobiographical material, exploring the developmental problem in defining "sexual orientations", and detailing developmental

¹¹¹ Cf. Corrêa, S. (nd/1997) *From Reproductive Health to Sexual Rights: Achievements and Future Challenges*. Paper at <http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/Organizations/healthnet/reprorights/docs/correa.html> / *Reproductive Health Matters* 10

¹¹² <http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/GUYTX.HTM>

¹¹³ Cf. §16.2.2

phenomena otherwise unexamined ("first awareness of attraction", etc.). The concern for developmental issues within the field of gay academia is largely directed at "liberating" the "emerging" "gay adolescent" within the familial and school milieu.

With his Sambia case, Gilbert Herdt c.s. has substantially de-essentialised notions of ontology as is concerned "sexual orientations" and associated trajectories. Activist uses of these materials, however, have tended to reassemble ethnographic examples to provide for geographies of "homosexualities" (for an application, see §8.2.1) celebrating universality and variability at once, often on descriptive but hardly on "ontographic" terms. Given the wide possibilities globally for public politicisation of "homosexualities" toward the end of the 20th century, ontology appear to have (1) seized to occupy center stage in whatever "discussions" that remain or were thus generated; and (2) shifted in political localisation, from exterior justifications to acclaimed, autonomous pasts. In this sense, for Western academics ontologies may have become yet another way of celebrating postmodern lifestyles. Ultimately, the depsychiatrisation of "homosexuality" has not led to a complete disintegration of clinical ontologist tendencies either. The "gay activist" case for ontology, if any, thus continuous to inform "homosexuality" as a cultural project, and as academic performance. Unexplored niches include the question of *trajectories of ontology*, or the in-developmental reverberation of notions like "contributory past" and politicised present.

1.2.10.4 The Globalist / Antiglobalist Agenda

Antiglobalists argue that the variety of sexual cultures is sacrificed for the hegemony of dominant moralities (and of academic traditions). Gay situated activists, particularly, have expressed this concern.

Globalisation, roughly speaking, introduces subjectivist concepts of female sexual behaviour "identity" into objectivist sexual systems, resulting in adolescent-parent conflict. Another issue is the globalist crusade against ultimate forms of sexual objectification of children, including prostitution and graphic representations (interestingly not excluding "virtual" ones). Question is whether such crusades are indicative of altering agendas, or of latent sentiments being provoked, voiced, and operationalised by an unprecedented scale of communicative possibilities, as well as by increasingly salient political-economic interests. This may be best illustrated by the decidedly ambivalent negotiation, historically speaking, of concepts of the "traditional" in such arenas as indigenous childrearing and sexualities.

1.2.11 Recapitulating: Agenda and Developmentalist Sexology

Concluding, some of these perspectives are (a) highly idealistic, even Utopian, or at least programmatic (Marxism); (b) others may be based on predominantly unverified assumptions on human "nature" (e.g., orthodox psychoanalysis); and while (c) some have very narrow *secondary agendas*, rendering entire ideological systems as (historically) biased (psychohistory); (d) others are simply too limited to describe basic social dimensions of developmental sexuality.

1.3 Ethnocentrism and Developmentalism

The above discussion of models does not accommodate perhaps more recalcitrant issues in developmental sexology, such as *ethnocentric developmentalism*, which is associated to categorialist curricula. This defines childhood and adolescence as phases in the course of "turning adult" (e.g., "turning erotic"), a cross-culturally diverse choice. Both the process and the goals of this functional perspective are entitled to their cultural relativism. This would put quests for "normative" baselines (Frayser, 1994b)¹¹⁴ into cultural perspective. The present material was collected partly in the hope it contributes to avoidance of, as Walkerdine phrases the thing, "fetishizing western rationality as the universal pinnacle of development"¹¹⁵. This is particularly true in addressing "phases" as "monolithic cultural categories"¹¹⁶. The study requires a challenge of sexualities as well as sexologies, while by no means pretending these are separable or to be separated in any substantial or monopolist manner. As Thorne (1987)¹¹⁷ has argued, the re-issuing of children's agency is a complex and task, and it should (can) not be hastened. Options are further explored in [Appendix IV](#).

1.4 Recapitulation: Fitting Ethnographic and Cross-Historical Data into Sociological Models

The integration of ethnographical data in contemporary social sexology, though emphasised¹¹⁸, seems to have been useful for descriptive overviews and sociological theories on homosexuality (Murray, Herdt, etc.), but marginal in terms of a psychological developmental theory. On the one hand, this statement may seem debatable considering the multiplicity of work on "adolescent" sexualities; however, cross-cultural traditions foster a neglect of developmental issues that has compromised attention to childhood, theoretically a most important site of "development". In the social view of Reiss, for instance, pre-adulthood occupies a marginal position, critical issues being identified to include the triad of marital jealousy, "gender power roles" and ideologies of normality. That is, these theories might help *explain* developmental sexualities, but tend to avoid *addressing* them.

As becomes apparent in the literature review in **Appendix 1**, the (numeric) cross-cultural method did not generate a precise sociological description of sexual development. It did hint

¹¹⁴ Frayser, S. G. (1994b) Defining normal childhood sexuality: An anthropological approach, *Ann Rev Sex Res* 5:173-217

¹¹⁵ Walkerdine, V. (1993) Beyond developmentalism? *Theory & Psychol* 3,4:451-69

¹¹⁶ Burman, E. (1995) "What is it?" Masculinity and femininity in cultural representations of childhood, in Wilkinson, S. & Kitzinger, C. (Eds.) *Feminism and Discourse: Psychological Perspectives*. London: Sage, p49-67

¹¹⁷ Thorne, B. (1987) Re-Visioning Women and Social Change: Where are the Children? *Gender & Society* 1,1:85-109

¹¹⁸ Okami, P. & Pendleton, L. (1994) Theorizing Sexuality: Seeds of a Transdisciplinary Paradigm Shift, *Current Anthropol* 35,1:85-91

at sociological models created around larger structural levels, but data to support such models are still fragmentary. Judging from Broude's (1981:p633)¹¹⁹ article, which title is tale-telling, the main theoretical position taken by cross-culturalists was an essentialist structuralist one, predominantly motivated by or geared toward psychodynamic perspectives.

The decline in contributions to this approach is probably related to the emergence of novel principles in "closing in" on developing sexuality. Contemporary sociologists have used combined constructionist and post-structuralist approaches to issues of developmental gender and sexuality (e.g., Walkerdine, Reay). This would allow a combination of Messner's "interactionist theoretical" and "cultural theoretical" perspectives. It was also observed that interactionist perspectives have recently begun to be modified so as to portray the child as an active agent in the process, a more or less "self-scripting" autonomy within changing cultural spaces merely offering the building blocks for a continuous compilation task (cf. §1.1.3.1).

Introduced in a comparatively late stage of the project, it was decided to choose such a perspective as an organising principle for presenting multi-cultural data even if not collected or presented within this exact format. Having specifically assessed the literature on this point, I believe that the current work offers a first preliminary overview of the broad field opened up by recent theoretical developments, being informed by a comprehensive scanning of the ethnographic record. I also believe that most chapters could not have been written without this advance (and continuing) scanning. Thus informed, it provided an appraisal of cross-cultural variety at this point, a variety that may progressively be limited due to globalist processes and economic reform.

The rationale for this approach is multipartite:

- The description of sexuality as performative aids in establishing and advocating a sexologist's "child's perspective"¹²⁰ in which activities, as structurally mediated "tasks", would become central elements;
- It meets the paucity of psychometric and psychosocial material in ethnographic materials using children and adolescents as key informants, and the (up to comparatively recently) bias toward material and practical social anthropology;
- It provides for a positivist, bottom-up theory building; as such it counterweights negativist (e.g., "control", "abuse") entries and operationalisations, as well as "referent" models based on inference and extrapolation.

The method was first "tried on" in a preliminary article on gender/sexuality within school environments¹²¹. Progressively, it was appreciated that the "sexual-erotic" takes its place within a multi-layered set of discourses that govern grand unifying principles such as (a) genderedness, (b) embodiment, and (c) eroticisation proper. The social constructionism of the first two of these three pillars could be most clearly demonstrated, the third one being much more perfused with idealist-moralist (rather than activist-pragmatic) agendas (see

¹¹⁹ Broude, G. (1981) The cultural management of sexuality, in Munroe, R. L., Munroe, R. & Whiting, B. (Eds.) *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Human Development*. New York: Garland STPM, p633-73

¹²⁰ Rademakers, J., Laan, M. & Straver, C. J. (2000) Studying children's sexuality from the child's perspective, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12,1-2:49-60

¹²¹ Included in the present volume as **Appendix III**.

chapter 16). It was also suggested that some aspects of these principles could alternatively be approached via a "clinical" entry (e.g., §5.3.2.2), exceptional situations (medically or socially) luxating "cultural" performances otherwise hidden from the public space and eye.

1.5 Conclusion

Considering the previous arguments, I chose a social constructionist perspective that is to describe how, at the "cultural" level, social environments introduce the individual to sexuality, and operationalise it so that it might "function" within a performative-teleological frame. Contrary to classical psychodynamic theory, as Imbasciati¹²² argues, I will take the position that

"[...] pleasure is not an *explanans* of psychic life, but an explanandum [...]".

I will, however, not conclude that "[t]he attribution of sexuality to the biological sphere, through the concept of instinct, is misleading, possibly even wrong". Instead, the question of biological representation is reserved for future probing.

From this perspective, recommendations can be made for further inquiry. In any case, sociologist perspectives should require a theoretical position versus pedagogical principles and organisations¹²³, and a culturally specified, updated view on children's (endangered and expanding) technological space¹²⁴. Or, using Appadurai's¹²⁵ categories, their curricular inclusion into ethnoscaples, mediascaples, technoscaples, financescaples, and ideoscaples.

¹²² Imbasciati, A. (nd) *Why Sex and Pleasure?* Milan Psychoanalysis Centre. Online article, available at <http://www.alfapi.com/imbasciati/WHY%20SEX.htm>

¹²³ E.g., Malone, Ch. P. (1999) Ordering childhood: Figures of childhood, pedagogical address, love of the world and the mis-education of desire, DAI-A 59(8-A):2899

¹²⁴ Walkerdine, V., Dudfield, A. & Studdert, D. (Oct., 1999) *Sex and Violence: Regulating Childhood at the Turn of the Millenium*, Paper presented at the conference *Research in Childhood. Sociology, Culture and History*, University of Southern Denmark; Walkerdine, V. (2001) Safety and danger: Childhood, sexuality, and space at the end of the millennium, in Hultqvist, K. & Dahlberg, G. (Eds.) *Governing the Child in the New Millennium*. New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer, p15-34

¹²⁵ Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. As cited by Gatter, Ph. (Febr., 2001) *Global Theories and Sexuality*. Online paper.

Sidestep: “Latency” and the Use of Ethnography¹

Abstract: This addendum identifies a number of observations on and contemporary specifications of the psychodynamic notion of “sexual latency”. A preliminary literature study of three of these (privacy, secrecy, curiosity) is presented. A further two discursive ingredients (shame, guilt) are briefly touched upon.

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¹ A preliminary part of GUS, I added the material for completeness sake.

Introduction

Freud never undertook direct research in his “latency” concept. According to modern views, the “feeling” of Freud’s latency is most productively accommodated within curiosity, privacy and secrecy concepts. The cross-cultural elucidation of these “modern latencies” is less fruitful than the ethnographic refutation of its dogmatic precedent.

This sidestep suggests that a vacuum has been created in contemporary sexology in explaining prepubertal sexual behaviour dynamics.

Latency and Society

The idea of a total or partial sexual latency period² included a biologically determined³ *erection of dams*, inhibitions of in the expression of psychic (libidinous and aggressive) forces of the child, to safeguard the child from an otherwise castrating civilisation, and redirect his drives to accepted forms of endeavour, creating the possibility for mankind to reach further into the heights of intellectual and artistic achievements, introducing neurosis as a trade-off. The interruption forcing impulses to become latent was exactly that, which announced the phylogenetic and ontogenetic superiority and evolution of man, who sacrificed the primordial perversions for the erection of a society based on sophistication, which could only develop in the absence of erotic distraction. Education was not necessary for this process, although it would contribute to its onset. Reaction-formation and sublimation were postulated as the basic elements of latency.

Further on Origin and Function

A range of authors have speculated on the biological and phylogenetic dimensions of latency⁴, but these seem largely to be ignored by clinicians. Hermann (1942)⁵ stated that it can

² The term was borrowed from his contemporary and intimus Wilhelm Fliess, but Fliess never used it in his writings. However, Sulloway argued that it was more than a linguistic debt; also, Von Krafft-Ebing and Havelock Ellis used rudimentary terminology for related issues. See Sulloway, F. (1979) *Freud, Biologist of the Mind: Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend*. London: Burnett Books, p175-9. Cf. Cluckers, G. (1984) De notie latentietijd bij S. Freud. *Onderzoek naar de oorsprong* [The latency period: A study of the foundations of the concept in the work of S. Freud], *Psychol Belg* [Belgium] 24,1:27-53

³ Freud remarks that an zoological equivalent was not found. This was further discussed by Harlow, H. F. (1975) Lust, latency and love: Simian secrets of successful sex, *J Sex Res* 11,2:79-90. Reprinted in Byrne, D. & Byrne, L. A. (Eds.) *Exploring Human Sexuality*. New York: Crowell

⁴ Hutchinson, G. E. (1930) Two biological aspects of psychoanalytic theory, *Int J Psycho-Anal* 11:83-6, at p83; Levy-Suhl, M. (1934) The early infantile sexuality of man as compared with the sexual maturity of other mammals, *Int J Psycho-Anal* 15:59-65. Orig. in *Imago* 19,1(1933); Badcock, C. R. (1990) Is the Oedipus complex a Darwinian adaptation? *J Am Acad Psychoanal* 18,2:368-77; Endleman, R. (1984) Psychoanalysis and human evolution, *Psychoanal Rev* 71,1:27-46; Lampl-De Groot, J. (1953) The influence of biological and psychological factors upon the development of the latency period, in Loewenstein, R. et al. (Ed.) *Drives, Affects and Behavior*. New York: International Universities Press, p380-7; Yazmajian, R. V. (1967) Biological aspects of infantile sexuality and the latency period, *Psychoanal Quart* 36:203-29; Székely, L. (1957) On the origin of man and the latency period, *Int J Psychoanal* 38:98-104; Lehrer, S. (1984) Modern correlates of Freudian psychology: infant sexuality and the unconscious, *Am J Med* 77, Dec.:977-80. See further Jonas, A. D. & Jonas, D. F. (1975) A biological basis for the

best be explained as the result of the interplay of psychosocial and biological factors. Székely pointed to primates being apt to live to maturity when able to abstain from engaging the dominant male in combat for the desirable females. Badcock (1984)⁶ suggests that the oral-anal-phallic phases of psychosexual development in children vary across societies, and that the pattern of instinctual renunciation and control is derived from evolution in which comparable stages originally occurred in the order phallic-oral-anal. Children would recapitulate in their personal development the evolution of culture, with the stages following the order in which the gratifications were frustrated and inhibited. Hippler (1977)⁷ suggested that “civilised” societies utilise the latency period more effectively than do “primitive” societies for the development of human potential. Kardiner⁸ suggests that the postponement of sexual behaviour from childhood to maturity was effected because of the negative effects of in-group sexual contacts. This made the family a form of distribution of sexual opportunity.

Redoing Freud

The ethnographic discussion of psychosexual development theory has addressed many issues, as redoing Freud has become a way of living for many academics. R. J. Fromm⁹, for instance, explained infantile penis envy as an anatomical rationalisation of girls’ jealousy of boys in a patriarchal culture. The latency case has been addressed frequently from a comparative perspective. Broderick (1966:p8-9, 16)¹⁰ used ethnographic data in support of “the fact that prepubertal children are capable of learning to respond sexually several years before puberty”, and in contradicting the universality of the Oedipus complex. He would later (1972:p17)¹¹ argue: “An informal survey of friends turned up similar [as author’s autobiographical] childhood stories or fond anecdotes about their own young children’s romantic attachments, which were not limited to the early childhood period. Both my own memory and those of my friends were full of romantic feelings and fantasies *right through the “latency” period*” [ital.in orig.]. Róheim (1952)¹² had used anthropological data proving the opposite¹³. In challenging Freud, Guyon (1929:p81-3)¹⁴ learned from the “primitive” case that

“il existe chez l’enfant, dès les premières années, et bien avant toute possibilité de copulation et de reproduction, une jouissance sexuelle *sui generis* diffuse et atténuée: elle se traduit par un attrait invincible qu’exercent les organes sexuels et une satisfaction puissante à leurs divers attouchements solitairement ou conjointement”.

Oedipus complex: an evolutionary and ethological approach, *Am J Psychia* 132,6:602-6; Maurant, A. E. (1973) The Evolution of Brain Size, Speech, and Psychosexual Development, *Current Anthropol* 14,1/2:30-2

⁵ *Op.cit.*

⁶ Badcock, C. R. (1984) *Madness and Modernity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell

⁷ Hippler, A. (1977) Cultural evolution: Some hypotheses concerning the significance of cognitive and affective interpenetration during latency, *J Psychohist* 4,4:419-38. Comment by Martin H. Quitt, and reply at page 439-60

⁸ Panel / Waelder, R. (1956) Re-evaluation of the libido theory, *J Am Psychoanal Assoc* 3:299-308. Discussed by L. Rangell, in *Ann Survey Psychoanal* 6(1955):p34-6

⁹ Fromm, R. F. (1995) Female psychosexuality, *J Am Acad Psychoanal* 23,1:19-32

¹⁰ Broderick, C. B. (1966) Sexual Development Among Pre-Adolescents, *J Social Issues* 22,2:6-21

¹¹ Broderick, C. (1972) Children’s romances, *Sexual Behavior*, May:16-21

¹² Róheim, G. (1952) The anthropological evidence and the Oedipus complex, *Psychoanal Quart* 21:537-42. See also Róheim, G. (1946) The Oedipus complex and infantile sexuality, *Psychoanal Quart* 15:503-8

¹³ See also Spiro, M. E. (1988) Is the Oedipus complex universal? In Pollock, G. H. & Ross, J. M. (Eds.) *The Oedipus Papers*. Classics in Psychoanalysis, Monograph 6. Madison, CT.: International Universities Press, p435-73

¹⁴ Guyon, R. (1929) *La Légitimé des Actes Sexuels*. Saint-Denis: Dardaillon

Borneman suggested that in nonrestrictive cultures there is no infantile nor pubertal amnesia (1979:p146; 1990:p208). A bold statement, there would also be no Oedipal phase, no latency, and no puberty associated psychology (Borneman, 1992:p66)¹⁵.

Redoing Latency

Well known cases against latency were presented for **Melanesia** (Malinowski, 1927:p49-58, 78)¹⁶, specifically among **New Guinean** tribes (cf. Lidz and Lidz, 1986)¹⁷, **Australian aborigines** (Róheim, 1932:p91¹⁸; 1956:p3¹⁹; *Children of the Desert*, I:p244), **Mohave** (Devereux, 1950b,c; [1967:p90-2]), and **Americans** (Fine, 1986:p64)²⁰. The Goldmans extensively discussed the concept and finally argued against it (1981:p381-3), stating responses of “latency-aged” children were not more inhibited than before, and existing inhibitions did not ease off after.

Although it seems possible to challenge latency on other grounds than the erotic and the anthropological²¹, authors have recycled anthropological data to deny latency as a universal pause in development, specifically from the 1970s onward.

Apart from those who seemed to refute the idea of latency in any culture (e.g., Stekel), authors such as the later Reich²², Seligman (1932:p213-4)²³, Sears (1951:p32, 45)²⁴, Tarachow (1952)²⁵, Székely (1957:p99), Honigmann (1967:p312-4)²⁶, Broderick (1970:p136), Rutter (1971:p262/1980:p325)²⁷, Renshaw (1972)²⁸, Martinson (1973:p2, 119-21, 130), Sarnoff (1976:p38, 69, 376-7), Fine (1975:p47-8, 49)²⁹, Kolodny et al. (1979:p53)³⁰, Gordon and Johnson (1980:p214-6)³¹, Marmor, Fenichel ([1946] 1982:p62)³², Spiro ([1958 [1975:p227]), Gadpaille (1975:p193-4)³³

¹⁵ Borneman, E. & Biermann, G. (1992) Zur Sexualpathologie der sogenannten Latenzphase, in Biermann, G. (Ed.) *Handbuch der Kinderpsychotherapie*. 5th ed. Vol. V. München: E. Reinhardt, p66-73

¹⁶ Malinowski, B. (1927) *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Inc.

¹⁷ Lidz, Th. & Lidz, R. W. (1986) Turning women things into men: Masculinization in Papua New Guinea, *Psychoanal Rev* 73,4:521-39

¹⁸ Róheim, G. (1932) Psycho-analysis of primitive cultural types, *Int J Psycho-Anal* 13,1:1-224

¹⁹ Róheim, G. (1956) The individual, the group, and mankind, *Psychoanal Quart* 25:1-10. Discussed by R. J. Almans, in *Ann Survey Psychoanal* 7 (1956), p406-7

²⁰ Fine, G. A. (1986) The dirty play of little boys, *Society*, Nov/Dec:63-7. Reprinted in Kimmel, M. S. & Messner, M. A. (Eds., 1992) *Men's Lives*. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan Press. See also the author's 1983 *Shared Fantasy: Role-Playing Games as Social Worlds*. Chicago: Chicago University Press; and 1987 *With the Boys: Little League Baseball and Pre-Adolescent Culture*. Chicago: Chicago University Press

²¹ E.g., Ferraro, A. (1979) *Triology of Freud's Major Fallacies*. New York: Vantage Press, p178-83

²² Reich, W. (1932) *Der Einbruch der Sexualmoral*. Berlin: Sexpol Verlag. Cf. Reich, W. (1975) *Der Einbruch der Sexuellen Zwangsmoral*. Fischer, 1981 ed., p159-60

²³ Seligman, C. G. (1932) Anthropological Perspective and Psychological Theory, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 62:193-228. “All this [Róheim, Malinowski, Blackwood, Evans-Pritchard, Schapera] seems definite evidence that the latency period does not exist among primitive peoples, at any rate in the form in which it was stressed a few years ago by psychoanalysts”.

²⁴ Sears, R. R. (1951) *Survey of Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts*. New York: Social Science Research Council

²⁵ Tarachow, S. (1952) Applied psychoanalysis. I. Anthropology, *Ann Survey Psychoanal* 1:298-312

²⁶ Honigmann, J. J. (1967) *Personality in Culture*. New York [etc.]: Harper & Row

²⁷ Rutter, M. (1971) Normal psychosexual development, *J Child Psychol Psychia* 11:259-83; Rutter, M. (1980) Psychosexual development, in Rutter, M. (Ed.) *Scientific Foundations of Developmental Psychiatry*. London: Heinemann Medical, p322-39

²⁸ ; Renshaw, D. (1972) Not so latent latency..., *Sexual Behavior*, May:19

²⁹ Fine, R. (1975) *Psychoanalytic Psychology*. New York: J. Aronson

³⁰ Kolodny, R. C., Masters, W. H., Johnson, V. E. & Biggs, M. A. (1979) *Textbook of Human Sexuality for Nurses*. Boston: Little, Brown

³¹ Gordon, Ch. & Johnson, G. (1980) *Readings in Human Sexuality: Contemporary Perspectives*. 2nd ed. New York [etc.]: Harper & Row

and Yates (1978:p14; 1991:p210) pointed to ethnology (primarily Malinowski) disproving the anthropological universality of latency needed for a biogenetic theory. Ford and Beach (1951) did not comment on the concept of latency. Kinsey et al. (1953:p116) refuted the biological concept of latency on the basis of peripubertal masturbatory continuity.

Cases in Favour?

Other have argued in favour of a period of latency; for instance among the **Athabascans** (Hippler, 1974:p58-60)³⁴, and, surprisingly, the Pacific “**East Bay**” society (Davenport, 1965:p196; 1966)³⁵. Firth admits his impotence in solving the question of **Tikopian** latency: “My information regarding the sex life of children is inadequate. I have no value on the question of a possible latency period in childhood”. More obscurely, Cipriani argues for the **Andamanese** Onge: “Once more [36] I affirm that the evidence of Onge sexual behaviour positively denies Freudian theories with regard to the sexual life of children. Furthermore, young anthropoids and primitive people behave identically in this respect”. Suggestive cases were further described for the **San Ildefonso** by Whitman (1947:p51-2³⁷; 1963:p423)³⁸, **Comanche**, and even **Jamaica** (Cohen, 1955:p279-80, 284)³⁹.

The main problem in these cases remains the methodological one. There is no accepted measure of latency.

Contemporary Disqualifications

McClintock and Herdt (1996)⁴⁰ qualified Freud’s latency concept “seriously flawed” on the hypothetical basis of a role for adrenarche, an interesting suggestion awaiting elaboration (cf. §5.1.1). Interestingly, Herdt’s “Sambia” case was cited as providing “particularly compelling counterevidence to a simple learning theory model” of sexual orientation. The authors

³² Fenichel, O. (1946) *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1982 reprint

³³ Gadpaille, W. J. (1975) *The Cycles of Sex*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons

³⁴ Hippler, A. E. (1974) Patterns of Sexual Behavior: The Athabascans of Interior Alaska, *Ethos* 2:47-68.

“Customarily Athabascan children in the latency period from about ages 5 to 12 engaged in and still engage in very little sexual exploration [...] yet there is a continual covert and very strong interest in sex”.

³⁵ Davenport, W. (1965) Sexual patterns and their regulation in a society of the south west Pacific, in Beach, F. (Ed.) *Sex and Behaviour*. New York: Wiley, p164-207; Davenport, W. (1966) Sexual patterns in a southwest Pacific society, in Brecher, R. & Brecher, E. (Eds.) *An Analysis of Human Sexual Response*. New York: Signet Books, p175-200.

“These years [7-8 to 10-12] seem to constitute a true latency period for boys and also for girls, for the latter evince little or no interest in the other sex. [...] Despite the apparent latency period for both sexes, youthful attempts at copulation are sometimes discovered, especially between sister and brothers”. This may be closely related to the strict “gender role training” beginning as soon as walking is mastered, and resulting in the taboo of touching and even, to some extent, approaching the other sex at age five.

³⁶ “The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of Freud’s theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here”.

³⁷ Whitman, W. (1947) The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso, a changing culture, in Whitman, M. W. (Ed.) New York: Colombia University Press

³⁸ Whitman, W. (1963) The San Ildefonso of New Mexico, in Linton, R. (Ed.) *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smit, p390-62

³⁹ Cohen, Y. A. (1955) Character formation and social structure in a Jamaican community, *Psychiatry* 18,3:275-96

⁴⁰ McClintock, M. & Herdt, G. (1996) Rethinking puberty: the development of sexual attraction, *Curr Direct Psychol Sci* 5: 178-83

(Herdt, 2000⁴¹; Herdt and McClintock, 2000)⁴² compare data on New Guinea the United States to support the thesis that subjective sexual arousal and attraction are universally, in “western and nonwestern societies”, reckoned from age ten onward. A wider anthropological view does not seem to support this claim.

Privacy and Curriculum: Money's Argument

Göppert (1957)⁴³ preferred the term “aesthetic” period, issuing the appreciation of beauty providing the necessary conditions for developing “an integrated personal experiencing of sexuality”. Later, Money⁴⁴ preferred the term *privacy*, and suggests a connection with the phylogenetic gains in copulatory privacy. “Modesty” has predominantly been recognised as an area of “child training”, and discussed in the contextual proximity of “sex training”, fusing areas of nudity, excretory acts, nonexcretory genital acts and the act of sexological discussion. Hite ([1994:p105]) suggested that 93% of parents were unaware of the masturbatory behaviour of their “latency-aged” children.

It seems that the public nature of sexual behaviour has been the foremost important factor promoting ethnographic “observation” rather than speculation. In the Tepoztlán case, children’s need for privacy left Redfield empty-handed, while Lewis apparently got his deal of information. Publicness is a major theme in 20th century medicalising of masturbation, and in Euro-American socialisation of sexual behaviour. It seems that some contemporary authors prefer the “sensitive” sexology of childhood to be done by computers⁴⁵.

The culturally specific development, curricularisation and regulation of privacy and secrecy has not been adequately discussed in the case of sexual socialisation. Ethnologists are known to use widely such epithets as “private parts” (although very public in many cultures), and “the secrets of life” (although by no means a secret in any life phase). In infancy, one might want to believe that observations are arrived at without much notice of the observed. A number of these observations have been offered, especially in the preschool setting⁴⁶.

Frankness is noted for some societies⁴⁷, especially Australia. **Yoruba** boys are not punished for public masturbation (LeVine). Among 1980 **Toka** (Zambia), the supposedly secret dances of the girl’s initiation, which imitate desirable sexual movements were actually common knowledge of all small children, boys and girls, who liked to play at practicing them “in public and in full view of annoyed adults” (Geisler). Small **Thonga** boys occasionally engage in mutual masturbation in public. **Wagena** boys aged 5 to 7 were observed “openly” performing coitus with girls. “Sexless” **Ijo** boys play with their penises in public with impunity while girls would be severely chastised if they touch their own genitals. “Young **Seniang** children publicly simulate adult copulation without being reproved (Ford and Beach).

⁴¹ Herdt, G. H. (2000) Why the Sambia Initiate Boys Before Age 10, in Bancroft, J. (Ed.) *The Role of Theory in Sex Research*. The Kinsey Institute Series, Vol. 6. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p82-109

⁴² Herdt, G. & McClintock, M. (2000) The magical age of 10, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,6:587-606

⁴³ Göppert, H. (1957) Das Erlebnis des Schönen im Rahmen der Libidoentwicklung, *Psyche* 11:270-4

⁴⁴ Money (1963:p1697-8; 1981:p390-1); Money & Ehrhardt (1973/1996:p21, 183, 201). Money concludes with Harlow that latency is not observed in monkeys nor in humans, that “sexual rehearsal play” is “species-typical” and that humans are the only species that restrict the sexual behaviour of their young.

⁴⁵ Romer, D., Hornik, R., Stanton, B., Black et al. (1997) “Talking” computers: a reliable and private method to conduct interviews on sensitive topics with children, *J Sex Res* 34,1:3-9

⁴⁶ For references, see **Appendix III**

⁴⁷ Yoruba, Toka, Thonga, Wagena, Ijo, Seniang,

Childhood public intercourse was seen among the premodern **Marquesans**. In a **Sierra Tarascan** village “[m]asturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public” (Beals); this was also seen in the **Tarascan** and **Pilaga**. The **Tukano** case seems more complex. Da Silva noted that the initiation rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time “[...] they can only practice it secretly”, which may also be true for girls. The **Vaupé** “conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached the legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse [...]”. The sex life of **Meru** boys and girls is regarded as normal so long as they do not do it openly. Among the **Dayak** (Borneo), children “have a modicum for modesty, or are taught it. They would be corrected if they played sexually in public, but they never seem to do so. No one worries about what they might do in private”. Among the **Alorese**, early childhood masturbation (penile manipulation) is public.

Secrecy and Curriculum

Nagy (1926)⁴⁸ examined the concept of sexuality in thirty-five “secret societies” of boys from nine to eighteen years old and girls from twelve to eighteen, including twenty-six in large cities and nine in small ones. The “secrecy” quality implied here is hardly ever researched. Sexological teachings and other tribal folklore are almost universally “secret” over gender, kinship and age barriers⁴⁹. Homosexual initiation occurred when the **Keraki** boy could “be trusted to keep the secret from his mother”. Secrecy, as opposed to privacy, has also been a central element in contemporary arguments against age disparate sexual interactions; it is attributed traumatogenic qualities.

There seem to be two ethnologically reckoned phases of (private) sex acts (at times divided by puberty), but no doubt these are illustrative of a continuous socialisation of sex/genitals as secret, though it may be discontinuous in some societies.

“Même avant la puberté, [**Baluba**] garçons et filles se fixent des rendez-vous secrets, dans les herbes ou sur le bord de la rivière” (Colle). A favourite game played by small **Luo** children is house-keeping, an “openly” performed mock marriage, “but often a sexual element enters into the game which must be kept secret. For this they go into the bushes [...]”. **Baiga** children seek the privacy of the jungle for their erotic meetings, although parents “simply laugh tolerantly” when observing sexual games. The Bantu “jeu des huttes” have been noted to include a secret language to escape the surveillance of authorities. Similarly: in the early 1940s, **Baushi** 12 to 15-year-olds invented a secret language to exchange vulgarities and to practice coprolalia⁵⁰. Among the **Maragoli** (Kenya), sex was to be kept secret, and done in the bush or girl’s dormitory. For the **Nupe**, it was argued:

“As regards the institution of the parallel age-grades its practical value seems to be that it prepares the ground for the first experiences of sex relations. Or rather, it aims at circumventing,

⁴⁸ Nagy, L. (1926) A sexualitas hatása az ifjak tarsas eletenek kialakulasara [The influence of sexuality upon the development of social life in youth], *A Gyermek* [The Child] 19:65-76. Not seen by the author.

⁴⁹ Examples include Afikpo Igbo

⁵⁰ See also Gerber, Th. A. (1986) A secret vice: A study of private language and imaginary kingdoms in childhood and adolescence, *Child Adol Soc Work J* 3,3:151-60

and dulling, this unsettling first experience. Enabling the sexes to meet in the critical age, between 13 and 16, as it were on neutral ground, openly and respectably, it tends to remove some of the secrecy and unhealthy curiosity that is part of the mental transition from the self-contained experience of early youth to the new awareness of the new polarity of sex" (Nadel).

Erikson for the **Yurok**: "By the time the girl had passed the menarchy [*sic*] and in some ways becomes more secretive [...], the heterosexual relationship has already found a firm place within the established system of property values, based as it is on the modes of considered intake and clever retentiveness".

Young **Mangaian** children imitate the work and activities of their elders as a basis of play. In the course of this, according to some informants, they are thought to play at copulation. "But this activity is never seen in public", which would be in tune with Mangaian sense of "public privacy" (Marshall).

Dogon parents request active privacy. **Guang** boys (Ghana) are "gently rebuked" for handling their penises in public. This rebuke is never addressed directly to the boy but is made to a third person: "Why does he finger his penis in that way?".

Secrecy may be an essential factor modifying the psychobiological basis of human erotogenesis⁵¹, and its study is to be held critical for the understanding of growing up sexually⁵². Some authors have argued that the developmental construct of sex as secret may be significantly different for both sexes⁵³. While the process of eroticisation in boys is controlled by "the principle of intrapsychic secret", Bleichmar argued, the same process is controlled in girls by the principle of perceived "complicity" that generates shame and guilt. In one in-depth study of American men⁵⁴, the major conclusion was that "[...] men had learned early in life that sexual matters were very secret and not to be discussed. Secrecy lead to a sense of isolation in sexuality and related areas of experience, subsequently reinforced by peer teasing and gossip". So much so, the concepts of eroticism and secrecy have a very uniform basis in everyday life of childhood.

Friedl (1994)⁵⁵ stated that "hidden sex" is believed to stem from the evolution of new mental qualities, in casu the evolution of social intelligence and the concept of self. In hidden sex, humans are manipulating social attention to increase reproductive success. However, hidden sex leads to the need for children to learn about sex through indirect methods. This influence on children's sexuality (eroticism) is just that: erotic sexuality is replaced by erotic sexology, an academic pursuit that is informed by the vertical sphere of enforcement rather than the predominantly horizontal theme.

Curiosity and Curriculum

⁵¹ This is further discussed in *Proto-Erotiek: Agogische Exotiek tussen Leererotische en Psychodynamische Realiteit*. Unpublished article by the author

⁵² E.g., Lamb, Sh. (2001) *The Secret Lives of Girls*. New York: Free Press; Pollack, W. S. & Todd, Sh. (2000) *Real Boys' Voices*. New York: Penguin Books

⁵³ Bleichmar, E. D. (1996) Topica intersubjetiva del significado sexual in la niña, *Rev Psicoanal* 53,2:413-28

⁵⁴ Halloran, J. (1995) The sexual education of ten men: Understanding male gender socialization through retrospective interviews, *DAI-B* 56(4-A):1249

⁵⁵ Friedl, E. (1994) Sex the Invisible, *Am Anthropol* 96,4:833-44

As discussed elsewhere⁵⁶, “sexual” curiosity is a major theme in Euro-American psychosexual development, modifying and being modified by experience. A culturally pervasive argument suggests that by modifying curiosity one can control the entire curriculum *from the inside out*⁵⁷. Or, as Nadel (1942 [1970:p204])⁵⁸ has interpreted matters for the **Nuba**, “[e]nabling the sexes to meet in the critical age, between 13 and 16, as it were on neutral ground, openly and respectably, it tends to remove some of the secrecy and unhealthy curiosity that is part of the mental transition from the self-contained experience of early youth to the new awareness of the new polarity of sex”. Most contemporary authors agree that the single most pressing factors to “sexual” behaviour in childhood is “curiosity” (i.e., self-sustained ignorance), which goes for some of adolescent expressions as well.

Curiosity as a motive for coitarche, a recurrent theme in **American** sexology⁵⁹, was indicated by 35.7% of **Serbian** sexually active adolescent females, aged 19 years⁶⁰, 15% in **Slovenian** secondary-school students aged 15-19⁶¹, 12.5% in a **Bulgarian** sample⁶², and was the most common factor among male teenagers in Pune, **India**⁶³, among the most common factors in **Norway**⁶⁴, and a major factor in Marseilles, **France**⁶⁵. Curiosity about sex would account for teenage sexual delinquency in 40.8% of cases in **Japan**⁶⁶, where it is also one of the leading motives for male coitarche⁶⁷. Predictably, curiosity seems more pressing at a young age⁶⁸. Male “survivors” of sexual “abuse” identified their sexual “curiosity” and “ignorance” as the primary contributors to their “victimization”⁶⁹.

Specifically, genital-bound behaviour could be rephrased and reissued as curiosity-based⁷⁰. The curiosity theory of genital behaviour predicts initial experiences in an information restricted environment; the “incidents” would stop “when curiosity is satisfied”. The social genesis of curiosity is well illustrated by Isichei (1970; 1973:p682-5)⁷¹ on the **Asaba Ibo**.

⁵⁶ *Proto-Erotiek, op.cit*

⁵⁷ The issue of sex education initially was primarily halted by ideas about setting off an inappropriate quest for details. See Kirkendall, L. (1970) Does sex education arouse unwholesome curiosity? In Rubin, I. & Kirkendall, L. (Eds.) *Sex in the Childhood Years*. London & Glasgow: Collins, p30-2

⁵⁸ Nadel, S. F. (1942) *A Black Byzantium*. London: Oxford University Press. Critical passages reprinted in Middleton, J. (Ed., 1970) *From Child to Adult*. New York: Natural History Press, p173-206

⁵⁹ See Cullari, S. & Mikus, R. (1990) Correlates of adolescent sexual behavior, *Psychol Rep* 66,3 Pt 2: 1179-84; Thompson, Sh. (1990) Putting a big thing into a little hole: Teenage girls' accounts of sexual initiation, *J Sex Res* 27,3:341-61; Rosenthal, S. L. et al. (1996) Issues related to the sexual decision-making of inner-city adolescent girls, *Adolescence* 31,123:731-9; Rosenthal, S. L. et al. (1997) Heterosexual Romantic Relationships and Sexual Behaviors of Young Adolescent Girls, *J Adolesc Health* 21,4:238-43

⁶⁰ Sedlecki, K., Markovic, A. & Rajic, G. (2001) Zdravstveni aspekt seksualnosti kod adolescenata. [Medical aspects of adolescent sexuality], *Srp Arh Celok Lek* 129,5-6:109-13

⁶¹ Pinter, B. & Tomori, M. (2000) Sexual behavior of secondary-school students in Slovenia, *Eur J Contracept Reprod Health Care* 5,1:71-6

⁶² Vasileva, P. & Iustinianova, B. (1998) Za niakoi aspekti na defloratsiata i seksualnata aktivnost v adolentsentna vuzrast [The loss of virginity and sexual activity in adolescence], *Akush Ginekol* (Sofia) 37,3: 46-8

⁶³ Urmil, A. C. et al. (1989) Medico-social profile of male teenager STD patients attending a clinic in Pune, *Indian J Public Health* 33,4:176-82

⁶⁴ Traeen, B. & Kvaem, I. L. (1996) Sexual socialization and motives for intercourse among Norwegian adolescents, *Arch Sex Behav* 25,3:289-302. Cf. Kvaem, I. L. & Traeen, B. (1995) Seksuelle motiver blant norske ungdommer *Nordisk Sexol* 13,2:83-92

⁶⁵ Nicole, R. M. (1974) [Initiation of the young girl to sexual life], *Vie Med Canad Franç* 3,9:874-89

⁶⁶ See Akahori, S. et al. (1999) Social pathology and sexual delinquency in Japan, *Int Med J* 6,1:33-7

⁶⁷ Asayama, Sh. (1975) Sexual Behavior in Japanese Students: Comparisons for 1974, 1960, and 1952, *Arch Sex Behav* 5,5:371-90

⁶⁸ Rosenthal, S. I. (2001) Sexual initiation: predictors and developmental trends, *Sex Transm Dis* 28,9:527-32

⁶⁹ Briggs, F. & Hawkins, R. (1995) Protecting boys from the risk of sexual abuse, *Early Child Developm & Care* 110:19-32

⁷⁰ Schuhrke, B. (2000) Young children's curiosity about other people's genitals, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12,1/2: 27-48. Cf. Schuhrke, B. (1998) Die offene Toilettentür: Sexualität, Scham und Neugier in der Familie, *Pro Familia* [Germany] 26,3/4:18-20; Conn, J. (1940) Sexual curiosity of children, *Am J Dis Child* 60:1110-9

⁷¹ Isichei, P. A. C. (1973) Sex in traditional Asaba, *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 13,52: 682-99. Chapter from a B. Litt. Thesis for Oxford University, 1970

In theory the child before puberty was not to know anything about sex; parents “preferred to think that children under eight years could not know any undesirable significance of their sexual differences [...]”. Questions were answered by fables, not answered, or avoided. Children were segregated in tasks by pressure of parents, so that it was “almost impossible for children of different sexes to meet”. This would lead to “stupendous ignorance about the facts of sex”, although some data were gathered through knowledgeable age-mates. Boys of certain age are given riddles to solve, but for children “to pry into sex would have been an unpardonable crime”; however, some would offer their share of fish for satisfaction of their curiosity.

One study⁷² showed that that premature ejaculation and lack of desire were connected to less curiosity in childhood.

Shame and Curriculum: Control and Self-Control

With shame, “the fear of decreasing his self-confidence through self-expression conquers the urge to express oneself”⁷³. Classical psychodynamic theory explained female shame on the basis of their supposed genital deficiency⁷⁴. Authors also suggested a relationship between early vaginal sensations and shame development⁷⁵. An early author⁷⁶ pointed to two theories to explain concealment, that of *adornment*⁷⁷, and that of *suppression of the physical*.

Shame does not centre upon the genitals alone⁷⁸. Anthropologists have conceptualised “shame” as covering all-pervasive standards of inferiority and immobility said to be enforced on women’s entire curricular existence. Kressel (1992)⁷⁹, for instance, offered a comparison of gender segregation among groups of Bedouin living in Ramia, Israel, versus the Negev Highlands. Both groups leave to the mother the task of inculcating in girls the notions of claustration and propriety and, frequently, of supervising genital mutilation. The perpetuation of women’s inferiority is located, says Kressek, in “the code of symbols underlying community politics”. This point was previously discussed by Paige (1978)⁸⁰ in a more cautious fashion.

Both the nuclear interpretation of shame as pertaining to genitalia or other body parts and functions, and the broader issue of shamed femininity are central anchors in curricularisation theory.

Limiting this discussion of shame to that pertaining to genital and genitiose sexual avoidance, a central debate took place between Norbert Elias⁸¹ and Hans Peter Duerr⁸², in which Duerr

⁷² Rogrigues, O. M., Monesi, A. A. & Costa, M. (1991) Curiosidad sexual infantil y adulta: Prevalencia e implicaciones para el tratamiento de las disfunciones sexuales masculinas, *Rev Latinoam Sexol* 6,1:45-54

⁷³ Grau, K. J. (1928) *Eitelkeit und Schamgefühl. Eine Sozial- und Charakterpsychologische Studie*. Leipzig: Meiner

⁷⁴ Matthis, I. (1981) On shame, women and social conventions, *Scand Psychoanal Rev* 4,1:45-58

⁷⁵ Eicke, S. M. (1988) Über Schuld- und Schamgefühle bei Frauen, *Zeitschr f Psychoanal Theory & Praxis* 3,1:77-93;

Kramer, P. (1954) Early capacity for orgasmic discharge and character formation, *Psychoanal Stud Child* 9:128-41

⁷⁶ Siegmund, H. (1933) Die Entwicklung des Schamgefühls und seine Auswirkungen, *Psychol Rundschau* 4:203-6

⁷⁷ CF. Rosenthal (1933) Schamgefühl und Sittlichkeit, *Sexus* 1:51-6

⁷⁸ Nunberg, H. (1932) Psychoanalyse des Schamgefühls, *Psychoanal Bewegung* 4:505-7

⁷⁹ Kressel, G. M. (1992) Shame and Gender, *Anthropol Quart* 65,1:34-46

⁸⁰ Paige, K. E. (1978) *Codes of Honor, Shame, and Female Purity*. Paper for the International Sociological Association

⁸¹ Elias, N. (1939) *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*. 2 vols. Basel: Haus zum Falker

tried to refute Elias's theory by means of empirical evidence showing that peoples of the world have always had a sense of propriety and sexual shame (chronicled in Wouters; Bogner; Pallaver)⁸³.

Early genitalia-associated avoidance seems to be informed by the sexual factor but this point has, to the author's knowledge, never been substantiated.

Authors generally suggest shame is "taught"⁸⁴. Lewis⁸⁵ argued that cultures, in return, are shaped by the ways in which children are "taught to deal with shame". Anthropologists suggest shame regulates avoidance of (genital) association according to kinship, gender, autosexuality, allosexuality, etc., and also predicts attitudes to bodily functions (excretion, menses). An example may clarify the extreme implications of "shame".

"[Tahahumara g]irls after the age of seven or eight are prevented from almost any sort of social contacts with boys. Interviews with young schoolgirls showed that they were taught to refuse to talk to boys and that it is shameful simply to look freely into the eyes of a man, much less to carry on an active conversation. The fear of sexual abuse as a consequence of contact produces an extreme form of modesty which is overtly manifested by the downcast eye, the turned face, and the half-whispered response to questions. Unlike the situation in the South Seas (Samoa, for example) or parts of Africa, where children form definite groups providing steady contacts, spreading knowledge, and insuring confidence in social situations, the Tarahumara child is the product of the isolation of the scattered settlement pattern. It is only during the tesguinada [drinking gathering] and the fiesta that social intercourse is permitted. But young children are not supposed to go to tesguinadas, and even these tesguinadas do not provide an adequate opportunity for deepening acquaintanceships. To a great extent, Tarahumaras marry without an adequate opportunity to learn how to adjust to a stranger of the opposite sex" (Fried, p68).

Shame is frequently a measure of maturity:

"The **Dogon** express the idea of sexual maturity in two ways: [...] "he who knows speech" and [...] "he who knows shame". Mastery of speech and decent behavior are prerequisites to marriage according to Dogon rules. Among the **Pangwe**, Tessmann (1904 [I]:p131)⁸⁶ noted that boys have sexual acquaintances with older men, the boys apparently being excused because they "have neither understanding nor shame", the men with the assertion *a bele nnem e bango* ("he has the heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys"). Among the **Rungus Dusun**, initial life stages are indicated by clothing:

"While not yet self-conscious about running around naked, boys and girls are still referred to with one term, *amupo ilo ikum*—"do not yet know enough to be ashamed". As soon as they start to wear clothes (about three or four years old for girls, a bit older for boys) a girl is referred to as *manintepi*—"wearing a skirt"—and a boy as *maninsuval*—"wearing trousers". By about the age of ten, before her breasts begin to enlarge, a girl starts wearing a sarong over her skirt. This

⁸² Duerr, H. P. (1989) In polemica con il sociologo Norbert Elias – Nudita' e pudore. Riflessioni di un etnologo sulle diverse manifestazioni della sensualita, *Prometeo* 7(26):110-6; Duerr, H. P. (1993) *Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess, Vol. 1: Nacktheit und Scham*. Suhrkamp: Frankfurt am Main

⁸³ CF. Wouters, C. (1994) Duerr und Elias. Scham und Gewalt in Zivilisationsprozessen, *Zeitschr f Sexualforsch* 7,3:203-16; Rehberg, K. S. (1994) *Civilizing Theory and Philosophical Anthropology*. Paper for the International Sociological Association; Bogner, A. (1992) The Theory of the Civilizing Process-An Idiographic Theory of Modernization? *Theory, Culture & Soc* 9,2:23-53; Pallaver, G. (1989) Der Streit um die Scham. Zu Hans Peter Duerrs Demontage des "Zivilisationsprozesses", *Osterreich Zeitschr f Soziol* 14,4:63-71

⁸⁴ Resneck, S. H. (1991) Shame, sexuality, and vulnerability, *Women & Ther* 11,2:111-25

⁸⁵ Lewis, M. (1992) *Shame: The Exposed Self*. New York: The Free Press

⁸⁶ Tessmann, G. (1904) *Die Pangwe*. Berlin: E Wasmuth. Vol. I; Murray and Roscoe (1998:p142)

period is referred to as *maninsukalab*—"wearing a sarong". When breast development is apparent, a girl is called *sumuni*—which can be translated as "maiden" (Appell-Warren 1987 [1991]).

Among the **Swazi**, full sexual penetration before marriage is considered "shameful", all the more so if the girl is made pregnant. The **Kisii** tolerate extensive sex play among smaller children, although "shame taboos" require that after about age 7, such activities are not to be seen by parents (Brockman). **Bala** adults consider boyhood group masturbation "shameful" and break it up whenever possible.

"Sex Guilt": The Question of Intergenerational Transmission and Cultural Determination

The concept "sex guilt" has been a classic item in Western sexology (e.g., Mosher). It is used in adolescent and adult samples. In one study⁸⁷, "sex guilt" was defined as "the experience of unease whenever internal sexual standards are violated in thought or in deed". The presumed cause, according to studies, would be disappointment⁸⁸, sexual abuse, and more insidious cultural traumata. Cultural differences were sporadically found⁸⁹.

The cause of "sex guilt" is commonly situated in socialisation curricula. One study⁹⁰ suggested that the same sex parent is perceived as more influential in determining the sex guilt of the child, whereas the perceived sex guilt of the mother may have more influence on the sexual arousability of the son and the sexual activity of the daughter. Other studies⁹¹ suggest that parental practices, or at least the retrospective image of it, is correlated to aspects of "sex guilt"; Francoeur and Francoeur (1976)⁹² explain how Americans "teach" sexual guilt to children. However, the relationship between sex guilt and permissive/restrictive family background is more complicated than might be expected⁹³.

Closing Remarks

The "latency" concept is better studied in the light of privacy, curiosity, secrecy and shame. The cross-cultural study of the development of these issues is fragmentary, and few

⁸⁷ Derflinger, J. R. (1998) Sex guilt among evangelical Christians in the 1990s: An examination of gender differences and salient correlates of sex guilt among married couples, *DAI-B* 58(9-B):5111

⁸⁸ Moore, N. B. & Davidson, J. K. Sr. (1997) Guilt about first intercourse: an antecedent of sexual dissatisfaction among college women, *J Sex & Marit Ther* 23,1:29-46

⁸⁹ Consider: Wyatt, G. E. & Dunn, K. M. (1991) Examining predictors of sex guilt in multiethnic samples of women, *Arch Sex Behav* 20,5:471-85; Abramson, P. R. & Imai-Marquez, J. (1982) The Japanese-American: A cross-cultural, cross-sectional study of sex guilt, *J Res Pers* 16,2:227-37; Fantl, B. & Schiro, J. (1959) Cultural variables in the behavior patterns and symptom formation of 15 Irish and 15 Italian female schizophrenics, *Int J Soc Psychol* 4:245-53

⁹⁰ Abramson, P. R., Michalak, P. & Alling, Ch. (1977) Perception of Parental Sex Guilt and Sexual Behavior and Arousal of College Students, *Percept Mot Skills* 45,1:337-8

⁹¹ Joffe, H. et al. (2001) Parental non-verbal sexual communication: Its relationship to sexual behaviour and sexual guilt, *J Health Psychol* 6,1:17-30; Herold, E. S. (1981) Contraceptive embarrassment and contraceptive behavior among young single women, *J Youth & Adolesc* 10,3:233-42

⁹² Francoeur, R. T. & Fraincoeur, A. K. (1976) The Pleasure Bond: Reversing the Antisex Ethic, *Futurist* 10, 4:176-80

⁹³ E.g., Propper, S. & Brown, R. A. (1986) Moral reasoning, parental sex attitudes, and sex guilt in female college students, *Arch Sex Behav* 15,4:331-40

theoretical anchors have been offered. This compromises any concept of curricular breaks, delays or decelerations in (hetero)erotic development. The biological factor in these developments is a matter rarely discussed critically, and new theories (e.g., adrenarche) need to be verified. This also included the redefinition of eroticism that covers developmental realities, a task that requires quality insights to “psychophysical” experiences. Specifically, both the ethnographic and historical account of puberty as a “libidarchal storm” does not save this mission, until controlled studies are realised.

2

Sexologising Childhood.

Historical Antecedents of “Developmental Sexology”

“[...] and I never got the peaches!”¹

“B’li yadaim, b’li yadaim”²

Summary: This chapter identifies selected historical antecedents of contemporary sexological conceptualisations of the child, with a reference to ethnographic import. First, it is argued that “developmental sexologies” or ontologies are cultural constructs that describe and legitimise given curricular operationalisation efforts. It is suggested that the theme of age salience in early sexology is neglected by historians. Specifically, masturbation evolved from a poorly curricularised pathology discourse (until 1850s) to one that seemed to be based solely on phase ideologies (1905 to late 1960s). A breakthrough in developmental sexology was established by Von Krafft-Ebing’s considering *all* prepubertal sexual phenomena as “paradoxical” to nature, a pathology not fully eradicated until the 1930s. Slowly, pathology gave way to a stress on early sexuality as “play” and “experimentation”, as illustrated by the ethnographic notes of Tessmann. This seemed to have been arrived at by the transitional recognition of “love” development. It was argued that the influx of non-western data, single authors excepted, was markedly delayed past key theoretical efforts (Freud); the *systematic*, and later *numeric*, cross-cultural approach is still in its infancy, a surprising fact regarding the wide interest in cross-cultural sexology today. Highlights are briefly summarised.

¹ Morrison et al. (1980:p20)

² “Without hands, without hands”. Father, quoted by Spiro (1958 [1975:p221])

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2.8 Summarising Notes

2.0 Introduction

“For those born and educated after the year 2000, we will be their history, and they will be mystified by our self-imposed, moralistic ignorance of the principles of sexual and erotic development in childhood”³. Only a few authors have contributed to this history of attitudes concerning pre-“mature” sexuality as a science or construct besides touching on the history of masturbatory regulation of children. A full review and bibliography of relevant contributions being available elsewhere⁴, I would like in following paragraphs examine man’s shifting ethnographic, folkloristic and clinical notions of growing up sexually, for the occasion of this limited discussion divided in subchapters covering the doctor’s ideas (age stratified concepts of “cheiromanic” pathology (§2.2); and the historical employment of medicalising attitudes toward sexual behaviour timing (§2.3), the “own-backyard” attitude (the historical concepts of sexual curricula including “play” and “rehearsal” phases (§2.4), the “other-side-of-the-fence” dimension (the use and neglect of anthropological data by early sexologists (§2.5), the nascent cross-culturalist approach, (§2.6), and the culturalist moral / utilitarian context (§2.7).

The basic argument explored here is the basic undercurrent motivating discourses as they take their form within their respective historical setting. This undercurrent is hypothesised to be represented by the political tradition curricularising trajectories of change, that is, operationalising pathways of differentiation by culturally legitimised agendas. In less abstract terms, the field of erotic possibilities, which is notoriously large in homo sapiens sapiens, is governed by a social grid organising chronology and direction of events. This view has not been outstanding in today’s sexological heritage. There is a definite historical process here addressed as the *academic sexologisation* of prepuberty, as evidenced by countings of numeric studies on my behalf⁵. Leaving methodological problems associated with this finding for what they are, it would be more interesting to take a brief look at this sexological heritage before continuing the task of situating ourselves conceptually within postmodern sexological realism.

³ Money, J. (1987) Introduction, in Sandfort, Th., *Boys on their Contact with Men*. Elmhurst, NY: Global Academic Publishers

⁴ Janssen, D. F. (July, 2001) *Paradoxia Sexualis: The Bio-Othering and Psychopathia Sexualis of the Child*. Unpublished manuscript. See also a bibliography available from the author.

⁵ See **results in pdf** at the conclusion of the chapter.

2.1 The “Developmental Sexology” of Cultures: The Vicarious Theme of Curricularism

A rarely explored dimension in curricular concepts of sexuality is that of the culturally ingrained hesitation to utilise developmental approaches, and to address developmental issues, *at all*. Psychodynamic theory, of course, established a radical centralisation of psychosexual phases as a human psychology and pathopsychology. Before Money’s claim to phrases such as “paediatric sexology”, earlier thoughts only vaguely resemble such initiatives, originating as they did from a stereotypical medical dichotomy⁶. Early curricularising theories about the sexual development of man sought to have sex start at puberty⁷. Early American, French and Italian sexology, however fragmentary and unsystematically, integrated earliness in the pathological spectrum of sexuality. Narrative at first ranged from moralistic though inconsequential (Acton, Maudsley) to romantic (Mantegazza). Later, German but also French and English authors began using the child as an illustration of hypothetical biomedical models of pathology (Cullerre, Féré), but hesitated to regard the child as a clue to normal developmental models (Bell, Ellis, Scott).

An illuminating example, the work of Hermann Rohleder demonstrates a definite evolution taking the reader from of the justification of pathologising to discussions of possible biological mechanisms of normality, which ultimately become phase-identifying. In 1921⁸ Rohleder unfolds a developmental theory consisting of a 3-stage *erotisation of the brain* by inner secretions, apparently equal to that of Kohl (1911)⁹. The curriculum thus reads: till 8 [or 10] an absolute ignorance (unconscious sexuality, like “gewisse Koketterie kleiner Mädchen” and exhibitionism; some Onanie might be physiologically conscious), then till 12 a stadium in-between unconsciousness and consciousness (“ein stadium der Ahnungen, d. h. die Empfindungen werden deutlicher aber noch nicht ganz deutlich”¹⁰) and finally a full consciousness of function and social purpose.

⁶ Moses (1922) *Konstitution und Erlebnis in der Sexualpsychologie und -pathologie des Kindesalters*, *Zeitschr f Sexualwiss* 8,10:305-19; Friedjung, J. K. (1931) *Die Physiologie und Pathologie der kindlichen Sexualität*, *Monatschr f Kinderheilk* 51:343-58; Gött, T. (1931) *Physiologie und Pathologie der Sexualität*, *Monatschr f Kinderheilk* 51:321-42

⁷ Scott (1900) noticed 7 stages of sexual development, of which the first prepubertal four were Ten Lunar, infancy, childhood, and boy-/girlhood. Sexually, they were all “expressive of a passive existence, which, to all intents and purposes, is neuter” (p478). Well aware of climate and familial factors, he states that “[b]efore puberty, the boy is normally entirely free from all sexual thoughts or impressions” (p51); the girl is not different. Bell is able to categorise “five more or less well marked stages” in love development, the first two of whom range from ages 3 to 8, and 8 to 14. The paper however circumvents the issue of sexual instinct: hugging and kissing pleasure “is not specifically sexual except in some cases which I am inclined to consider as precocious”.

⁸ Rohleder, H. (1921) *Sexualpsychologie. Monographien zur Sexualwissenschaft* 2. Hamburg: P. Hartung, p24-9

⁹ Kohl, Au. (1911) *Pubertät und Sexualität*. Würzburg: Stuber, p22-31

¹⁰ Basing on his sexological experiences and the comments of parents, a sign diagnostic of transition from stage I to II is the child starting to look at adult’s genitalia rather than other children’s. In phase II wise parents should consult the family practitioner to sexually educate the child *at least* as much to prevent him from masturbatory manipulations!

2.2 The Masturbation Paradigm: “Onanopathies” and the Relevance of Age

The early history of masturbation is well-studied¹¹. Masturbation historians only rarely addressed the issue of absolute and relative age and its possible implications for sexual behaviour curriculum ideologies. Elia (1987), for instance, hardly reveals a clue to curricularised attitudes to masturbation. Rousseau’s attitude toward masturbation was both complex and ambiguous (Lejeune, 1974)¹². Tissot’s arguments were specific to the pedagogical implications of masturbation, but these are rarely addressed.

First, there is the occasional emphasis on spermatorrhoea which could not have been valuable in childhood masturbation, though little is known about early medical appraisal of ejacularche (see however Schoondermark, 1902:p26-7)¹³. Second, numerous references to “youth” can be found as early as the 17th century, meaning everything from children to young men (e.g. Kett, 1971:p285)¹⁴.

Masturbation in childhood and youth was covered by Schetsche and Schmidt (1996)¹⁵, who distinguish four stages in the pedagogical concept of masturbation (p14-5). First (17th century), the “child” had to be taught that it was sexual; later, it had to be taught that it was immoral; still later, it was to be controlled as an urge; and finally (latter half 18th cent.) it could not be mentioned unless in a mystified manner. As Flandrin (1976:p280-3)¹⁶ points out, the first theologist known to express concern for the carnal sins of children was Jean de Gerson (1363-1429), praeses of the Parisian University. Until the 18th century, there would have been silence on the matter. Unlike during the French Enlightenment, in the last quarter of the 18th century, it was said that German authors “extended” the then established risk group to include toddlers and even babies (Mortier and Colen, 1995:p834)¹⁷. By the 19th century, Rosenberg (1973:p136-7)¹⁸ argues, “[n]ot even the youngest child could be presumed immune; one physician noted that even infants of eighteen months had been taught the

¹¹ For a brief outline of historical investigation, consider the following (full references are found elsewhere): Von Gager (1952); Spitz (1952); Hare (1962); Duffy (1963); Jacobs (1963); Comfort (1967); MacDonald (1967); Ussel, van (1967/68); Szasz (1970); Cade (1973); Gilbert (1975); Neuman (1975); Pilgrim (1975); Buda (1976); Renshaw (1976); Bullough and Bullough (1977:ch.5); Greydanus & Geller (1980); Egelhardt (1981); Carter (1983); Hudson (1983); Chromy (1984); Money (1985); Stengers & Neck, van (1984); Elia (1987); Bloch (1989); Okada (1989); Hall (1992); Kay (1992); Lütkehaus (1992); Duche (1994); Schroth (1994); Braun (1995); Mortier et al. (1995); Richter (1996); Hunt (1998). Also Spree, R. (1986) Sozialisationsnormen in ärztlichen Ratgebern zur Säuglings- und Kleinkindpflege, in Martin, J. & Nitschke, Au. (Eds.) *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Kindheit*. München: Verlag K. Alber, p609-59, see p628-9, 641-3; Van Ussel, J. (1968) “Vuile manieren” en seksuele opvoeding, *Persoon & Gemeenschap* [Dutch] 21,3:137-47

¹² Lejeune, Ph. (1974) Le “dangereux supplement”: lecture d’un aveu de Rousseau, *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* [France] 29,4:1009-22

¹³ Schoondermarck, J. Jr. (1902) *Het (Auto- en Mutueel-) Onaneeren* [etc.]. Amsterdam: Moransard [Dutch]

¹⁴ Kett, J. F. (1971) Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America, *J Interdiscipl Hist* 2,2:283-98. Reprinted in Rabb, Th. K. & Rotberg, R. R. (Eds., 1976) *The Family in History*. New York: Octagon Books, p95-110

¹⁵ Schetsche, M. & Schmidt, R. (1996) Ein “dunkler Drang aus dem Leibe”: Deutungen kindlicher Onanie seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, *Ztschr Sexualforsch* 9,1:1-22

¹⁶ Flandrin, J. (1976) Späte Heirat und Sexualeben, in Bloch, M. et al. (Eds.) *Schrift und Materie der Geschichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. Cited by Schetsche and Schmidt (1996:p2), *op.cit.*

¹⁷ Mortier, F. & Colen, W. (1995) Inner-scientific reconstructions in the discourse on masturbation (1960-1950), *Paedagog Hist* [Belgium] 30,3:817-47

¹⁸ Rosenberg, Ch. E. (1973) Sexuality, Class and Role in 19th-Century America, *Am Quart* 25,2:131-53

“horrid practice” [note]. Perhaps the instances of “furious masturbation” which had been observed in such infants demonstrated the power of this instinct; but the very strength of this animal attribute only underlined the need for controlling it”¹⁹.

The first article known to cover specifically children (young girls) is probably Zimmerman (1779)²⁰. By the middle of the 19th century, masturbation by “little” children was apparently something of an issue in medical Europe as judged by articles by Van Bambeke (1859)²¹ and Behrend (1860)²², and later by Fleischmann (1878)²³. In 1841, puberty (“Het intreden der jongelingschap”) was seen as a “natural” cause of masturbation, as was the frequently mentioned case of “very young sinners” afflicted by “[a] weak, tender morbid condition of the body”²⁴. In 1854, it was recommended that “[i]l ne faut pas que l’on ignore que ce sont souvent de très jeunes enfants qui se livrent avec fureur à l’onanisme”²⁵. By that time, paediatricians were well aware of their involvement in the case²⁶. Before this period it is suggested that masturbation was battled with little respect for age, but focussed on adolescents. In 1861, Debay²⁷ reported that genitals before age 8 “restent muets”, whereas in “adolescence” (ages 8-14), thus, preceding “puberty” (15-21), masturbation might occur. However, “les désirs ne se feraient pas encore sentir si des jeunes gens ou des adolescents instruit par les premiers ne faisaient naître ces désirs et n’anticipaient sur l’ordre naturel”. Masturbation was covered by most German-language paediatric *Lehrbuchs* (Steiner, Biedert, Vogel, Von Heubner, Unger, Henoeh, Neumann, etc.), perhaps more regularly than in early non-German paediatrics. Steiner ([1873:p335])²⁸: “Wat betreft den leeftijd, waarop deze ondeugd gepleegd wordt, heb ik mij meermalen overtuigd, dat het eerste begin dikwijl reeds bij zeer kleine kinderen, van een à twee jaar, wordt waargenomen”; he further refers to one Marjolin claiming sexual phenomena at the breast (Steiner seems to describe an infantile orgasm).

By the beginning of the 20th century it was generally known that “[i]n man at the age of puberty the sexual emotion awakes powerfully, while active social life opens before the

¹⁹ A comparable case is presented by Gillis (1996) who examined the early development of writings on infant and childhood thumb-sucking in American paediatric textbooks since 1878. He discusses the integration and consolidation of this *suctus voluptibilis* into common American paediatric coverage by observing that it found pathological and nosological anchors [p65] in its being classified as a “functional neurological disease”. The parent, nurse and non-paediatric physicians were incapacitated in their potential expertise, and the habit was pathologised by its association with orofacial deformity and sexualised [thus, pathologised] by its association with masturbation. The paediatrician was considered a *coloniser* rather than the self-declared *explorer* of the unknown terrain of infancy [p73] and paediatrics was identified as “an early intellectual example of contextual or relative “truth”[p64]”, by virtue of its anchoring the child’s behaviour in its adults consequences. See Gillis, J. (1996) Bad habits and pernicious results: thumb sucking and the discipline of late-nineteenth century paediatrics, *Med Hist* 40:55-73

²⁰ Zimmerman (1779) Warnung an Eltern, Erzieher und Kinderfreunde wegen der Selbstbefleckung, zumal bey ganz jungen Mädchen, *Neues Mag f Ärzte* 1,1:43-51

²¹ Van Bambeke, C. (1859) Note sur certaines habitudes vicieuses chez les très-jeunes enfants, *Bull Soc Méd Gand* 25 :7-14

²² Behrend, F. J. (1860) Über die Reizung der Geschlechtsteile, besonders über Onanie bei ganz kleinen Kindern, und die dagegen anzuwendenden Mittel, *J Kinderkrankh* 35:321-9

²³ Fleischmann, L. (1878) Ueber Onanie und Masturbation bei Säuglingen, *Wien Med Presse* 19:8-10, 46-8. See also Carter (1983:p190-1)

²⁴ Vering, A. M. (1841) *Pastorale Geneeskunde*. Almelo [Holland]: J. T. Sommer. Dutch transl. from the German, p164-84

²⁵ Rilliet, F. & Barteaux, E. (1854) *Traité Clinique et Pratique des Maladies des Enfants*. Vol. III. 2nd ed. Paris: Baillière, p417

²⁶ E.g., Bednař, A. (1856) *Lehrbuch der Kinderkrankheiten*. Vienna, p352

²⁷ Debay, Au. ([1961]) *Hygiène et Physiologie du Mariage*. 27th ed. Paris, p95-7

²⁸ Steiner, J. ([1873]) *Compendium der Kinderzickten* [etc]. Arnhem [Holland], Dutch transl. of German orig.

young man with all its exigencies"²⁹. Freud (1905, 1912)³⁰ described three phases of masturbation, and pathologised persistence into adulthood (cf. Szasz, 1970 [1972:p233-4]³¹). Stanley Hall and Havelock Ellis mentioned masturbation in the light of adolescent age social immaturity, a theme extending well into the 1960s. Freudian curricularisation of masturbation was followed by most psychoanalysts well into the second half of the 20th century, though with a variable degree of freedom and alterations³².

Concluding, it can be argued that the concept of phase-specific nosologising and denosologising was gradually introduced into the well established masturbation discourse. Phases were not initially of much relevance, and even later used only as a mere expansion of the patient population. In the late 19th century it evolves as an (at least in part) specifically *paediatric* discourse, and in the early 20th century it is effectively transplanted into the *pedagogical* realm, as a purely curricular concept and concern.

2.3 *Paradoxia Sexualis: Shifting Discourses Surrounding the Sexologised Child*

In a previous project³³, I have provided an examination of early (1877-1931) German-language clinical sexologists' usage of narrative and scientific rationale in conceptualising prepubertal sexuality. Basic arguments presented in this overview included (1) the principle of **bio-othering** of the child within the sexological realm in the course of potentialising puberty as a "libidarchic" (nascent libidinous, awakening) storm; and (2) the pre-1930 principles of **nosologising** the moral delineation of curricular categories in human sexology. I aimed to challenge archaic endocrinological arguments as forming a leading undercurrent in the curricular concept of early sexuality most strikingly embodied by Von Krafft-Ebings' *paradoxia sexualis* category, an *a priori* pathological interpretation of sexual expressions preceding puberty. Further, I aimed to explore the shifting balance of endocrinological, neurological and pedagogical concepts and narratives in the definition of sexuality as they pertain to the differentiation of moral categories associated with the timing problem in sexology.

It was clearly demonstrated that Von Krafft-Ebing lacked most of an "Ellisian" concept of the sexual life span, and sought to explain earliness in terms of degeneration, and neuropathic deterioration. Contrary to former authors, Freud's infantile sexuality was discussed in a tone of voice that could be designated "dispassionate, disinterested, and strikingly secular and amoral"³⁴. It is also apparent how authors furiously rejected by Freud, particularly Moll and

²⁹ Marro, A. (1899) Influence of the puberal development upon the moral charcter of children of both sexes, *Am J Sociol* 5,2:193-219, at p214

³⁰ Freud, S. (1905) Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie. Freud, S. (1912) Zur Einleitung der Onanie-Diskussion. In *Die Onanie. Vierzehn Beiträge zu einer Diskussion der "Wiener Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung"* (Diskussionen der Wiener psychoanalytischen Vereinigung, Heft 2). Wiesbaden; G.W., Bd. 8, p332-45

³¹ Szasz, Th. (1970) *The Manufacture of Madness*. New York [etc.]: Harper & Row. 1972 Dutch transl.

³² E.g., Premisla, B. (1947) *Sexuologie in de Praktijk*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Strenghtolt, p212 [Dutch]

³³ *Paradoxia Sexualis*, *op.cit.*

³⁴ Carter, C. (1983) Infantile hysteria and infantile masturbation in late 19th century German language medical literature, *Med Hist* 27:186-96, at p196

later Stekel, chose a developmental approach that can be called progressive or at least multidisciplinary and modernist. Freud himself referred to Ellis, but never adopted his progressive developmental perspective. Rather, Freud merely utilised his peculiar bi/triphasic model as a tool for discussing adult psychopathology.

2.4 Themes of Rehearsal and Play: Limited Historical Notes

One function of studying children's "play", as Mergen (1975:p400)³⁵ argues, lies in

"[...] the understanding it provides of the development of the social sciences and their impact through schools and other institutions. The problem then becomes, not what children actually did, but what adult students of children's play thought they were doing. By looking closely at the origins of the academic studies of children's play, it is possible to show the relation of these studies to other intellectual and social concerns and then make some observations on the connections between play and culture".

Early German medical sexology has discussed sexual expressions before puberty rather extensively (Janssen, 2001)³⁶, but few authors seemed inclined to discuss the matter in positive terms of function or value. Schrenk-Notzing (1895:p35)³⁷, for instance, suggested that, since "playing "pappa and mamma" or "being engaged" may attain pathological significance", the children should be observed at play, "to ascertain whether they there give evidence of sexual excitement, and whether the manner of play corresponds with the sex". If so indicated, "energetic treatment should begin immediately, if possible under the direction of a physician educated in psychology, and capable of the employment of suggestion" (cf. p51-3, 73).

Langfeldt (1981:p109-10)³⁸ pointed to the "worship" of childhood sexuality in 1410, discussed by Beccadelli (1908)³⁹ and in European folk tales. However, only a few references to childhood sexual behaviours are made in early documents (see Stone, 1977:p510). These include play at copulation of French sheep herding boys and girls, and early 17th century eight-year-olds ("Instead of sticking little sticks up their [rectums] as children do, pretending to give each other enemas, he lustily screwed them without knowing what he was doing")⁴⁰. A painting by Coypel (ca 1770) entitled *Kindliche Spiele* might or might not be considered "erotic" by his contemporaries⁴¹. Another drawing by Fragonard with the same title⁴², may prove less dubious. References collected by Van Ussel (1967:p150-3/ 1968 [1971:p171-3]) suggested to the author that until the end of the 18th century children indeed "played sexually" freely until about age seven, and in a lesser degree so until puberty. "In the moral and pedagogical literature of the

³⁵ Mergen, B. (1975) The Discovery of Children's Play, *Am Quart* 27,4:399-420

³⁶ *Paradoxia Sexualis*, op.cit.

³⁷ Schrenk-Notzing, A. von ([1895]) *The Use of Hypnosis in Psychopathia Sexualis*. 1956 Engl. Transl. from German orig. New York: Institute for Research in Hypnosis Publication Society

³⁸ Langfeldt, Th. (1981) Sexual development in children, in Cook, M. & Howells, K. (Eds.) *Adult Sexual Interest in Children*. New York: Academic Press, p99-120

³⁹ Beccadelli, A. (1908) *Hermaphroditus*. Leipzig [Privatdruck]. See also contributions by Forberg and Kind

⁴⁰ Bouchard, G. (1972) *Le Village Immobile* [etc.]. Paris, p325. "L'un et l'autre sexe est bien très enclin à l'amour, j'ai été étonné de voir cette passion se développer de bonne heure, au point que des garçons, même de sept ans à huit ans, ont commerce avec des filles de leur âge". Quoted from Tessier (1776:p70)

⁴¹ See Fuchs, R. ([ca. 1928]) *Geschichte der Erotischen Kunst*. Vol. 2. München: Albert Langen

⁴² See Karwath, C. von (1908) *Der Erotik in der Kunst*. Vienna: Stern

first half of the 18th century, we find no restrictions against [...] pre-pubertal sexual expressions; in the second half of this century it appears that a repressive trend sets in such as, up to then had never been witnessed". At the closing of the 18th century, Réstif de la Bretonne⁴³ names a game called "Little Wolf", which was claimed to be five centuries old, and quite innocent, had it not been for occasional adolescents' participation. Kellogg (1881) names "sham marriages" and "imitating the "Black Crook" ".

Havelock Ellis ([1936, I:p36-7])⁴⁴ was one of the prominent to speculate on the rehearsive aspect of early sexual behaviour. He (1901)⁴⁵ also presented some of the very first *normative* sexual histories in clinical literature since Von Krafft-Ebings' work with the sexual anamnesis in the 1870s. The autobiographical approach was also noted in the homosexual discourse (Hirschfeld). Ellis writes:

"A kind of rudimentary sexual intercourse between children, as Bloch has remarked [⁴⁶], occurs in many parts of the world, and is recognized by their elders as play. This is, for instance, the case among the Bawenda of the Transvaal [⁴⁷], and among the Papuans of Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land, with the approval of the parents, although much reticence is observed [⁴⁸]. [...] "Playing at pa and ma" is indeed extremely common among children in genuine innocence, and with a complete absence of viciousness; and is by no means confined to children of low social class. [...] [These games] are of the nature of play, in so far as play is a preparation for the activities of later life, though, unlike the games, they are not felt as play".

Stressing the normative (unlike Bloch), Ellis refers to Groos, who as one of the first posited the concept of preparatory "love play", drawing a parallel between animal and human phenomena⁴⁹. Probably, "love games" among children were commonly known at the turn of the century. Chaimberlain (1896:p200)⁵⁰ stated: "The numerous love games, which Mr. Newell [⁵¹] and Miss Gomme [⁵²] enumerate, such as "Knights of Spain", "Three kings", "Here comes a Duke a-roving", "Thread, thread the Green Grass", "I'll give to you a Paper of Prins", "There she stands a lovely Creature", "Green Grow the Rushes, O!", "The Widow with Daughters to marry", "Philander's March", "Marriage", etc., corresponding to many others all over the globe, evidence the social instincts of childhood as well as the imitative tendencies of youth"⁵³. In a series of 83 games collected in Washington, D.C., by Babcock (1888)⁵⁴, thirty were "love games"⁵⁵. In the Gomme collection, 30 were "Courtship and Lovemaking Games" apart from 29 "Marriage Games" (1898, II:p461-2). A milestone work

⁴³ De la Bretonne, R. (1794-7) *M. Nicolas ou le Coeur Humain Dévoilé*. 1985 Dutch transl., *De Liefdesavonturen van Mons. Nicolas* [...]. See p7-39

⁴⁴ Ellis, H. (1936) *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. New York: Random House. 2 vols.

⁴⁵ Ellis, H. (1901) The development of the sexual instinct, *Alienist & Neurologist* 22,3:500-21

⁴⁶ Bloch, *op.cit.*

⁴⁷ *Ztschr Ethnol* 4 (1896):[p364]

⁴⁸ *Ztschr Ethnol* 1 (1889):[p16]

⁴⁹ Groos is known because of Freud's reference in 1905. See Groos, K. (1896) *Die Spiele der Thiere*. Jena: G. Fischer; (1899) *Die Spiele der Menschen*. Jena: G. Fischer, especially p326-33

⁵⁰ Chaimberlain, A. F. (1896) *The Child and Childhood in Folk-Thought*. New York [etc.]: Macmillan

⁵¹ Newell, W. W. (1883) *Games and Songs of American Children*. New York: Harper, p39-62

⁵² Gomme, A. B. (1894-8) *The International Games of England, Scotland and Ireland* [etc.]. 2 Vols. London: David Nutt

⁵³ More plays by Gomme include "Here comes Three Dukes a-Riding", and "Poor Mary sits a-Weeping" (cf. Chaimberlain, p270-1).

⁵⁴ Ref. Bell (1902:p339). Babcock, W. H. (1888) Games of Washington children, *Am Anthropol* 1:243-84. Reprinted in Sutton-Smith, B. (Ed.) *A Children's Games Anthology*. New York: Arno Press. See also *Lippincott's Magazine*, March and September, 1886

⁵⁵ Short references to "love games" in Schwartzman, H. B. (1976) The Anthropological Study of Children's Play, *Ann Rev Anthropol* 5:289-328, at p293; Mergen, B. (1975) The Discovery of Children's Play, *Am Quart* 27,4:399-420, at p401

was presented by Bell (1902)⁵⁶. The paper provides a range of heterosocial games thought to provide occasion for kissing and hugging, illustrated by many cases, including “love demonstrations” lasting into adulthood and intergenerational crushes. Critically, “[l]ove between children of the opposite sex bears much the same relation to that between adults as the flower does to the fruit, and has about as little physical sexuality in it as an apple-blossom has of the apple that develops from it” (p333)⁵⁷. Was it only after Freud that love games could be discussed as sex games or were they indeed platonic? In *Anthropophyteia*, Adler (1911)⁵⁸ lists nine “typical” “erotic” games of childhood. The alternative hypothesis reads that Victorian children indeed played “love” more typically than they played “sex”. Later work also mentions “love tokens”⁵⁹ but skips the sex; these authors preferred to study school environments, but apparently missed or (did not find) the positive evidences of heterosexuality found in numerous studies in the 1980s through 1990s (see **Appendix III**). Moll (1898, I:p44-5; 1908 [1912:p101-2])⁶⁰ discussed Groos’ rehearsal paradigm in extenso, yet with precaution. Speaking of coital movements in animals, he argued:

“The view that in such cases the movements are imitative merely is untenable, for young animals which have never had any opportunity of watching the physical manifestations of love in older ones, will nevertheless themselves exhibit such manifestations. At most it remains open to dispute whether in these cases it is still permissible to speak of love-games, as do Groos and others, or whether we should not rather speak simply of manifestations of the activity of the sexual impulse. But the dispute does not involve differences of opinion regarding matters of fact; it is purely terminological. For, in the first place, Groos himself, who regards the games of childhood as a form of training, suitable to the nature of the individual, for its subsequent activities, recognises that games are sexually differentiated. He believes that we have to do, not, as some think, with imitative processes, but with preliminary practice, subserving the purposes of self-development; and he considers that girls naturally turn to games adapted to train them for their subsequent profession of motherhood, whilst boys incline to games corresponding to their predestined activity as men. Even if we accept this theory of Groos, we are compelled to recognise a sexual element in the games of youthful animals. In addition, however, we must note the fact that Groos gives a wider extension to the concept of play than other writers, and that he regards as love-games processes which others might perhaps describe as sexual manifestations. According to Groos, caressing contact is to be regarded as playful when, in the serious intercourse between the sexes, such contact appears to be merely a preliminary activity rather than an end in itself. Here two cases are possible: in one the carrying out of the instinctive activity to its real end is prevented by incapacity or by ignorance; in the other, it is prevented by a deliberate exercise of will. The former occurs in children; the latter, often enough in adults. Whatever view we hold regarding this matter, the

⁵⁶ Bell, S. (1902) A preliminary study of the emotion of love between the sexes, *Am J Psychol* 13,3:325-54. Another interesting article in this respect is Just (1897) Die Liebe im Kindesalter, *Prax Erziehungskunde* 11, and Speyer, R. (1904) Die Liebe bei den Kindern, *Die Kinderfehler* 9:21-5. See also Pfister, O. (1922) *Die Liebe des Kindes und ihre Fehlentwicklungen: Ein Buch für Eltern und Berufserzieher*. Bern: Bircher; Pfister, O. (1925) *Die Liebe vor der Ehe und Ihre Fehlentwicklungen*. Bern:, p204-7; Wolffheim, N. (1958) Wie Kinder wirklich sind: Erlebtes aus einem Kindergarten, *Prax Kinderpsychol & Kinderpsychia* 7:16-23; Wolffheim, N. (1966) Kinderlieben, in *Psychoanalyse im Kindergarten*. München [etc.]: G. Biermann, p124-33. Reprinted in Kentler, H. (Ed.) *Texte zur Sozio-Sexualität*. [Opladen]: Leske, p80-6

⁵⁷ “Of course there is much promiscuous catching, and the game [chasing and clutching] is satisfying other instincts than of love, for instance the instinct of pursuing and catching [...]” (p341).

⁵⁸ Adler, A. (1911) Erotische Kinderspiele, *Anthropophyteia* 8:256-8. They include Father-and-Mother, “Pfänderspielen”, Menagerie-Spiel, Kühemelken (Cow Milking), Robinson-Spiel, Feuerwehr-Spiel (Fire-Fighter), Kot- und Urinspiele, and Wett-Spiele (Contest; “Wer höher urinieren, schneller masturbieren kann”).

⁵⁹ Opie, I. & Opie, P. (1959 [1967]) *The Lore & Language of Schoolchildren*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1967 paperback, p328-9

⁶⁰ Moll, A. (1897-8) *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*. Berlin: Fischer; Moll, A. (1908) *Das Sexualleben des Kindes*. Leipzig: Vogel

sexually differentiated love-games of young animals must be regarded as a manifestation of the sexual life”.

Still, Moll ([1912:p174]) only hesitantly argued that mere imitation, like playing house, or playing “prostitution” may not be signs of a Paradoxical urge. Gradually, early sex as play, or even as game, came to be accepted as a routine narrative. Neologist John Money is especially known for his explorations⁶¹ in naturalising the concept within a comparative (combined ethnographic and zoologist) localisation. Money’s “sexual rehearsal play” theme surfaced in a 1970 article⁶², although his human “coital play” was mentioned before in the 1960s. Despite this lobbying, most “complete” discussions on children’s play never include sexual elements (e.g., Hartley and Goldenson, 1957:p102)⁶³.

2.5 *Savage Childhood and Precocity: Early to Modernist Observations*

The precocity of the savage child was frequently noted by early sexologists (Bloch, 1902⁶⁴, II:p254; Margold, 1926:p644-5; Crawley⁶⁵, 1929:p11-2, 13-4; Guyon⁶⁶, 1929:p64; Pedrals, 1950:p16-8; Edwardes and Masters, 1961:p80; Ellis, ([1936, I:p36-7])). Coital licence as well as sexual urges started early in many pre-industrial settings, reviewers argued (e.g., Ploß and Bartels [1918, I:p146, 187-8]⁶⁷; Ploß [1912, II:p519-53]⁶⁸; Karsch-Haak, 1911)⁶⁹. The anthropological implications for sexual development theories could only be discussed in pathological terms by pre-1900 writers (an exception seems to be Ostrowsky cited by Buch, 1882:p45)⁷⁰. For instance, Hammond⁷¹ remarked that he observed public intercourse among 3 to 4-year-olds in New York as well as in New Mexico, while also citing similar observations by Godard in Cairo, in his case of proving a causal relationship between early sexual excess and impotence. Forel⁷² argued that in some tribes an “unbelievable” spontaneous sexual urge exists among 7 and 8-year-olds, based on a *hereditary Satyriasis or Nymphomania*. Ploß took a wholly moral attitude, along with a largely indirect approach to the problem, in a (long)

⁶¹ More than one hundred articles of Money discuss this point.

⁶² Money, J., Cawte, J. E., Bianchi, G. N. & Nurcombe, B. (1970) Sex training and traditions in Arnhem Land, *Br J Med Psychol* 47:383-99

⁶³ Hartley, R. E. & Goldenson, R. M. (1957) *The Complete Book of Children’s Play*. New York: Th. Y. Crowell. Comp.

⁶⁴ Bloch, I. (1902) *Beiträge zur Ätiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*. Vol. II. Dresden: Dohrn

⁶⁵ Crawley, A. E. (1929) *Studies of Savages and Sex*. London: Methuen & Co.

⁶⁶ Guyon, R. (1929) *La Légimité des Actes Sexuels*. Saint-Denis: Dardaillon, see p39-86. He noted that “[s]elon beaucoup de voyageurs, dans les pays chauds, à Madagascar, sur les rives de la Plata, en Afrique, etc..., les relations sexuelles commencent entre enfants à l’âge de 6 à 7 ans”.

⁶⁷ Ploß, H. H. & Bartels, M. ([1913]) *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*, Vol. 1. 10th rev. ed. Leipzig: Th. Grieben. Dutch transl., 1918

⁶⁸ Ploß, H. H. ([1912]) *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*, Vol. 2. 3rd rev. ed. by Ph. B. Renz. Leipzig: Th. Grieben

⁶⁹ Karsch-Haack, F. (1911) *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker*. München: E. Reinhardt

⁷⁰ Buch, M. (1882) *Die Wötjaken, eine Ethnologische Studie*. Stuttgart: Helsingfors

⁷¹ Hammond, W. N. (1888) *Sexual Impotence*. 1889 German transl., *Sexueller Impotenz beim Männlichen und Weiblichen Geschlechtes*. Berlin, p65

⁷² Forel, Au. ([1904-1923]) *Die Sexuelle Frage*. München: Reinhardt. Cf. Bauer, B. A. (1923) *Wie bist du, Weib? Betrachtungen über Körper, Seele, Sexuellenleben und Erotik des Weibes. Mit einem Anhang: Die Prostitution*. Vienna, Leipzig, München: Rikola

chapter on “Kindheit und Keuschheit. Das Beispiel der Erwachsenen”⁷³. Ploß and Bartels (*ibid.*) conclude that “even in children the urge, which we would judge to be a great vice, is satisfied at liberty, but for them is mere “play”. Boys and girls have intercourse with each other in manners, though naïve, we abhor even when encountered in adults” (transl. DJ). Buschan ([1921:p248]; 1927, II:p82)⁷⁴ discussed the matter in a matter-of-fact attitude (“Naturalia non sunt turpia”), as did Von Reitzenstein (1931:p191)⁷⁵, Crawley (1929:p13), Kinsey et al. (1953:p108)⁷⁶, and Erikson (1950 [1963:p86])⁷⁷ visualising coital practices as “primarily playful imitation”.

2.5.1 Anthropology and Play Sex: Günther Tessmann

The nascent anthropological recognition of play sexuality is nicely illustrated by the notes of Günther Tessmann. In 1911⁷⁸, he addresses the issue of emics and etics when discussing Pangwe (Africa) children’s sexual excursions:

“Ich schicke voraus, daß ich einiges, was die Pangwe selbst noch als Spiel betrachten, nicht erwähne, weil es nach meiner auffassung in andere Gebiete der Volkskunde gehört, so z.B. rechne ich die Vorversuche zum Geschlechtlichen verkehr, die allerdings vielfach im Anschluß an “Spiele”, besonders an das “Familiespielen”, statthaben, nicht zu den Spielen, obgleich die Pangwe sie mir unter dem Namen [eboba’ne-bo’ngo] als richtiges “Spiel” aufzählten, ferner nicht Handlungen und Beschäftigungen, die einen ersten Zweck im Auge haben. Freilich ist hier die Grenze sehr schwer zu ziehen, da man sich darüber streiten kann, was wirklich “ernstiger Zweck” und was nur “spielerische Betätigung” ist”.

He (Tessmann, 1911:p250; Tessmann, 1913, II:p252-3)⁷⁹ notes how children begin to imitate parental life with ages 5 and 6, and “mit 8-9 Jahren ist das “Elternspielen” schon nichts weiter als ein zielbewußter Geschlechtsverkehr, bleibt aber in der allgemeinen Auffassung ein Spiel, das mir unter [zwei Namen] direkt unter “Kinderspielen” aufgeführt wurde [...]”. [Compare this with Müller (1917, I:p231-2) noting for the Yapese, that “Die Vorversuche zum Geschlechtsverkehr, wenn auch nicht [...] unter Anleitung der Alten ausgeführt, werden geradezu unter die Spiele gerechnet”.] Later Tessmann (1921 [1998:p151-2]⁸⁰; 1934a, [I]:p226-7)⁸¹ observed that *Baifa* boyhood sexual life develops in two stages: one, as in the Pangwe, of

⁷³ *Das Kind*, 3rd rev. ed., 1912. Vol. II, p519-59. In *Femina Libido Sexualis*, edited and arranged in 1965, the issue of “infantile sexuality” (p256-9) follows, as the phrase suggests, Freudian theory, but the book does not address cross-cultural perspectives.

⁷⁴ Buschan, G. ([1921]), in Moll, A. (Ed.) *Handbuch der Sexualwissenschaften*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Vogel; Buschan, G. (1927) *Im Anfang War das Weib*. Vol. II. Dresden: Petzschke & Gretsche

⁷⁵ Reitzenstein, F. E. von (1931) *Das Weib bei den Naturvölkern*. 2nd enlarged ed. Berlin : Neufeld & Henius

⁷⁶ Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., Martin, C. E. & Gebhard, P. H. (1953) *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*. Philadelphia: Saunders

⁷⁷ Erikson, E. ([1962]) *Childhood and Society*. 2nd, rev. & enl. ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

⁷⁸ Tessmann, G. (1911) Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe, *Bäessler-Archiv* 2:250-80

⁷⁹ Tessmann, G. (1913) *Die Pangwe: Völkerkundliche Monographie eines West Afrikanischen Negerstammes*. Berlin: E Wasmuth

⁸⁰ Tessmann, G. (1921) Die Homosexualität bei den Negern Kameruns, *Jahrb f Sex Zwischenst* 21:121-38. Reprinted and translated by Bradley Rose, in Murray, S. O. & Roscoe, W. (Eds., 1998) *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands. Studies on African Homosexualities*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, p149-61. See also *ibid.*, p141-2

⁸¹ Tessmann, G. (1934a) *Die Bafia und die Kultur der Mittelkamerun-Bantu*. Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder

general promiscuity (“Bei den Baifa heißen diese geschlechtlichen Vorübungen *tepampam te b[o]bte*”), and one of passive homosexuality with older brothers, at age 5 or 6 onwards. When puberty approaches, the father would warn the daughter: “Jetzt ist das *“tepampam”* zu Ende!”. Other tribes in East-Cameroon were covered by Tessmann (1928)⁸² on his 1913/1914 field work. Among the Mbum (p336), “zwischen Kindern beiderlei Geschlechts bis etwa zu sieben Jahren kommen mehr spielerische Versuche zum Geschlechtsverkehr vor und zwar wie bei den Pangwe und anderen Negeren auch, beim “Familienspiel”, und zwar im Busch oder, während der Abwesenheit der Eltern, in den Häusern”. Having become so much accustomed to these “Spielereien”, Tessmann (1934b, I:p204)⁸³ notes his inability to observe the “Mann-und-Frau-Spiel” in *Baja* children.

2.6 The History of Cross-Cultural Research of Developmental Sexuality: A Short Appraisal

A full review being offered elsewhere⁸⁴, a brief characterisation of the “ethnographic” concept of psychosexual development seems to be in place. Freud never studied children via a direct approach, and, apart from fragmentary remarks, did not instrumentalise his theories with ethnographic data. This is hardly surprising given the fragmentary nature before 1905, or even before Freud’s death. Apart from incidental authors such as Margold and Guyon, and many pseudoacademic cross-cultural inventory efforts, a 1945 work by Ford, four decades after the proposition of Freudian psychosexual theory addressed shortly the beginnings of “reproductive life”. Most authors in the 1950-1970 era examined psychoanalytic formulations mostly by using Whiting and Child’s data, who themselves wrestled with the charisma of Freudianism. The cross-cultural approach regarding sexual “restraint” issues (associated with the SCCS ratings) ended somewhere around the middle of the 1980s, when the ethnological approach to childhood sexuality matters was fairly well established. The work by Ford and Beach (1951) still provides the most comprehensive descriptive data collection, even though it is fragmentary and lacks a sound theoretical or hypothetical perspective, as did subsequent authors for over half a century. From the middle of the 1980s onward, and particularly in the 1990s, Anglo-American sociologists have employed an intriguing “ethnographic” mode of researching playground sexualities⁸⁵. This has sensitised the concept of “sexual cultures” as well as the cultural/“culturalist” and “cross-culturalist” entry.

2.7 Shifting Narratives and Uses in Exocultural Developmental Sexology: The Moral Index

⁸² Tessmann, G. (1928) Die Mbaka-Limba, Mbum und Lakka, *Zeitschr Ethnol* 60,4:305-52

⁸³ Tessmann, G. (1934b/1937) *Die Baja: Ein Negerstamm im Mittleren Sudan: Materielle und Seelische Kultur*. Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder. 2 vols.

⁸⁴ An abbreviated version of preparatory review efforts is included as **Appendix I**.

⁸⁵ See **Appendix III**

To expand on the discussion of 20th century academic agenda (§1.2), a general outline can be made for the moral and ethical overtures involved in non-endocultural developmental sexology. As argued, pre-1900 ethnographic observations on sexual upbringing were infrequent and accusatory (§2.5). Instances were to support the general negativist thesis on savage's promiscuity, and lack of moral standards. A changing spectrum was announced by the influx of Freudianist projects of the 1920s (Malinowski, Mead, Róheim; cf. §1.2.1). Ethnographic works, at times augmented by personalist input, were frequently used in bitter complaints at the address of so-addressed "Western" sexual discourse (Guyon⁸⁶; e.g., *Atlas, Africa*; Introduction). Kinsey's [et al.] use of ethnologia was biased to demonstrate the precocious (notably 1953:p108n8) and thus to counterbalance (oppose) "Western" discourse. Levine⁸⁷ notes: "Kinsey repeatedly implied that the sexual customs of the West were unique, or nearly so, and based wholly on arbitrary assumptions. His vague references to anthropological data were highly selective. In his eyes, "the reactions of our social organization to the various types of behavior are the things that need study". Kinsey declared that mores originated neither in accumulated experience nor in scientific examination and objectively gathered data. The sociologist and the anthropologist find the origins of such customs in ignorance and superstition, and in the attempts of every group to set itself apart from its neighbors" ".

As for a different contextualism, O'Carroll⁸⁸ legitimised his use of Ford and Beach in "righting the balance" of noncoverage by mass media. Brongersma's use of ethnology and history in a way typical of much of the fragmentary "movement" culture facilitated his life-long critique of hegemonic representation of what he phrases "boy-love", in a project to emancipate the male homo-erhebophilic "type" from other configurations in the age/gender field. The attempt lacks a theoretical basis, though. In this advocatist context, it is often argued that "strong emotional barriers still have to be broken down in the large majority of people before the attitudes and norms of society can be changed to the point where it is generally realised that children really do have sexual organs responding to lust, and that the sexual excitement of a child does not always come from outside, but arises from the child's inner self"⁸⁹. Mark that the original 1986 Danish work was edited by what called itself the " "Trobriands" Collective of Authors". Certainly, the sparks of "advocatist" movement never accomplished a sustainable academic cultural-historical assembly (as *did* the "gay" identified movement)⁹⁰. The contribution for the anthropological cause, therefore, remains limited.

Illustratively for writings in the 1970s and early 1980s, Malinowski's work was partially reprinted in a pamphlet entitled "Kindliche Sexualität bei Naturvölkern" in a German project signed "Archiv Antiautoritäre Erziehung" (1978). By the late seventies, Yates (1978) begins her "cultural" chapter, which entails a juxtaposition of Irish Inis Beag with Polynesian

⁸⁶ For a Dutch response to Guyon, see Emde-Boas, C. van (1948) The child and sexual activity [letter], *Int J Sexol* 2,2:126-8 / Emde-Boas, C. van (1957) De opvattingen omtrent kinderlijke seksualiteit van dr. R. Guyon, *Inzichten* [Holland] 1:222-6

⁸⁷ Levine, A. J. (1994) 'Errorogenous' Zones? Kinsey's Sexual Ideology, *The World & I* Online, 9, p426

⁸⁸ O'Carroll, T. (1982) *Paedophilia, The Radical Case*. Boston: Alyson Publications

⁸⁹ Peterson, B. (1992) The sexual child, in "Trobriands" Collective of Authors (Ed.) *Crime Without Victims*. Amsterdam: Global Academic Publ. [Translated by E. Brongersma], p53-67

⁹⁰ The Dutch Periodical *Paidika: The Journal of Paedophilia* (1987-1995), as well as the rare New York two-issue *International Journal of Greek Love* (1965-6) contained various ethnographic studies under the common denominator of "Greek love" / "paedophilia"; other journals which have done so include the *Journal of Homosexuality*.

Mangaia, with a lamentation on “our culture”: “Austere and frightening, the concept of sex as a necessary evil and abstinence as Christ-like remains basic to Christianity and to our culture”. Her exposé, we are to believe, is a challenge of “the most erotically barren” place on earth with “erotic Eden”, representing “our” choice between “minimization” and “constriction” on the one hand, and “promotion” of sexual “development” on the other. Straver’s (1986) interactionist interpretation of Ribal’s (1973) colloquia within a juxtaposition format of Scandinavian and U.S. narratives, had, as I have argued (§1.1.3.1), implicitly normalised Scandinavian and criticised American trajectories. More Americans have voiced their interpretation of contemporary American discourses as “anti-sexualist” (§3.1.2.1; Atlas: **North America**), yet without much of a cross-cultural claim. The SCCS studies reversed original negative (1970s) to positive (1984) scales of “restraint” (§s 3.0.2, 7.1.1) after a long tradition of discussing “permissiveness” among cross-culturalists. Lloyd DeMause, recycling 1970 statements in the 1990s, utilised a particularly brutal use of ethnomisic and anti-anthropologist narrative in reducing history and all culture to abuse and “incest” categories (e.g., Atlas, **Middle East**; etc.); this effort appears illustrative in the selective and ethnocentric revival of Freudian and anti-Freudian narrative. Few studies if any, however, justify “Western” universality claims regarding traumatogenetic trajectories in cases of subculturally or culturally endemic “illegal” practices (chs. 14 and 9). Officially, it can be argued, there is a striking though not perfect uniformity of legislative curriculum among contemporary “Western” nations (Graupner), the minor differences not adequately legitimisable. The subgenre concerned with “historical” and “cross-cultural” “backgrounds” to “abuse” in the 1980s and 1990s has had little effect on this curriculum.

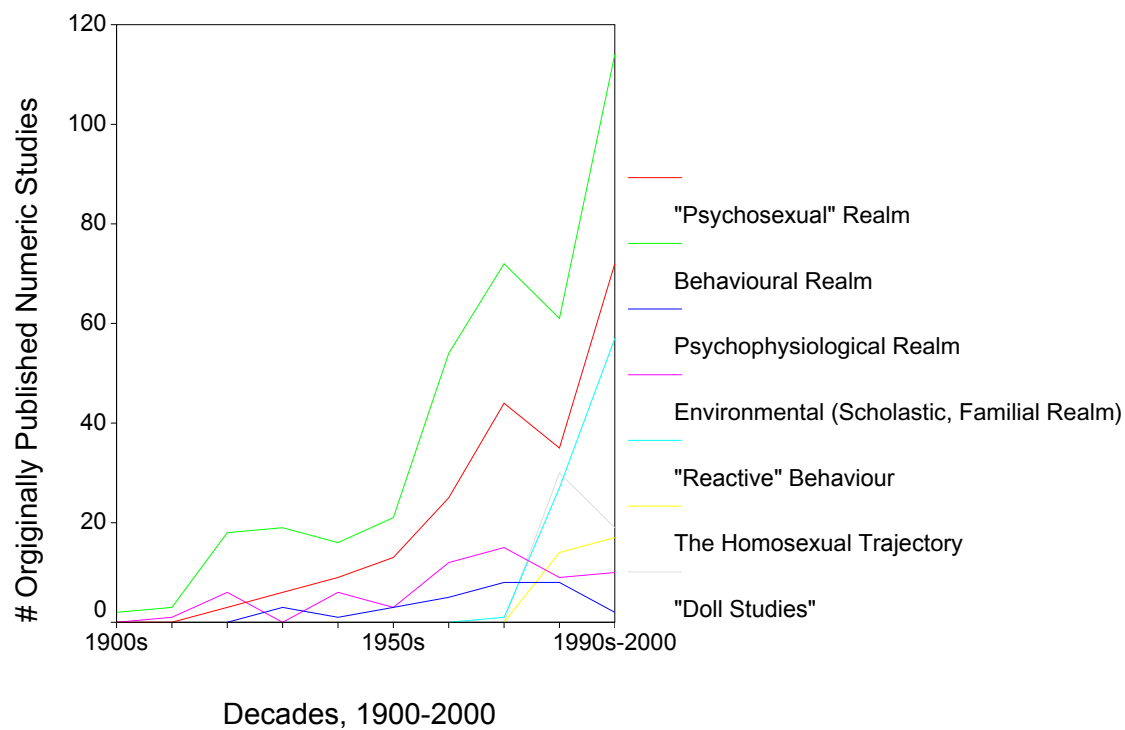
2.8 Summarising Notes

Considering the preceding chapter, the following arguments can be made:

- (1) Except for a seemingly expansive mode of including children in masturbation nosologies based on orgasmogenic principles, there was hardly any formal (e.g., clinical) concept of children’s sexuality before such end-1900 authors as Groos, Moll, Hall, Ellis et al. (§2.4). At any rate, curricularisation was not an apparent issue in the work of early masturbation theorists, although it would *generally* be operationalised as a pedagogical matter even before 1800 (Vogel);
- (2) Until 1930, and lateral of the growing tolerance for psychodynamic perspectives, a considerable amount of clinicians reiterated Krafft-Ebingian pathologising of prepubertal timing of sexual phenomena, regarding it literally “paradoxical” to (at least) nature (§2.3);
- (3) Modern operationalisations of prepubertal sex as “play”, “imitation” and “experimentation” diffusely arose in late 19th century authors, before Freud (§2.2). In a minor degree, this seemed to be legitimised (Ellis) or merely identified (Ploß / Bartels) through the ethnographic case; another reference was the zoological (Groos). The rehearsal/play paradigm was first tested within the “love” game context, steadily gained popularity with the application to genital behaviour, and was later integrated in ethno/zoologically informed theoretical models by Money and others;

- (4) From the 1920s onward, a growing number of sexologists included ethnographic data to legitimise “play” and “rehearse” operationalisations of prepubertal sexuality, where formerly ethnographers (e.g., Ploß et al.) utilised an altogether moralist approach coupled with pathophysiological claims. The utilisation of anthropological data shifted from blatant moralism to apologies of liberalism (Guyon), and the presumed consequences of such cultural contextualities (Reich). Here, for the first time, Malinowski challenged Freudian motives for curricularisation, particularly latency, on the basis of non-Western data; this was frequently used by authors in the second half of the 20th century (preparatory surveying).
- (5) Apart from incidental authors, systematic cross-cultural inventory efforts seemed to have started with 1945 work by Ford, four decades after the proposition of Freudian psychosexual theory. Since, there have been some numeric elaborations, utilised for especially psychodynamic theoremata, but hardly for descriptive or theoretical efforts. Particular neglect is noted for the issue of curricularisation of sexual behaviour trajectories.

Childhood Sexology: A Century Analysis of Numerism



3

Developmental and Developing Sexologies.

A Sociological Entry to Sexual Socialisation Cultures and Processes

Summary: This chapter provides a theoretical outline of a framework for describing cross-cultural patterns of sexual behaviour socialisation. Three principles were identified to explore cross-cultural differences in sexual socialisation processes: pragmatism, agenda, and stratification. The “pragmatism” framework describes the process of sexual behaviour and identity socialisation in terms of potentialising (enabling) rather than permissiveness (gratification). This reformulation requires the identification of cultural tasks of defining individual curricular sexual identities (*developmental* sexology), and curricular-subcultural countertasks by which children and youth respond to, assimilate, renegotiate these claims (*developing* sexology). That is, a specific (sexual) socialisation curriculum creates a specific (sexological) subculture, as can be described and studied via its being grounded in self-devised forms of expression and self-imposed tasks. On this basis, the current literature review was identified as aiming to facilitate a demonstration of social definitions operationalising any part and level of the process of socialisation: acts, actors, bodies (and their biological evolutions), and body parts (and their biological functions). From an interactionist-performative perspective, the concept of “negative” or antagonist socialisation is theoretically problematic, since, it was argued, antagonist pedagogism always originates in a curricularised positive discourse. It was observed that pedagogical cultures, as a whole, may uniformise and institutionalise paradigmatic entries to developing sex, or rationalise practices in a less organised, more individualised fashion.

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3.0 Introduction

Many self-identified *cultural survivor* movements today face the manifold seductions of ongoing concept elaborations, such as that of “Inner Child” work. Either at a metaphor level or part of a more definite realism (consider Price, 1996)¹, Inner Children must be reclaimed (Wacks, 1994)², healed (Kiefer, 1993)³, scripted (Benton, 1990)⁴ and befriended (Esslinger, 1999)⁵. Among various other examples, these exotic artefacts of intellectual capital are illustrative of an insidious revolution that fosters more ways of “doing childhood” than could have been imagined even a decade ago. Concurrently, it has been observed that childhood has become a central fetish of today’s sexological culture. Kincaid (1998:p69-72, 251, 291)⁶, for instance, wonders whether “[w]e return to impossible erotic fantasies, ardently sexualizing our children and sentencing them to feel the full force of our childish disappointments”.

These developments both strain and fuel postmodern concepts of early erotics, as archaic ones are easily discarded and alternative ones remain highly contextual. In this last of three introductory chapters, I here wish to further explore productive alternatives for the current project. This will necessitate an acknowledgement of productive as well as non-productive entries to sexual developmentality.

3.0.1 Frameworking Sexual Ontologies

Social conventions dictate that a certain *maximum* (rarely an optimum) of psychological content (knowledge, preoccupation) or interaction would define age-related *sexual health* (age and “phase” “appropriateness”), or would define such chronology in itself (“psychosexual age”). Money’s *erotic age* (Money and Walker, 1971:p59; Money and Ehrhardt, [1973] 1996:p200)⁷ or “lovemap age” (Money, 1991:p5)⁸ remained largely hypothetical: “lovemap development” was never studied by Money beyond the clinical realm.

By no means a routine starting point for discussing “cultural” sexologies is provided by the position that ontology “inevitably” occupies a central (though perhaps not overtly *centralised*) position in such sexologies. John Money (1997 [1999:p14])⁹, first self-declared “child sexologist” / psychoneuroendocrinologist at Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, states: “No historian

¹ Price, D. A. (1996) Inner child work: What is really happening?, *Dissociation* 9,1:68-73. Discussed p74-9

² Wacks, V. Q. (1994) Realizing our inner elder-child: Toward the possible human, *J Humanistic Psychol* 34,4:78-100

³ Kiefer, K. S. (1993) Healing the wounded inner child, *Med Hypnoanalysis* J 8,4:125-38

⁴ Benton, C. L. (1990) “Scripting” the Inner Child in Adult Children of Alcoholics: An Approach for Rehearsing Recovery. Paper presented at the 76th Annual Conference of the Speech Communication Association, Chicago, IL, November 1-4

⁵ Esslinger, K. (1999) [Making peace with the inner child], *Krankenpfl J* 37,6:228-33

⁶ Kincaid, J. (1998) *Erotic innocence: the culture of child molesting*. London: Duke University Press

⁷ Money, J. & Walker (1971) Psychosexual development, maternalism, promiscuity and body image in 15 females with precocious puberty, *Arch Sex Behav* 1,1:45-60

⁸ Money, J. (1991) [Interview], *Paidika* 2,3:2-13

⁹ Money, J. (1997) *Principles of Developmental Sexology*. New York: Continuum. 1999 ed.

of sexology has yet taken on the task of writing a history of the transformations of the developmental principle in sexology. Yet, the proposition that sexology must inevitably be a developmental science has always been indisputable [...]”¹⁰. While one may or may not accept this (rather direct) apology for developmental agendas, is it clear that various sociological agendas (→§1.2) do inform pervasively developmentalist perspectives of things sexual, and do introduce specific biases¹¹ on this account. For instance, Herdt¹² discussed the “Western heterosexual bias in seeing normative development as a function of the individual biology or subjective desire, rather than as a function of social regulations and control”. Indeed, “[a]re childhood and sexual maturation the result of biological age, or are they ideas constantly emerging in the structure of the family, an institution that is itself historically changeable and culturally diverse?”¹³.

It can be argued that social agendas informing sexology are rationalised, normalised and operationalised by their pursuit for, and use of, ontology; on the other hand, the research opportunities are notoriously limited, and met with insubstantially defensible, institutionalised opposition (Money).

A brief discussion of the political issuing of the developmental being offered in **Appendix IV**, I here wish to expand on the preceding chapters as a preliminary to the current project’s line of commitment, as introduced in §§ 1.1.3.1 and 1.4. Specifically, I will outline the choices made to visualise differences in the cultural imperatives of development, while refraining from discussing “cultures” instead of individuals, and “development” instead of trajectories. Rather than delineated at the outset, these principles emerged as data were being organised, and theoretical orientations were “tried on”. This chapter represents the interim product of this process.

3.0.2 The Cultural in the Developmental

Industrial societies seem to prefer biomedical approaches to sexual behaviour curricula. It could be argued that regular visits to a gynaecologist’s office have replaced the function of communal rites of sexual passage in preindustrial societies¹⁴. Transitional rites in American society are currently informed by commercial interpretations of the medical-hygienic

¹⁰ For a discussion of Money’s developmental views, see Gijs, L. (2001) *De Illusie van Eenheid: Een Kuhnianse Analyse van de Seksuologie van John Money*. PhD Dissertation, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands, p221-52

¹¹ E.g., Carr, C. L. (1999) Cognitive scripting and sexual identification: essentialism, anarchism, and constructionism, *Symbolic Interaction* 22,1:1-24

¹² Herdt, G. (1991) Commentary on status of sex research: Cross-cultural implications of sexual development, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 4,1:5-12. Cf. Herdt, G. (1990) Cross-cultural issues in the development of bisexuality and homosexuality, in Money, J. & Musaph, H. (Eds.) *Handbook of Sexology*, Vol VII. Amsterdam [etc.]: Elsevier, p51-63

¹³ Mohammed, P. (1997) The idea of childhood and age of sexual maturity among Indians in Trinidad: A sociohistorical scrutiny, in Roopnarine, J. L. & Brown, J. (Eds.) *Caribbean Families: Diversity Among Ethnic Groups*. Advances in Applied Developmental Psychology, Vol. 14. Greenwich: Ablex Publishing Corporation, p115-46

¹⁴ Schindele, E. (1997) Übergänge im Frauenleben- Medikalisierung und Stigmatisierung durch die westliche Medizin, *Curare* 11:263-8

approach¹⁵, an approach that tends to inform the negative sides of an ambivalent¹⁶ sexology culture. Based on a previous historical appraisal of early German language sexology's dealing with the early sexual curriculum, it is possible to identify original Euro-American operationalisations of prepubertal sexuality as medicalising ones, biologising concepts of "libidarche" or erotic "awakening", and, thus, even today, compromising the sociological study of sexual behaviour trajectories¹⁷.

Cross-culturally, however, diversion is noted for attitudes that prescribe or proscribe intervention in sexual trajectories, or ensuring sexual "development" to take place, be it physically, morally, and conceptually, to occur at all, or earlier, or within some preferred curriculum. Cross-cultural methods have generally tended to restrict themselves to negative attitudes for explananda, or somehow feel justified in simply reversing original negative to positive scales¹⁸ (cf. §7.1.1). Such incidental classifications as offered by Currier (1979/1981)¹⁹ and Becker (1984)²⁰ allow positive and negative operationalisations of sexual development, but do not specifically address curricular continuity, and evade diverting standards for gender categories. These authors also leave the issue of historical consistency unexplored.

A review of the literature adds up to the preliminary observation that most of the *cross-cultural* literature lacks a perspective and vocabulary that suits a descriptive account of sexual "socialisation" processes that meets the cross-cultural variety found in that literature (consider the obviously problematic and unilateral, yet normalised concepts of "permissiveness", "control", "education"). This compromises ethnographic accounts, and especially hampers the ethnological study of pre-institutional sexualities. On the basis of the current limited review of ethnographic accounts covering preadult sexual trajectories, it was to be demonstrated how, and why, societies tend to operationalise (define) sexological concepts of maturity and developmental sexual competence, and how such definitions are utilised to produce efforts of fitting individual performative *trajectories* into theoretical *curricula*, or ideal-typical, *developmental* trajectories.

3.0.3 Pedagogisation, Participating Citizenship and the Praxis of Sexuality

¹⁵ Hufnagel, G. (1999) A cultural analysis of the evolution of menarche and menstruation: Implications for education, *DAI-A* 60(6-A):2256.

¹⁶ Becker, G. (1984) The Social Regulation of Sexuality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, *Curr Perspect Soc Theory* 5:45-69

¹⁷ Janssen, D. F. (July, 2001) *Paradoxia Sexualis. Bio-Othering and Psychopathia Sexualis of the Child*. Unpublished literature study. University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands, Dept. of Medical History, Philosophy and Ethics

¹⁸ Barry, H. III & Schlegel, A. (1984) Measurements of adolescent sexual behavior in the standard sample of societies, *Ethnology* 23,4:315-29

¹⁹ Currier, R. L. (1981) Juvenile sexuality in a global perspective, in Constantine, L. L. & Martinson, F. M. (Eds.) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown, p9-19. Reprinted in McDermott, L. J. (Ed., 1996) *Culture and Sexuality*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Chapter 1. An earlier version was published as Currier, R. L. (1979) The forbidden game: juvenile sexuality in cross-cultural perspective, *Forum* 8,5:62-5

²⁰ Becker, G. (1984) The Social Regulation of Sexuality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, *Curr Perspect Soc Theory* 5:45-69

Reynolds²¹ visualises how concepts of both youth and sexuality enter the realm of public space, of participation and of citizenship through such mediating institutions as family, church, medicine, education, police, law and judiciary. Although horaiocentric (*horaios*, Gr., adult), the author's essay issues the following interesting problem: in the area of sexuality, how does the possible become performance? In other words: how does the child move from the potential, the preliminary, and the pedagogical space of society to the arena of participation, of praxis?

In his *History of Sexuality* Foucault²² argued that children's sexuality was progressively governed (created) by pedagogical discourses, this "pedagogisation"²³ being one of four central deployment strategies, or "great strategic unities" together constituting the "production of sexuality" in the modern period. That is, the application of nascent concepts of pedagogy effected a reformulation of behavioural trajectories, sexualising critical sites of cultural transmission (classrooms, bedrooms, children's bodies) and revisiting, certainly complicating, expanding and problematising (cf. Van Ussel) existing, agendas, while relocating others. This process, however minimally detailed by Foucault, informs a valuable reinterpretation of the interactions between concepts of participating citizenship, pedagogical imperative and sexual praxis²⁴.

In **chapter 7**, pedagogisation of sexual initiation is operationalised along a negativist-positivist scale, and along a second activist-abstinence scale, following Becker. Pedagogisation is interpreted as the introduction of an agenda identified by a set of motives that promote the identification (localisation) of roles within a vertical social order. It was observed that

"[w]hereas European pedagogical discourses have evolved from broadly negativist to positivist orientations over the past three centuries, there is still a distinctly non-pragmatic or even covertly anti-activist discourse in sexological teaching. The cover-up is provided by the decentralisation of "clarifying" sex matters, from coitus to negative (or anti-negative) contextualisation of coitarche. This circumlocution renders the early sexual/erotic realm ambiguous and problematic".

Pedagogical discourses of sexuality have issued a number of paradigms, including risk-danger and a range of 'health' species ("mental", "sexual", "developmental"). This opens up discussions of the concurrence of diverse pedagogical curricula, rather than their salience in specific social compartments.

²¹ Reynolds, P. (2000) Citizenship, sexuality and youth: some conceptual considerations, in Crawford, K. & Straker, K. (Eds.) *Citizenship, Young People and Participation: Conference Proceedings*. Leicestershire: JPC publishing, p16-29. See also Evans (1993), as cited in §1.2.10.1. See further

Treacher, A. (Febr., 2000) *Children, Agency and Responsibility: Whose Responsibility?* Paper presented at the 'Responsibility' seminar in the Affect Ethics Citizenship series, University of East London

²² Foucault, M. (1976) *Histoire de la Sexualité*. Vol. 1. 1980 English ed., New York: Vintage Books. Cf. Karmanola, A., Knecht, C. & Parrat-Dayana, S. (1992/3) Le discours sur la sexualité infantile. Évolution du XIXe siècle à nos jours, *Bull Psychol* 46(409):121-9

²³ For an application, see Jose. J. (1998) Sex Education, The Family and the State in Early Twentieth Century South Australia, *Hist Educ Rev* 27, 1:33-52

²⁴ DeMause has classified Foucault's "pedagogical" child rearing mode as "socialising" replacing its "intrusive" antecedent. DeMause's negativist bias, which renders it of appeal to a limited academic circle, his historical account of sexuality to one being either oppressed, abused, denied or "aided". This is in conflict with ethnographic and historical accounts, and based on generalisations and essentialisations not supported by basic scientific codes.

Contemporary species of U.S. pedagogic curricula include subgenres variably entitled “sexuality enhancement”²⁵, awareness and safety education, allegedly “promoting”²⁶ “healthy”²⁷ sexuality while filtering out corrupting influences. Factually, “sexuality” may be a “neglected” issue in these programs²⁸. In adolescence, individuals are variably exposed to “abstinence” curricula. They may be exposed to the following opening lines: “Abstinence is giving your body the respect it deserves, that you deserve. Saying no to sex, alcohol, drugs and tobacco keeps you healthy and safe. Stated a bit more frankly, it means no touching from the neck to the knees and keeping all your clothes on, zippers closed and buttons buttoned”²⁹. It suffices to have remarked here that the pedagogical axis in these modern day curricula is variably positioned, and as for childhood curricula, the long term effects largely unknown.

3.0.4 Outlining Pedagogical Cultures: A Principle Trinity

In a preliminary essay, I have proposed a selection of “operational principles” governing human sexual behaviour trajectories. These principles were to inform descriptive and comparative accounts of the “cultural process” of sexual behaviour socialisation. The most salient ones included:

(i) **the pragmatism principle**, identifying sexuality as a negotiation between theory, practice and patterning (→§3.1).

The first principle argues that sex be identified as an accomplishment located on a trajectory from preliminary to practice to performance to routine performance. In this sense, sexual socialisation effects sexuality to become (or, as developmentalists might argue, “evolve” as) progressively practicable and feasible as a social performance. Thus, one might argue that within certain ethnohistorical contexts, sex acts represented subversions relative to what is perceived as an antagonist pedagogical system.

(ii) **the stratification principle**, localising and positioning sexuality within cultural, subcultural, and countercultural hierarchies (→§3.2)

The second principle argues that the doing of sex is in its confinement (politicised localisation, positioning) within social spaces, most saliently in what might be called “curricular compartments”, or spaces stratified on the basis of life “phase” ideologies. For further elaborations on topographic conceptions of sexuality, see §IV.1.

²⁵ Wurtele, S. (1993) Enhancing children’s sexual development through child sexual abuse prevention programs, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 19,1:37-46; Krivacska, J. J. (1990) *Designing Child Sexual Abuse Prevention Programs: Current Approaches and a Proposal for the Prevention, Reduction and Identification of Sexual Misuse*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas

²⁶ Besharov, D. (1990) *Designing Child Sexual Abuse Programs*, p213-7

²⁷ Finan (1997) Promoting healthy sexuality: guidelines for infancy through preschool, *Nurse Pract* 22,10:79-80,83-6,88,passim; Rew (1989) Promoting healthy sexuality, in Foster et al. (Eds.) *Family-Centered Nursing Care of Childhood*, p687-99; Smith (1993) Pediatric sexuality: promoting healthy sexual development in children, *Nurse Practitioner* 18,8:37-8; 41-4

²⁸ Whitlock, K. & Gillman, R. (1989) Sexuality: a neglected component of child sexual abuse education and training, *Child Welfare* 68:317-29

²⁹ <http://www.wvdhhr.org/mcfh/ica/Abstinence/>

(iii) **the agenda principle**, issuing sexuality as an agent operationalised through concepts of commitment, frustration and distraction defined by cultural-subcultural agenda within a teleological framework (→§3.3).

The third principle argues that within the context of sexuality as identified by hegemonic cultural agendas (fostering the establishment of naturalised, accepted stratification), trajectories are to be measured by their commitment to these agendas, or their failure to do so. Socialisation cultures are identified by their activism of transmitting *agendas* that are unambiguous, feasible, totalitarian (“centric”), or attractive.

Anticipating on the following paragraphs, a fusion of the above principles was attempted as a motivator for the volume’s presentation of data. The following trinity (3.1-3) of paragraphs further explores how the application of the principles was effected.

3.0.5 *The Sexual as the Sexological Interaction: The “Operationalisation” of Sex*

Within the context of adolescent sexual behaviour, Straver (cf. §1.1.3.0) has identified sexual development processes as governing the “acquisition of indices for enactment” within the perspectives and definitions of sexual (e.g., self-) objects that emerge from peer group interactions. This process includes the formation of “operative rules”, as well as normative rules, which inform an “operative self-concept”, in which “[...] perceived examples are reworked into self-addressing rules that appear applicable to personal agency” (1985:p71-2, 75-6, 81).

Using an analogy with scientific praxis / performance, for sexual-sexological praxis to become functional, the practitioner is required to have **operationalised** his variables to ensure measurability, relativity, internal consistency, external compatibility and later applicability: for sexual cultures to be reproduced, they need to be reproducible. The symbolic interaction implied in the social organisation of “sexual” behaviour is effected through the “sexological” process, and as such it is to be centralised in interactionist analyses of the “sexual”. It can be hypothesised that (macro- and microcultural) differences exist in the effort in which this elementary conditional process is facilitated within the intergenerational realm. Being the performance of sexuality, sexology is potentialised and informed through a continuous process of “operationalisation”, or *redefinition of operative regulations*. In terms of “scripts”, things sexual are exempt from social utility when not operationalised, before being made available for social transactions. Thus, it can be examined how societies tend to “do”, “represent”, “imagine”, in other words “operationalise” (and thus, regulate, understand, experience) puberty as a sexological caesura (§5.3). This unifying term implies to cover the collective of processes conditional to the performative competence of sexual interaction: labelling, legitimisation, authorisation, instrumentalisation, etc. Within the framework detailed in §1.1.3.1, it is proposed that children will operationalise aspects of their sexual status (as behaviour, as identity performance) in the interaction with their environment, rather than it being passively operationalised for them. Elaborating on the

previous paragraph, the operationalisation process is identified by the elements of practicability, agenda and stratification. In other words, doing sexuality (sexology) is informed by hints at effectuation (doing, starting, not-doing, not-starting), mobility and direction (going, developing) and social contextuality or reflection (moving upward, looking back/down). In still other words, changes in the sexological process are mediated by the relative application of the dynamic concepts praxis (practice), telos (goal), and topos (place). Operable sexuality is the result of imagining the possible and probable, and the claims of agency attached to it; sexology is not the learning of sexuality, or its operationalisation per se, it is the total sum of doing “the sexual” as such.

Operationalisation tasks within the sexological realm are distinctly problematic. The outstanding role for operationalisation lies in the dissociation of discussed sexual behaviour with private sexual behaviour, that is, the semisocial status of the sex act. This accounts for the larger part of sexual “socialisation” being a near-universally problematic concept. Another perspective, which is not elaborated here, is that certain social organisations of sexuality-as-knowledge may render the performance of “sexuality” / “sexual behaviour developmentally and biosocially analogous to the scientific, and epistemological, process, determining the culturally, historically and personally specific tendency to “sexologise” “sexual” categories, and to de-essentialise “the sexual”.

[Conceptualising sexuality as sexology, as follows from previous choices of perspective, requires a lexicon reflecting this interpretation. Since the use of particular expressions by the author raised questions pertaining to the appraisal of fundamental concepts among the expert board supervising this project, some definitions were listed at the conclusion of the work in response to, and to anticipate on, these criticisms. Particularly, the use of “operationalisation” and “curricularisation” is considered of critical importance in the conceptualisation of pedagogical principles, and in culture-identifying practices].

In conclusion, it can be postulated that the cultural transmission of sex occurs in contextualisation and rationalisation modules that are to direct or redirect (more or less unspecific) emotional (neuroendocrinological) processes associated with the socialised Self. This (cryptobiological) model assumes that the segmentalisation of sexology on the basis of age and class (e.g., “academic”, “formal”), that is, the variety of its methodological and contextual praxis, is a cultural artefact. Sexual activities are interesting insofar as they occur, or not-occur, in the context of previous sexological proceedings, and insofar as they provide for future elaboration and revision.

3.1 Meaning vs “Operational” Meaning: The Praxis of Curricular Sexology

3.1.0 Regulating Sexuality-Sexology

Sociologists have invested considerable efforts in identifying sex as praxis, telos, and instrument. Arguing from hegemonic medical viewpoints, sex-as-praxis is studied relative to the agenda of control by tracking and tackling processes in which the peripubescent is

“introduced” (“initiated”) into medically meaningful (clinically relevant) practices. By doing so, there is a flow of reinterpretation (“education”) concerning specific behavioural categories “operationalised” as “risk behaviour”. The praxis now connotes “running risks”, “being exposed”, “potentially contracting fatal diseases”, etc., where elsewhere it has meant “attracting misfortune to the tribe”, “exhibiting degeneration”, “exhibiting commitment to the reproductive cause”, “being healthy”, “being normal”, etc.

It can be argued that in studying cultural entries to sexual behaviour development two fundamental elements can be distinguished (Becker): the *attitudinal* and *pragmatic* identification of sexual competence. The current study, however, argues that these issues are immediate concomitants of a multivariate principle that describes how cultures either do or do not legitimise, or otherwise, *denaturalise*, given sexual behaviour agendas in given sections of the sexual behaviour curriculum. Whereas in **legitimising** efforts, sexual behaviour principles are (whether or not unambiguously) offered intergenerationally as immediately utilisable tools and feasible objectives, in **conditional legitimisation** efforts such principles are identified, but not unambivalently as immediately utilisable tools; in **non-legitimising** ramifications, no sexological identification is offered; via “negative” (“antagonistic” definition, **illegitimisation**, unauthorisation) efforts, identified possibilities are actively prevented to become immediate practical objectives, and, lastly, in **ambivalent** efforts, opposing principles are applied concurrently or alternatively. *Operational legitimisation* occurs within formalised, ritualised, or via more unstructured, vicarious routes. Rather than discussing curricular enforcement along separate scales of attitude and intervention, the composite scale of legitimisation offers a more uniform measure of cultural perspectives and sexual behaviour development. Specifically, this project will focus on the differences in meanings implied in, rather than in efficacy of, processes.

Legitimation pertains first to self-referring possibilities and agendas: it potentialises the concept of personal actualisation, and is directly linked to “personification” and embodiment. Secondly, the entire sexual/erotic environment is gradually given (or not given, or not-given) some sort of personal social relevance, requiring position taking, attitude sharing and eventual discussion. Thus, via a constructionist approach, one expects *meanings* (identifications) to be or become *operationalised meanings* facilitating significance to be applied to the (hypothetical) personal situation, and thus providing a basis (discourse) for actions. Sexuality is applied in the performance of embodied personhood.

American preadolescents, for instance, seem to be required to adopt an unambiguous, often negative, use of homoerotic categories. This predominantly *vicariously legitimised* agenda requires some form of reflection on the possibility of same-sex contacts, and a pressing need to reflect on or explore the moral boundaries of the concept *within the personal setting*. Starting from the fourth grade, a “very powerful” use of homophobic terms occurs, which would, Plummer somehow feels justified to argue, would rarely carry “sexual connotations” [*sic*]³⁰. Verbal homoerotomistic (“homophobic”? antihomoerotic?) cultures, however ineffective, could be assumed to invalidate (counter-legitimise) personal actualisation of the suggested practice. That this should hardly prove a flawless tendency, as data suggest, points to the presence of the overrule of competing (e.g., *contrapragmatic* heteroerotic) principles.

³⁰ Plummer, D. C. (2001) The quest for modern manhood: masculine stereotypes, peer culture and the social significance of homophobia, *J Adolesc* 24,1:15-23

An associated process describes the transition of (pre)adolescents knowing “homosexuality” to applying homosexuality as an identifier of social identity (“sexual orientation”) (cf. Sandfort & Van Zessen).

Summing up, legitimisation of sex as praxis represents the facilitation of turning conceptual mastery via motivated personalisation into pragmatic intent. The delay or disruption between these three imaginary conditions (reductionistically, knowing-wanting-doing) are arrived at by active and passive tendencies characterising the microsocial response to anatomical, physiological and behavioural clues³¹. Socially and culturally, differences are noted in issues covering, for instance, extent, timing, and curricular continuity of authority claims. Identification and legitimisation, thus, encompass the techniques employed to communicate principles as more or less personally salient (pragmatic) concepts, not the conceptualisation of how such concepts would ‘naturally’ be present, or ‘naturally’ be utilised.

3.1.1 Positive and Positivist Intergenerational Legitimation

Unambiguous examples of intergenerational legitimisation of sexual behaviour curricula instances of explicit and direct transmission of sexual techniques: coitus demonstrations, institutional instructrices, semi-formal age-stratified coital introductions, active shaping of heterosexual identity/role, anatomical and physiological prosexual preparations, public recognition / announcements (menarche, defloration) and behavioural encouragements (**chapter 7**). Within this setting fits a biomedical sexology that selectively associates curricular sexual behaviour categories with promotive physiological qualities (“poetic sexology”), beneficial preventative qualities, or therapeutic qualities (cf. Whiting and Child). Thus, these *sexosophies* (Money) rationalise and legitimise given curricular choices. The child is supplied with the idea that “Sexual behaviour can [should] currently be practised by me”. The dividing line between positive and forced positive modes (“I have got to do/undergo this now, whether I might want to or not”) may be hard to draw.

3.1.2 Negation (Negativist Identification) vs De-Legitimation: Taboo, Avoidance, and Appropriation

Money (1980:p45-9)³² lists three major taboos in children’s sexual socialisation, which Money allows to partially “overlap” the others: age-avoidancy³³ (cf. Murdock³⁴; Bryant, 1977:p304-5)³⁵, intimacy-

³¹ On the basis of careful hormonal assays, Udry et al. claim an independent role for biology in the chronology of behavioural milestones. It could, however, be argued that this biosocial pathway is a rather general effect instead of a peculiarly psychosexual condition. Cf. *Paradoxia Sexualis*.

³² Money, J. (1980) *Love and Love Sickness*. Baltimore [etc.]: Johns Hopkins University Press

³³ Transgenerational proceptivity is said to be counteracted by “age-avoidancy”, a “socially dictated constraint on personal disclosure to people of a different age group than oneself affecting erotic/sexual behavior and communication”. Parents would be protected from incestuous arousal and proceptivity by the *Coolidge effect*, and indirectly by the *Westermarck effect* in their offspring (Eibl-Eibesfeldt,

avoidancy, and allosex-avoidancy. *Age-avoidancy* is connected to age stratification in sexual behaviour and communication. *Intimacy-avoidancy* is described in terms of (particularly parent-child) kinship taboos in discussing and observing sexual behaviour, hampering “direct” intrafamilial forms of education. The foregoing two are judged to be “not sex disparate, but [...] applied equally to boys and girls in the course of their development”, as far as sources demonstrate far from an obvious point. *Allosex-avoidancy* is discussed in terms of gender segregation in situations of bodily exposure and “erotic communication”.

Negative legitimisation of sexual behaviour categories include the identification of avoidance and abstinence curricula. These include specific kinship avoidance rules, gender avoidance rules/ seclusion, age avoidance rules, residential change, sleeping/bathing/dressing arrangements, active prevention of instruction, deliberate misinformation, sexual behaviour proscriptions, contrasexual morphological/ physiological interventions /medicine, and virginity examinations / requirements.

Within this setting fits a biomedical sexology that selectively associates sexual behaviour categories with a “contrapoetic” processes (prevention of somatic / pubertal development, nosology, thanatology, theology, demonology). Negation creates the idea, “This is a possibility, but not for me” or “a rather conditional one”. De-legitimisation, by contrast, implies the presentation of principles *as if* not applicable to the current stage of personal trajectories. This puts off its immediate utility: “This is a possibility for me, but not now”.

The analysis of control methods by Sears et al. (1957:p185-92)³⁶ seems modest, unilateral and does not address, for instance, the issue of internalised standards. Mothers would employ the following tools: opportunity minimalisation (“preventing stimulation”), distraction by substitution (“changing stimulation”), cross-rationalisation (“borrowed sanctions”), non-labelling (vs. cross-interpretation), and non-suggestion (“information control”). The ethnographic record suggests additional options, including nosological narrative, various behaviour modification techniques, deliberate mislabelling, and harsh ad hoc or post hoc punishment.

The position taken here is that the (curricular) species of not-doing and not doing of sex represent variable active processes. U.S. revivalist mantras of abstinence sufficiently illustrate and denormalise not-doing as a culturally artifact, produced by an industry of recruitment technology.

1990:p163; Wolf, 1970, 1995). Parental attraction to their own offspring is sometimes referred to as the *Inverse Oedipus Complex*, or counter-Oedipus (Fine, 1993). Named after King Lear’s pathological attachment to his daughters, especially to Cordelia, a reverse “erotic fixation” is called the *Lear Complex* or “adult libido” or reversed Oedipus complex (Pauncz, 1933, 1951, 1952; Patricolo, 1994). The Lear-complex is an incestuous fixation of fathers upon their daughters. While the Oedipus complex depends exclusively upon the unconscious, the Lear-complex involves rather the conscious (Pauncz). The concept was never elaborated upon, either clinically or theoretically. A comparable syndrome is named after Oedipus’ father, Laius (see Atlas, Greek Love). By the *Laius Complex*, named after Oedipus’s father, Ross (1982,1985/6; Ross and Herzog, 1985) means the “pederastic and filicidal inclinations that I [Ross] believe to be universal among fathers”. This complex, too, is not generally recognised among psychoanalysts.

³⁴ Murdock, G. P. (1949) *Social Structure*. New York: Macmillan, p318-9. spoke of the “positive gradient of appropriate age”. A positive or attractive gradient [also including propinquity and kinship] was defined as to “exert steady pressure against the [...] negative or repelling gradients” [including ethnocentrism, exogamy, adultery, and homosexuality]. Murdock deals with age-disparate eroticism only in the (Freudian) context of “incest” (p291-5), while his concept of “appropriate age” seems applicable only to marital selection.

³⁵ Bryant, C. D. (1977) *Sexual Deviancy and Social Proscription*. New York: Human Sciences Press. Thus, “inappropriate age is an important consideration in the social control of sexual behavior and merits detailed examination”.

³⁶ Sears, R. R., Maccoby, E. E. & Levin, H. (1957) *Patterns of Child Rearing*. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson

3.1.2.1 *Intermezzo: "Global Antisexualism" and Culture*

Largely an American party, selected authors have argued that "child" sexual "abuse" prevention agendas *illustrate* sex-opposing principles³⁷, or at least run the risk of *transgressing* to curricular "sexuality prevention" agendas³⁸. These allegations are hard to substantiate, and impossible to verify. An (alleged idiosyncratic) "antisexualist" orientation is always categorical, always curricular, and always integrated within larger oppositional frameworks, which are always positively legitimised. The addressing of such "cultural", "endemic" positionings, thus, escape nonactivist reflection and empirical cross-examination. In anything, the authors try to reflect on mutually incompatible developmental principles.

3.1.3 *Covert, Collateral and "Centrifugal" Negation*

Girls, particularly, are socialised at an abstract level at which they do not grasp their situation, but nevertheless are rigidly controlled. Specifically, mothers employ devious rationalisations for preventing association with boys. This "don't run around with boys", or socialising sex without the sex, is an established schema for ensuring control while avoiding identifying the behaviours or identifying the moral dilemma/choice (cf. §4.7). This means of laterally approaching and addressing avoidance may be titled "centrifugal" considering its tendency to shy away from identification of matters considered "central" issues. Avoidance is accomplished via 'detours', or alternative meanings and contextualities: "I will not do B (running around with boys), for it leads to C (roughness)"; where the consequences for "A" (sexual behaviour) do not enter the script (until later).

3.1.4 *Ambivalent and Non-Identification*

It can be suggested that most, but particularly industrial, societies utilise a globally ambivalent (Becker) sexology that causes selective categories to be positively identified and de- or negatively legitimised *synchronically*, at least in adolescence. Ambivalence, mostly described for white middle-class U.S. sexual culture, creates the idea, "I can/want to engage in sexual behaviour, but then again I can not/do not want to" or "I should engage in sexual

³⁷ Francoeur, R. T. & Francoeur, A. K. (1976) The Pleasure Bond: Reversing the Antisex Ethic, *Futurist* 10, 4:176-80; Money, J. (1991) *Epidemic Antisexualism: From Onanism to Satanism*. Paper presented at the 10th World Congress of Sexology, Amsterdam, June. Cf. Money, J. (1992) Epidemic antisexualism: from onanism to satanism, in Bezemer, W. et al. (Eds.) *Sex Matters*. Amsterdam [etc.] : Excerpta Medica, p201-9

³⁸ Krivacska, J. J. (1991) *Child Sexual Abuse Prevention Programs: The Prevention of Childhood Sexuality?* Paper presented at the 7th Midcontinent Annual Conference of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, June 9. Cf. Krivacska, J. J. (1992) Child sexual abuse in programs: the prevention of childhood sexuality? *J Child Sexual Abuse* 1,4:83-112; and Krivacska, J. J. (1993) Antisexualism in child sexual abuse prevention programs, *Issues Child Abuse Accus* 5,2; Underwager, R. & Wakefield, H. (1993) Antisexuality and Child Sexual Abuse, *Iss Child abuse Accus* 5,2:[72-7]

behaviour, but actually I shouldn't". This situation is fully analogous to the construction of the ambiguous sexual body³⁹ that is associated with this policy. Inherent to the requirements of a complex adult role goes a *dissociation* between reproductive and productive age, and a *subordination* of the former to the latter in terms of preparation (Schlegel). Ameliorating this dual situation is the technique of anticipatory avoidance of direct addressing of enabling interpretations. An example is that of the avoidance of "operationalising" (enabling, empowering) knowledge (orgasm, coitus), particularly through an emphasis on age stratification. It suggests an evasion of communications that are thought to operationalise (identify as practicable), and thereby promote, specific behaviours, *by providing a deceiving alternative*. Purposeful misleading arguments on the ontogenetic question are noted in many societies (§10.2.5).

Further, *pseudo-identification* is noted when the addressing of concepts occurs after they have been identified or even made practicable, for instance through informal curricula. Sexual education books have commonly provided curricula that were to represent "complete courses", while none of such courses approaches casuistic traditional African completeness. Ambivalence at times produces ambivalent forms of sexual behaviour as exemplified by the so-called partial (interfemoral) intercourse practised to prevent defloration⁴⁰ (§6.2.11). Or rather, sexual expression reflects the *compromises* that follow from given sexological traditions, traditions based on wider social regulations.

3.2 Culture, Subculture, Counterculture, and Co-Culture

³⁹ E.g. Carpenter, L. M. (2001) The Ambiguity of "Having Sex": The Subjective Experience of Virginity Loss in the United States, *J Sex Res* 38,2:127-39. "Male and female teenagers receive different and often conflicting messages about sexuality from diverse sources; their parents' lack of frankness about sexual intercourse contrasts sharply with the media's emphasis on sex and with highly rationalistic discussions about sexuality in schools, complicating adolescents' decisions about entering and continuing sexual relationships". Brooks-Gunn, J. & Furstenberg, F. F., Jr. (1990) Coming of age in the era of AIDS: puberty, sexuality, and contraception, *Milbank Quart* 68, Suppl. 1:59-84.

"Ambivalence" is a good word to describe the feelings that women reported. While at least half of the women who talked about this issue were pleased that their bodies were developing, that they were transitioning from child to adult status, these positive feelings tended to be accompanied by strong negative feelings of self-consciousness and embarrassment. This ambivalence seemed to center on the fact that menarche represented emerging sexuality". Lee, J. & Sasser-Coen, J. R. (1996) Memories of Menarche: Older Women Remember Their First Period, *J Aging Stud* 10,2:83-101. Condom use is affected by "deep ambivalence regarding sexuality in general, women's sexuality in particular, and adolescent girls' sexuality in specific"; Rostosky, Sh. S., Galliher, R. V. & Welsh, D. P. (1998) *Gender-Roles, Power, and Condom Use in Adolescent Dating Relationships*. Paper presented at the 106th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA, August 14-18. "In modern industrial societies the dominant frameworks of meaning have fractured and hence the menarche is experienced in complex and ambiguous terms. The transition is ambiguous as it relies on cultural representations of being a child and an adult at the same time". Britton, C. J. (1996) Learning about "the curse": An Anthropological Perspective on Experiences of Menstruation, *Women's Stud Int Forum* 19,6,12:645-53. Cf. Moore, S. M. (1995) Girls' understanding and social constructions of menarche, *J Adolesc* 18,1:87-104

⁴⁰ Africa: Chaga, Kikuyu, Hausa, Dakarkaki, Nyakyusa, Xhosa, Tebu, Swazi, N'Jemp, Amazulu, Kipsigis, Venda, Pedi (debated), Bemba; U.S. (humping)

3.2.1 *The Peer in the Sex: Subcultural and Subculturalist Sexology*

Many researchers have interpreted sexual societies as segmental, allowing for an analysis of curricular sexual “subcultures”⁴¹ (cf. §§ 8.4; 15.4.3; III.0) rather than adolescents’ preliminary (problematic or marginal) integration in “adult” sexual cultures. Time and again, and cross-“culturally” so, the importance of peer cultures in sexual acculturation trajectories is regarded uncontested. At times, the subculture is formulated as a “counterculture”⁴², children “using”⁴³ sexuality as a tool in an antagonistic or subversive curriculum.

Mostly, the use of terms such as “subculture” do not connote a reference to classical subculture theory (Cohen) which argues that (dissident) subcultures develop in response to “dominant meaning systems”, as identified by “rituals of resistance”. Contemporary studies of age-identified sexual subculturing as occurring within school systems⁴⁴, in settings such as polyethnic⁴⁵ and marginal⁴⁶ youth environments, do identify antagonist principles, but generally reject much of the totalising, normalising and dichotomising tendencies of its original format (e.g., Redman). The existence of “curricular” (or life phase-identified, age-stratified) “sexual subcultures”, for instance, need not presuppose that some unitarian, “normal” hegemonic sexual culture is rejected by preadult groups that unite under this credo in some uniformised antithetical curriculum. It might imply, however, that age groups experience coherence, identity and collective personality based on specific uses of sexual categories, uses that may be (but not essentially are) in opposition or oppositional to those of authority (or: rivalling, adjacent) age classes. In the Raffaelli study on Brazilian street youth, it was argued that “sex is used as a means of ensuring survival, seeking comfort, finding pleasure, and dealing with psychological issues that arise during adolescence”. Now this is hardly to be called antihegemonic.

These insights are crucial footnotes to medical and pedagogical pursuits. As Renold⁴⁷ argues, “[...] only a curriculum and policy framework that is sensitive to and reflects pupils’ *own* sexual cultures can support children’s experience of their developing sexual and gendered identities” [*ital.in.orig.*].

⁴¹ See for instance a sketch by Martinson, F. M. (1974) *The Quality of Adolescent Sexual Experiences*. St. Peter, MN: The Book Mark, p10-22. Also Fine, G. A. (1987) *With the Boys: Little League Baseball and Preadolescent Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, esp. chapter “Sexual and aggressive themes of preadolescent boys”.

⁴² E.g., Mitchell, W. E. (1966) The baby disturbers: Sexual behaviour in a childhood counterculture, *Psychiatry* 29,4:367-77. Reprinted in Bryant, C. D. (Ed.) *Sexual Deviance in Social Context*. London: New Viewpoints, p65-81

⁴³ Cf. for instance, Plummer, K. (1984) The social uses of sexuality: Symbolic interaction, power and rape, in Hopkins, J. (Ed.) *Perspectives on Rape and Sexual Assault*. London: Harper & Row

⁴⁴ E.g., Mac an Ghaill, M. (1996) Deconstructing heterosexualities within school arenas, *Curriculum Stud* 4:191-207

⁴⁵ Dietrich, L. C. (1998) *Chicana Adolescents: Bitches, ‘Ho’s, and Schoolgirls*. Westport, CT: Praeger, esp. chapter “Sex and Love”; Hillman, Ph. L. (2000) Negotiating the Dominant Sexual Script: Middle-Class Black Girls Tell Their Story, *DAI-A* 60, 7, Jan, 2698-A

⁴⁶ Raffaelli, M, Campos, R, Merritt, A. P. et al. (1993) Sexual practices and attitudes of street youth in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, *Soc Sci Med* 37,5:661-70

⁴⁷ Renold, E. (2000) “Coming Out”: Gender, (Hetero)Sexuality and the Primary School, *Gender & Educ* 12,3:309-26

3.2.2 Hypothesis

Depending on the type of legitimisation/operationalisation (which may be specific for phase, gender and behavioural category), peer networks seem to represent the countercultures that assume sexological tasks (*curricular discourses*) in response to the central techniques used by the preceding generation (theoretical categories identified in [Table 1](#) below). In this sense, sexual socialisation cultures tend to promote the emergence of peer subcultures that can be specified on their sexological agenda, or *active* (collaborative, dissident, etc.) shaping of their sexual behaviour curricula.

Table 1 Sexual Behaviour: Operationalisation Modes and Sub-/Countercultural Tasks

Operationalisation Type	Central Technique	Intervention	Attitude	Central Subcultural Task
Enforced	threat, coercion, obligation	disruptive	directive-oppressive	opposition / justification
Positive	prescription, training, arrangement, demonstration, instigation	active promotion	tolerant-directive	utilisation, reinforcement, elaboration, complementation
(Pseudo-)	delay, post hoc instruction	deferred initiative, responsive	hesitant	pre-introduction
(Mis-)	deliberate malinforming	distortion	conspiring	(anticipated) correction
Non-	(passivity, nonsuggestion)	absent	fatalistic	introduction, initiation
De-	neutralisation, conceptual relocation	preventative, relocating	protective	reevaluation, conservatism
Negative	proscription	actively counteracting	unfavourable	opposition, rebellism

Examples of each system generally indicative of the identified operationalisation principle are provided below. When discussing peer cultures, this can only be maintained for homosocial subcultures. Further, such generalisations disregard life phase and categorical dimensions. The examples infra are specific for *male and/or female adolescent heterosexual sexual behaviour categories*.

- **Enforced Positive.** Examples mostly include dual gender standard systems as seen in traditional Islamic societies. Enforced positive socialisation includes forced age asymmetric early intercourse with a betrothed or husband (e.g., Aranda; Yanomama; Amhara, Hausa, !Kung), and more generally parent-organised betrothals. In these

cases, frustrated opposition on the part of the girl is the rule, while males assume the enforcing role, though perhaps with some degree of consideration for the girl. Another option for age egalitarian subcultures is semi-or pseudo-clandestine courtship outside the established tradition.

- **Positive.** Examples include a range of African, Oceanic and Latin American societies (e.g., Bemba, Mangaia, Puerto Rico). Peer cultures thus (a) are to make use of offered principles (e.g., age asymmetric coital instruction); (b) allow positive adhortations and appeals to reinforce sexual behaviour seeking (Mexican adolescent prostitute visiting); (c) elaborate on the provided stimulations; and generally provide a complementation to socialisation cultures rather than to the opposite sex
- **Ambivalent/Polyvalent/Conditional Modes.** Examples include the U.S. and the large part of European, contemporary Asian, and more generally technologically developed societies. Adolescent peer subcultures here are well-defined and variably assume initiatory, critical, revolutionist and creative identities in pursuit of conceptualising and organising dyadic affiliations not unambiguously operationalised or organised by the parental generation. Such pursuits are organised and to some degree monitored within established age-graded institutions (schools, clubs) defining the boundaries of these formative processes, and shedding scholastic (public institutional) from extrascholastic (extra-institutional) social/gender interactions. As opposed to nonambivalent modes, the creation of a sexual behaviour identity is variably, and relatively, one *e vacua* (nonoperationalisation), one that rebels against some partial, negative principle, or one that claims some partial, positive principle. From a structuralist perspective, the *e vacua* possibility is most theoretically intriguing, requiring an assimilation *de novo* from lateral concepts and principles. In practice, however, the vacuum left by the parental generation is readily filled with a (still considerably age graded) learning hierarchy within school curricula and through commercial communications.
- **Negative / Enforced Negative.** The response to negative operationalisation cultures, when consistently effected, one of erotic underdevelopment or retardation, however culturally relative. Subcultural tasks will include elements of those encountered under the enforced and ambivalent modes. Within this general orientation, as in the ambivalent mode, phase dynamics are most salient. In some (mature) phase or another, and on some basis or another, a negative attitude acquires definitely positive principles (though perhaps within ambivalent terms) and ensures reproduction. The negative category, thus, is a spurious one, or at least a subcategory of positive socialisation characterised by censoring unwanted products to arrive at the wanted product. Similar to the situation in the enforced positive mode, the creation of a sexual behaviour identity that deviates from established norms is not one *e vacua*, as theoretically in nonoperational situations.

3.3 Sex, Trajectories and Cultural Agenda

In a literature review of structuralist studies on sexual socialisation (**Appendix I**), a range of factors was found to be associated with measures of socialisation “severity”. However arguable the scale and theoretical underpinnings of these measures, one is to conclude that

societies do generate curricula on the basis of a commune telos, hence the concept of “cultural agenda” informing the shaping and politicising of imminent trajectories. A discussion of the control strategies in the context of paternal interests in reproduction was offered by Paige and Paige (1981)⁴⁸. Pedagogical agendas, as conveying political / economic / aesthetic mottoes, embody the performance of interest relations, relations that are modified through the changing of subsistence levels, and respond to religious doctrines.

3.4 “Developmental” Sexologies: Cross-Cultural Appraisal

The following paragraphs identifies theoretical disciplines governing sexological principles for different cultures. Exploring along two dimensions, it is observed that pedagogical cultures, as a whole, may uniformise and institutionalise paradigmatic entries to developing sex, or rationalise practices in a less organised, more individualised fashion ([§3.3](#)).

3.4.0 Cultural Legitimisations and “Developmental” Sexology

Only in selected cases it was noted that parents do not have a clear definition of their socialising efforts; as a consequence, lay theories on sexual development may be indefinite. It was observed that “[t]he majority of the Guajiro seem to act as passive carriers of their tradition and do not question, to any appreciable degree, the reasons why they socialize sex the way they do” (Watson). Sears et al.⁴⁹ observed that mothers apply curricular arguments, but remark: “As far as we could tell, [...] most of the mothers had not rationalized their antipathy for masturbation. They simply said it was something they did not like to see; they felt it was not “nice”; and they were embarrassed when their child did it, especially in the presence of others”. This raises the hypothesis that the formation of (lay) theories of sexual development is subject to cultural determination.

3.4.1 Drive-Centered (Biologist) “Developmental” Sexology

In both negative and positive structural-functionalist terms, sexuality is commonly seen as an idiosyncratic agent to be contained by a larger cause and agenda. The **Nubia**, for instance, argue that the only way to blunt the “inherent sexual wildness of girls” and to preserve their chastity is through clitoridectomy and infibulation (Kennedy). In liberal settings, too, the parental generation downplays its role in shaping sexuality: “Sometimes we say, “Why do it now? Wait a little”. But the children grow excited, so what should they do?” (**Baiga**). Thus, negotiations are given up in the perspective of biological determinism. A reliable indicator for this fatalism commonly is illustrated by the idea of pubertal libidarche. Thus, **Pakistan**

⁴⁸ Paige, K. E. & Paige, J. M. (1981) *The Politics of Reproductive Ritual*. Berkeley (etc.): University of California Press

⁴⁹ Sears, R. R., Maccoby, E. E. & Levin, H. (1957) *Patterns of Child Rearing*. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson

villagers were convinced that puberty was synonymous with “maturity” and a mature girl had to have her sex urge satisfied. It was “folly to ignore this”. This may be associated with traditional patterns of age asymmetric marriages with consummation with a “very young” bride (Lindholm). Similarly, “[a **Kwoma**] girl’s menarche *in itself* removes her from the status of child and puts her into a class of “sexy” persons, children of either sex being considered both uninterested in sex and uninteresting sexually” (Williamson; *ital.add.*). The Kwoma traditionally married at pubescence (Bowden). The narrator of Rennewart stated that “[w]hen a maiden is about to come of age and her small breasts begin to form, she is overcome by a nascent desire that slips into her heart and that, on account of the pain of the desire, upsets her spirits and teaches her the ways of her mother”. Discussing the **Indian** case for child marriage legislation, Mayo, as cited by DeMause, reported numerous testimonies that “blamed the little girls for their rape”, claiming that early marriage was an absolute necessity, since “Cupid overtakes the hearts of girls [...] at an early age [...]. A girl’s desire for sexual intercourse is eight times greater than that of males [...] When there is appetite, it is the best time for giving food”. The downplaying of social factors is generally noted for nonoperationalising societies, as a legitimisation for nonintervention. In Western settings, maturation is seen as an idiosyncratic, biological process indirectly to be shaped by noninterference, rather than having it fit into a productive framework, and used for productive purposes.

3.4.2 Theonomic-Biologist “Developmental” Sexology

An alternative to biologist theories on sexual development is the attribution of sexological control to a divine institute. This institute would provide for, promote, redirect or revenge given developments. A **Baganda** boy, raised in a fairly “liberal” setting⁵⁰ conceptualises his libidinal nature at the interface of Devine mediation and the naturalised body:

“If you look at it critically, this thing is in the blood. God created it in us. For example you might watch a young kid that only crawls touching funny areas and covering them shyly. That thing is in the blood”.

Equally, it was argued that **Santal** “[c]hildren are equipped with a complete phallic knowledge by *Cando Bo[.]nga* (Supreme Deity)”. A specific agenda seems to be in play: “It is ordained by him as to whether a man will have progeny or not; so we find some men are denied children, although they mate like others”, said an old Santal to us. They want children; they like children. Overpopulation, a dismal apprehension to the educated middle-class, does not act as a nightmare to their primitive minds” (Mukherjea).

Devine mediation of the sexual process provides occasion for culturally established morals to be judged, facilitated or revenged. The most richly documented examples are located within the history of Christianity (see also Francoeur, 1990). Among the **Anlo Ewe** (Ghana) prepubertal sexuality is “an affront to the spiritual powers” (Dovlo), and among the **Tshi-speaking** people (Gold Coast), family tutelary deities appoint a spirit to walk behind each girl to safeguard her chastity; at puberty its duties

⁵⁰ Kinsman et al. (2000) provided an interview based study of Baganda adolescent sexual socialisation. In rural Masaka, parental coitus is observed by children due to the narrow living confinements. Weddings, commonly identified as sexarchic events, provide another opportunity; apart from hide-and-seek and “mother and father”, weddings games are played where the children “smooch or fondle each other”.

end (Ellis). Among the **Cewa**, it was believed that full intercourse with an uninitiated girl led to sickness “of a supernatural origin”.

3.4.3 Constructionist / Interactionist-Centered “Developmental” Sexology

The **Xhosa** boy is rather a “bull” (unsocialised) than an “ox” (socialised sexuality) (Mayer and Mayer, 1990:p37)⁵¹. The bull/ox analogy pervaded Xhosa concepts of the life span. As becomes apparent from the **Dogon** case⁵², societies may try to control sexual maturity by means of redefining its essence via the means by which it is cultivated (and regulated): language. The Dogon sexual curriculum is a linguistic curriculum, and sexual maturity equals linguistic maturity. As in many African societies, the emphasis in sexual developmental issues is directed to actively shaping bodies, attitudes and motives, thereby locating meaning and significance in objects and activities.

3.5 Highlights and Summary

Concluding, it was hypothesised that when specified for gender, phase and categorical specificity, sexual behaviour socialisation cultures, characterised by (a) their orientation to intervention and (b) when intervening, their inclination to focus on stimulating positive principles (rather than stressing the prevention or punishment of negative principles), create distinct, curricularised subcultural orientations to sexual behaviour as measured in assumed forms, tasks (agendas), and identities, and as governed by distinct theoretical baselines (sexologies). The concept of *ambivalent* orientation was identified as the most illustrative for an interactionist perspective. The absolutist concept of negative socialisation cultures was rejected and replaced by a positivist curricular perspective.

⁵¹ Mayer, Ph. & Mayer, I. (1990) A dangerous age: from boy to young man in Red Xhosa youth organizations, in Spencer, P. (Ed.) *Anthropology and the Riddle of the Sphinx*. London & New York: Routledge, p35-44

⁵² The author points out that “[t]he Dogon express the idea of sexual maturity in two ways: [...] “he who knows speech” and [...] “he who knows shame”. Mastery of speech and decent behaviour are prerequisites to marriage according to Dogon rules. This is why the child’s acquisition of language, particularly that of the little girl, is supervised so carefully”. This also relates to verbal sexual instructions. At puberty, the girl receives her “hidden speech” or “speech of the bedroom”. Later, when she goes to the “house of the old woman”, the girl receives another education called “outside speech”.

4

*Language, Culture and Developmental Sexology*¹. A Constructionist Identification

“Can that be written in letters too? Kill him, sir, please!”²

Summary: This chapter explores constructionist perspectives on the developmental representation of sexuality in verbal exchanges. A specifically human trait, language, more than behaviour, is identified as a structuring agent capable of organising and shaping curricular hierarchies within gendered subcultures. This was demonstrated for two male curricular verbal cultures incorporating sexologist narratives: the Afro-American ritual of “sounding”, “homophobic” slander, and the curricular “sexist” discourse. Ethnographic material expands on this model in suggesting that restrictions and proscriptions on rapport and exchange shape the totality of sexual/erotic timescapes, curricularising and compartmentalising both “exterior”, social spaces (gender, age and kinship dimensions) and “inner”-spaces (bodies). Language, in short, (1) curricularises sexual / body trajectories, (2) segmentalises sexological societies on the basis of several social gradients, and (3) organises discursive and situated sexualities. Poststructural perspectives on sexual/erotic identity are to identify individuals localising themselves within the order of communicated hypothetical sex rather than solely within the biographical realm of lived-experiences. It was emphasised that narratives, albeit *locating* sexuality, are further used to *shape* sexuality on discursive and situational levels. This was tentatively potentialised by addressing how sexualities are autobiographically reconstructed, or fitted within a pedagogical discourse.

¹ For a more comprehensive treatise and referencing, see preparatory material collected in *Children’s Dirt Talk and Obscene Arts: Childhood Erotic Folklore*.

² Pavlovic, J. M. (1973) *Folk Life and Customs in the Kragujevac Region of the Jasenica in Sumdajja*. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF, p245

Contents

4.0 Introduction

Using a constructionist approach, it is hypothesised that language shapes, and in fact creates potentiality and probability for all social aspects of “sexuality” be it gender or genitality. In societies compartmentalising and segmentalising genital behaviour by means of visual barriers (cf. §10.2.2), language becomes an important additional vehicle for the establishment of compartmental and segmental heterosexuality and coitality. In societies with a high degree of consumerism and distribution of visual as well as verbal representations of sexual behaviour, control of these modalities governs patterns of “sexual learning” via the visual confirmation of overheard possibilities and probabilities, and the verbal consolidation of visual experiences. This information economy typifies sexological trajectories according to the ethnoscape, mediascape, and technoscape³ in which they take place.

In the current chapter, a theoretical outline positioning language within the concept of sexological curricula is followed by a cursory exploration of ethnographic data.

4.1 Sex, Language and Developmental Scenarios: Theoretical Frameworks

It has not systematically been explored how language operates to represent or interact with sexuality conceptualisations. However, many theorists have argued for its centrality. Arango (1989)⁴ traces the psychic origins of dirty words to early infancy and childhood, suggesting they “awaken passion”, and, if not used, one will “not fully experience our [human] sexual nature”. Scripting theory implies sexual identity to be the interim result of an ongoing scenario building process (e.g., Stoller, 1976)⁵ including a pathway of writing, reading, and rewriting subjectivity. According to Stoller, the individual localises the self as a character in a nascent Utopian novel, to be celebrated by genuine experiences. Plummer⁶, examining the making of “sexual stories” from a symbolic interactionist perspective, has to assume that children are gradually introduced to a culture characterised by a “recent exponential multiplication of [sexual] narratives”, including family, emotional, representational, bodily,

³ Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. As cited by Gatter, Ph. (Febr., 2001) *Global Theories and Sexuality*. Online paper.

⁴ Arango, A. C. (1989) *Dirty Words: Psychoanalytic Insights*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, Inc.

⁵ Stoller, R. J. (1976) Sexual excitement, *Arch Gen Psychia* 33,8:899-909. Stoller writes: “Sexual excitement depends on a scenario the person to be aroused has been writing since childhood. The story is an adventure, an autobiography disguised as fiction, in which the hero/heroine hides crucial intrapsychic conflicts, mysteries, screen memories of actual traumatic events and the resolution of these elements into a happy ending, best celebrated by orgasm”.

⁶ Plummer, K. (1991) Seksuelle historier: Fra moderne fortaellinger til senmoderne fortaellinger [Telling sexual stories: From modern to late modern narratives], *Nordisk Sexologi* 9,3:135-62; Plummer, K. (1994) *Telling Sexual Stories: Power, Change and Social Worlds*. London: Routledge; Plummer, K. (1995) Telling Sexual Stories in a Late Modern World, *Stud Symbolic Interaction* 18:101-20; Plummer, K. (1997) Telling Sexual Stories, *Zeitschr f Sexualforsch* 10,1:69-81

gender, erotic, and identity genres. In reality, these stories are hard to find (e.g., Beausang, 2000)⁷.

Classic constructionists have argued that language, restricting the possible or probable extent of the information sphere and the associated shaping of cognitive representations of sexuality, provides occasion for cross-rationalisation (“borrowed sanctions”), non-labelling (vs. cross-interpretation), and non-suggestion (“information control”), and, indirectly, opportunity minimalisation (“preventing stimulation”) (Sears et al., 1957:p185-92; Gagnon, 1965; Gagnon, 1989:p508)⁸.

Contemporary constructionist approaches (e.g., Senchea, 1998)⁹ argue that language exchanges constitute the tools for conversation participants to actualise and distribute sexological discourses¹⁰. That is, the sexual, the talking, the doing, all converge in a multi-layered hierarchy that is knowledge (power). This has been examined most closely for “classroom ethnographies” visualising alleged “homophobic”, “heterosexist”, “sexist” and *koromisic* abuses of language as instrumentalising curricular power configurations. Talk about *being feminine* often regulates subculture, class identity, and power (Christian-Smith, 1993)¹¹; talk about *girls* does the same thing¹².

These modern interpretations of language challenge mainstream ideas about sexological narrative merely representing bidirectional flows of information, “informing”, “teaching” and “educating” the recipient. The speaking child, in turn, does not merely signify or demonstrate his sexuality / sexology by doing so, (s)he is in the continuous process of establishing, managing and redirecting a sexological order. As such, the speaking child is a crucial actor in diagnostic pursuits (e.g., Cheung)¹³. Sexuality being “communicated” within gender specific rhetoric and textual styles and forms (e.g., Blair)¹⁴, these styles factually provide negotiable boundaries of sexual/erotic spaces, phases and identities not, as is claimed, “originally” there. Gender-compartmentalised talk interaction “constitutes a temporary community within which norms are cooperatively defined through a painstaking

⁷ Beausang, C. C. (2000) Personal Stories of Growing up Sexually, *Issues in Comprehensive Pediatric Nursing* 23,3:175-92

⁸ Sears, R. R., Maccoby, E. E. & Levin, H. (1957) *Patterns of Child Rearing*. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson; Gagnon, J. H. (1965) Sexuality and sexual learning in the child, *Psychiatry* 28:212-28; Gagnon, H. G. (1989) Sexuality across the life course in the United States, in Turner, Ch. F., Miller, H. G. & Moses, L. E. (Eds.) *AIDS, Sexual Behavior and Intravenous Drug Use*. Washington, DC: National Academic Press, p500-36

⁹ Senchea, J. A. (1998) Gendered Constructions of Sexuality in Adolescent Girls’ Talk, DAI-A 59,5, Nov, 1399-A /University of Iowa. Cf. Senchea, J. (Febr., 1999) *Gendered Constructions of Sexuality in Adolescent Girls’ Talk*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Speech Communication Association, Vancouver, Canada

¹⁰ E.g., [?] (1998) Bodytalk: Discourses of Sexuality among Adolescent African American Girls, in Hoyle, S. M., & Adger, C. T. (Eds.) *Kids Talk: Strategic Language Use in Later Childhood*. Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press Inc.

¹¹ Christian-Smith, L. K. (1993) *Texts of Desire: Essays on Fiction, Femininity and Schooling*. London: Falmer Press

¹² E.g., Walker, B. M. (1997) ‘You learn it from your mates, don’t you?’: Young people’s conversations about sex as a basis for peer education, *Youth & Policy* 57:44-55

¹³ Cit. *infra*

¹⁴ Blair, H. A. (2000) Genderlects: Girl Talk and Boy Talk in a Middle-years Classroom, *Language Arts* 77,4:315-23; Blair, H. (1998) They left their genderprints: The voice of girls in text, *Language Arts* 75,1:11-8

process of negotiation and consensus"¹⁵. Thus, children's sex talk should be studied within the concept of folkloric performance (e.g., Sullivan III, 1999:p157-8)¹⁶, using an "ethnography of speaking"¹⁷. Bauman, offering a sketchy account of the American childhood case¹⁸, argues that "folkloric speech acts show the child's acquisition of ability to manipulate his communicative environment". In this respect, the child's introduction to "bad" language can be conceptualised as "a profoundly important linguistic and psychic experience"¹⁹.

The above perspective has proven its utility for activist (feminist, gay theorist) entries to language as the hallmark of power-mediated juxtaposition of social strata. This use has pervasively politicised discussions of interactions within age-stratified gender communities.

4.2 Delineating Sex Language: Ethnographic Observations

4.2.1 The Grid of Non-Communication: Social Geographies

Taboo terms act as barriers or dividers, separating men from women, adults from children, or class stratum from class stratum²⁰; hence the designation "pas devant"²¹. Variations being noted for all categories, in most cultures there are definite generational²², gender²³ and

¹⁵ Eckert, P. (1990) Cooperative Competition in Adolescent "Girl Talk", *Discourse Processes* 13,1:91-122

¹⁶ Sullivan III, C. W. (1999) Songs, Poems, and Rhymes, in Sutton-Smith, B., Mechling, J., Johnson, Th. W. & McMahon, F. R. (Eds.) *Children's Folklore: A Source Book*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, p145-60

¹⁷ Bauman, R. (1977) Linguistics, Anthropology, and Verbal Art: Toward a Unified Perspective, with a Special Discussion of Children's Folklore, *Georgetown Univ Round Table on Languages & Linguistics* 1:13-36. See also Roemer, D. (1983) Children's Verbal Folklore, *Volta Rev* 85,5:55-71

¹⁸ As excerpted: "In white American children, peer group folklore is first encountered & learned from ages five to eight in the form of riddles, "knock-knocks", and other verbal routines called 'solicitational' routines. When the five year old first begins to interact with peers, he adopts the descriptive routine, mimicking the syntactic form of riddles; however, the content is neither traditional nor learned, but invented. The question is purely descriptive, not meant to represent covert or tricky information. At the next stage, the child begins to use the power and control aspects in potent elicitations, where he understands that riddles are puzzling, but can't yet comprehend their ambiguity. He gives them arbitrary answers, not allowing the listener to guess correctly. Next, the child constructs riddles in order to entertain on the same arbitrary format, often using taboo terms. The ensuing shift is to more extended descriptions which may be guessed, and this is followed by introduction of the first note of ambiguity. At age seven, the child learns that riddles are traditional and readymade routines and, finally, they are correctly performed".

¹⁹ Gray, P. (1993) Oaths and Laughter and Indecent Speech, *Language & Communication* 13,4:311-25

²⁰ Haller, J. M. (1976) Like a Very Drab, *Am Speech* 51,1-2:25-34; Foote, R. & Woodward, J. (1973) A preliminary investigation of obscene language, *J Psychol* 83,2:263-75. See also Holzknicht, S. (1988) Word Taboo and Its Implications for Language Change in the Markham Family of Languages, PNG, *Language & Linguistics in Melanesia* 18,1-2:43-69

²¹ Nash, W. (1995) Fair Words and Foul, in Svartvik, J. (Ed.) *Words: Proceedings of an International Symposium, Lund, 25-26 August 1995*. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie & Antikvitets Akademien, p23-38

²² African sexual educations were traditionally provided by grandparents (Kamba, Bemba, Shona, Makonde, Hambukushu, Hehe, Nambyans, Gusii, Meru, Luguru and Zaramo). The generational gap often represents a moral obligation (Xhosa, Hehe, Gusii, Zulu, Luguru, Bena, Gogo; provisionally for Mongo, Baluba and Bahungana; also Majuro [Marshall Islands]). In a study by Lallemand (1975) it was noted that insults addressed to children as opposed to those addressed to adults made no reference to sexual organs, but concentrate exclusively on the head, including its part and secretions,

kinship²⁴ barriers for sexological communications. Rulings along these three lines limit and direct the possibility and probability of acquisitions of sexuality narratives, and describe the geography of the sexual sphere as a communicative 'sioscape'. Thus, sexual language signals and contributes to stratification dynamics pertaining to age, gender²⁵, and kinship. As becomes apparent from the **Dogon** case²⁶, societies may try to control sexual maturity applications be means of redefining its essence via the technique by which it is cultivated (regulated): language. The Dogon sexual curriculum is a linguistic curriculum, and sexual maturity equals linguistic maturity²⁷; language identifies, structures and curricularises sexuality. African societies have been noted to include "obscene" chants as a part of ritualised pubescence²⁸. Girls, particularly, are instructed with songs of an explicit character²⁹, the transmission of data being regarded as a most central part of the rite, both the identity of the teacher and the curriculum formalised. The use of songs establishes the social uniformity and historical continuity involved, as well as providing a vehicle for integrating sexual mores in the (often sudden) moral/legal transformation of puberty. Beside this formalised recognition of language, African childhood sexual learning traditionally depended in crucial ways on the dripping down of data through adult folklore (Lallemand, 1985)³⁰. This may particularly be the case where music has a less central place in the organisation of communal identity and coherence³¹.

The use of "dirty" profanities is predominantly interpreted within a developmental perspective³². Murray³³ argues that "dirty", nicknames³⁴ used in Greek and U.S. sororities,

the belly, the foot, and the derrière. **Russians** were known for their use of obscenity, states Krupnyanskaya (Benet, 1970). This is significant since in Russia obscene actions between adults in the presence of youth and children [were] punishable" (Brupbacher, 1949).

²³ Obscene language is freely permitted in most **Kurdish** households, except in the presence of the older males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute", and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion" (Hansen, 1961:p261-3)

²⁴ Peters (1990:p249-50) sketches how sexual education among the Northern Libian **Bedouin** is a problematic item in parent-child socialization: "The subject of marriage between proximate generations is disallowed. Between father and son, avoidance of anything relating to sex or marriage is strictly observed. Only one male, the mother's brother, is free to discuss these matters and present a case for marriage to a father on behalf of a son. Men also have access to their fathers through their sisters, who are free to discuss any matters relating to male-female relationships with their mothers, and the latter, in turn, press fathers to marry off their sons".

²⁵ Sharp (1934:p430) marks for the North-Eastern **Yir-Yoront** that "[t]he sex dichotomy begins early in life [as seen in] obscene and abusive language [...]"

²⁶ Calame-Griaule points out that "[t]he Dogon express the idea of sexual maturity in two ways: [...] "he who knows speech" and [...] "he who knows shame". Mastery of speech and decent behaviour are prerequisites to marriage according to Dogon rules. This is why the child's acquisition of language, particularly that of the little girl, is supervised so carefully". This also relates to verbal sexual instructions. A puberty, the girl receives her "hidden speech" or "speech of the bedroom". Later, when she goes to the "house of the old woman", the girl receives another education called "outside speech".

²⁷ However, "[t]he sexual importance of the initiation is lessened by the fact that boys and girls are circumcised a few years before sexual maturity, that even before, children already play sexually with one another, and that sexual activity is taken seriously only when it can lead to propagation" (Parin et al.).

²⁸ Akan, Nupe, Bovale, Venda, Thonga, Makonde

²⁹ Kikuyu, Zulu, Matabele, Makonde, Hehe, Kaguru, Bena, Subiya

³⁰ Lallemand, S. (1985) *L'Apprentissage de la Sexualité dans les Contes d'Afrique de l'Ouest*. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan

³¹ Lapps have a liking for sexual jokes which function as sexual education for the young (Delaporte and Roue, 1973).

³² Murray, Th. E. (1990-5) Swearing as a Function of Gender in the Language of Midwestern American College Students: Who Does It More, What Do They Say, When and Where Do They Do It, and Why Do They Do It? *Maledicta* 11:139-52

“beyond revealing the usual adolescent preoccupation with sex, serve at least one important psycho-social function in the Greek socialization process, to bind together members of a particular secondary group”. Stenstrom³⁵ argued that (sexual) swearing “serves a social purpose among teenagers”, possibly as a way to “establish group identity”.

4.2.2 The Grid of Non-Communication: Body Geographies

Of the limited amount of studies addressing early development of the erotological/sexological lexicon³⁶, most reports deal with North-American and European (Dutch) samples. Language curricularises awareness of (and thus operationalises) the body as a morally compartmentalised geography and instrument, as explored elsewhere³⁷. Specifically, although hardly researched, children may lack any vocabulary to discuss sensations, such as orgasm, whether experienced personally or not. Fisher (1989:p1-38)³⁸ discusses at length the specific “genital lag” of the “body image”, resulting from the genital problem in anatomical education.

The limitation of sexual representation through the restriction on linguistic representation is organised through “word taboos” and “taboo words”³⁹. As such, the genital may be wholly dissociated from the public sphere⁴⁰. Sexual lexicon development in children has been

³³ Murray, Th. E. (1998) The Other Nicknames of American Greek-Letter Organizations, *Names* 46,2:113-32

³⁴ 5% of U.S. adult recollections of nicknaming within the school setting carried a “sexual connotation. Crozier, W. R. & Skliopidou, E. (2002) Adult recollections of name-calling at school, *Educ Psychol* 22,1:113-24, at p120

³⁵ Stenstrom, A. B. (1995) Taboos in Teenage Talk, in Melchers, G. & Warren, B. (Eds.) *Studies in Anglistics*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, p71-9

³⁶ Conn, J. H. & Kanner, L. (1947) Children’s awareness of sex differences, *J Child Psychia* 1:3-57; Kreitler, H. & Kreitler, S. (1966) Children’s concept of sexuality and birth, *Child Developm* 37,2:363-78; Roiphe, H. & Galenson, E. (1972) Early genital activity and the castration complex, *Psychoanal Quart* 41,3:334-47; Lerner, H. E. (1976) Parental mislabeling of female genitals as a determinant of penis envy and learning inhibitions in women, *J Am Psychoanal Assoc* 24,5, Suppl.:269-83. See also Lerner, H. G. (1988) *Women in Therapy*. New York: Aronson; Ash, M. (1980) The misnamed female sexual organ, in Samson, J.-M. (Ed.) *Sexualité et Enfance*. Montreal: Éditions Études Vivantes, p386-91; Van den Ende-de Monchy, C. (1980) *Exploratief Onderzoek naar de Lichaamsbeleving bij Kinderen van Vier tot Zes Jaar*. Dissertation, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands; Jaffe, J. J. (1985) “Down There”: *The Relationship Between Childhood Home Environment, Childhood Genital Labels, and Adult Sexuality in a Middle-Class Female Sample*. University of Southern California; Schor, D. & Sivan, S. (1989) Interpreting children’s labels for sex-related body-parts of anatomically explicit dolls, *Child Abuse & Negl* 13:523-31; Fraley, M. C., Nelson, E. C., Wolf, A.W. & Lozoff, B. (1991) Early genital naming, *Developm & Behav Pediatr* 12:301-4; Wurtele, S. et al. (1992) Preschoolers knowledge of and ability to learn genital terminology, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 18:115-22; Wurtele, S. (1993) Enhancing children’s sexual development through sexual abuse prevention programs, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 19,1:37-46; Butson, S. L. (1996) Responses of young children to questions concerning sexuality: An exploratory study, *DAI-B* 57(1-B):719; De Marneffe, D. (1997) Bodies and words: A study of young children’s genital and gender knowledge, *Gender & Psychoanal* 2,1:3-33; Cheung, M. (1999) Children’s language of sexuality in child sexual abuse investigations, *J Child Sexual Abuse* 8,3:65-84

³⁷ See **chapter 12**.

³⁸ Fisher, S. (1989) *Sexual Images of the Self*. Hillsdale, JJ [etc.]: L. Erlbaum, p1-38

³⁹ Keller, R. (1987) Worttabu und Tabuwörter, *Sprache & Lit in Wissensch & Unterricht* 18,2(60):2-9

⁴⁰ Among the **Amhara** (Ethiopia), “[i]t is impolite even to mention the names of genitals and reproductive organs, such as k’ula for penis, and [...] for vulva, so they are merely whispered about”. In **Nigeria**, children would not be allowed to mention the names of sex organs (Uka). Euphemisms and phase-specific terms were widely used in **Ghana**, as detailed by Kaye (1960:p384-5; 1962:p122), but here this turned out to be variable.

demonstrated to be gender biased (Gartrell and Mosbacher, 1984)⁴¹ on retrospective survey. As a probable exponent, females, more than males, have more stringent limitations on their sexual vocabulary repertoire⁴². Names were found to be derivative, euphemistic and pejorative. The authors remark that the fact that a child has a unique name for her genitalia renders sexual communication and exploration with peers difficult, since other children do not share her vocabulary. Indeed, this sensitises the relevance of invitations for sexual interactions⁴³. Gartrell and Mosbacher concluded that “[t]he long-term ramifications of denying a child’s sexuality on her/his self-image, as well as on her/his subsequent sexual and emotional development have yet to be determined”. Indeed, the associations between developmental sexual terminology and sexual experience are not clear (e.g., Waning, 1983)⁴⁴. Jaffe, however, found differences in outcome measures of adult female sexuality, particularly regarding genital self-concept, sexual anxiety, sexual openness, and current and preferred frequency of sexual relations.

4.3 Erotic Lexicon and Curricularisation: Cross-Cultural Patterns

Like any aspect of childhood sexual “sub”cultures, linguistic and rhetoric competence in sexual matters is in variable degrees subject to curricularisation and age / phase stratified censorship (Stephens, 1971:p407; 1972:p11-2, column 4⁴⁵; Broude and Greene, 1976)⁴⁶. The establishment of a childhood verbal subculture may not require this degree of openness. Stephens (1971) found the sexual vocabularies of children being discussed by ethnographers for six cultures, of which none were described as practicing sex talk before children.

Verbal competence is a lateral curriculum in most cases⁴⁷, that is, horizontal, or laterally vertical. The acquisition may be stimulated for stylised purposes⁴⁸. Attitudes toward

⁴¹ Gartrell, N. & Mosbacher, D. (1984) Sex differences in the naming of children’s genitalia, *Sex Roles* 10,11/12:869-76. Cf. Langfeldt, Th. (1981a) Sexual development in children, in Cook, M. & Howells, K. (Eds.) *Adult Sexual Interest in Children*. New York: Academic Press, p99-120, at p108-10

⁴² Simkins, L. & Rinck, Ch. (1982) Male and female sexual vocabulary in different interpersonal contexts, *J Sex Res* 18,2:160-72; Sanders, J. S. & Robinson, W. L. (1979) Talking and not talking about sex: Male and female vocabularies, *J Communication* 29,2:22-30

⁴³ In Russian Reindeer **Chukchee**’s children’s games, “a class of [...] songs represents the act of copulation, with a rather queer dance and even with imitative sounds. The dance often ends in two girls lying on the ground imitating sexual intercourse. Frequently young boys also take part in the performance” (Bogoraz-Tan, p269). Unwin (1934:p153), on the Amazulu, stated that “a special term existed, *u(lu)ngqoyingqoyi* (lit., “delicious food”) which small girls, when out alone and seeing a boy, called out to him, the words being intended as an enticement to him to come to them for sexual purposes”.

⁴⁴ Waning, A. van (1983) Seksuele terminologie en beleving, *Tijdschr Psychia* [Dutch] 25,1:40-55

⁴⁵ Stephens, W. N. (1971) A cross-cultural study of modesty and obscenity, in *Technical report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*. Washington, US : Government printing office. Vol. 9, p405-51; Stephens, W. N. (1972) A cross-cultural study of modesty, *Behav Sci Notes* 7,1:1-28. The author stated that for sixteen (1972: N=13) cases in the sample (N=91), it is reported that adults talk and joke about sex freely and openly in the presence of children.

⁴⁶ Broude, G.J. & Greene, S.J. (1976) Cross-cultural codes on twenty sexual attitudes and practices, *Ethnology* 5,4:409-29. The authors found that in a sample of 186 societies (SCCS), sex talk habits were described for 67. In 19 of these (28.4%), there is no inhibition whatsoever to talk in front of children; in another 3 (4.5%), it is free *except* in front of children.

⁴⁷ Of **Kogi** six to twelve-year-olds it is said that they “still do not know anything concrete about the sexual life of the adults. At times they may have heard an obscene word or seen a suggestive gesture,

childhood sexual expression and the provision of 'correct' terminology are correlated (Wurtele, 1993; Jaffe, 1985), and seem to be part of a system of information control (see Fraley et al., 1991). This has not been examined for the cross-cultural record.

4.4 Language and Segmentalisation of Sex

Attempts to study obscene subcultures retrospectively most probably turn out to be "wholly abortive because adults unconsciously censor such verses and reproduce them in mutilated form" (Borneman), which compromises the chronology of events. Goldman (1990)⁴⁹ recognises four types of "sexual languages" in children and early adolescents: clinical, common usage, family traditional, and *erotic*. Whether explicit songs are used or consumed by children with an erotogenetic intent is not clear, though it seems reasonable to speculate on its universality at least northern of the equator⁵⁰. Folkloristic examples of age-identified or age-stratified scatology/obscenity were collected and analysed for European (German, Austrian, Swiss, French, Bulgarian, and Nordic) and Russian samples, reports spreading over the period of 1906 to the later 1990s. Adult reactions to the phenomenon are varied⁵¹ and an established element of Western pedagogized (Foucault) sexualities.

Talking sex may embody the predominant mode of erotic transference in early life. Verbal intercourse takes different forms between, as well as within, cultures. The use of profanities, for instance, seems to be a cultural trait (no cross-cultural studies are done in the development of swearing behaviour). In industrial societies, if anything, it serves as an important though optional means of sexological study, organised in a verbal subculture carefully (although perhaps not perfectly) censored from parental and researchers' ears. Expressions as well as insights are used to demonstrate rebellion, to organise a vertical order, to reinforce affinity or even intimacy, to establish a shared "psychobiological" circle, and to exchange useful tips on a variety of "adult" topics. Indeed, it may, by principle, include anything that adults choose to define "adult".

but their imagination in this regard is based principally on the fragments of songs and myths which they have heard in the ceremonial house" (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1951).

⁴⁸ **Hopi** children learned by observation, and "jokes which we would consider obscene were taught to small boys to be used when they performed as ceremonial clowns (Oswalt, [1973:p425])

⁴⁹ Goldman, J. (1990) The importance of an adequate sexual vocabulary for children, *Austral J Marr & Fam* 11,3:136-48

⁵⁰ For comments on the phenomenon, see Berges E. T. et al. (1983) *Children & Sex: The Parents Speak*. N.Y.: Facts on File, p161-91; Harrison (1968) When children use obscene language, *Med Asp Hum Sex* 2,12:6-11; Lieberman, J. (1967) On obscenity in childhood and youth, *Sexology* 34,3:156-7 / Obscenity in childhood and youth, in Rubin, I. & Kirkendall, L. (Eds., 1970) *Sex in the Childhood Years*. New York: Association Press, p107-8

⁵¹ Sherman and Weisskopf's (1995) *Greasy Grimy Gopher Guts*, a collection of traditional children's rhymes from Canada and the United States, caused outrage among Ontario parents who wanted the book removed from the public library. Stating they are racist, homophobic and sexually explicit: "We don't feel that it's suitable for general reading in the children's section. My feeling is that the children are reading this book and just skipping over the commentary which is quite adult in nature. And they may think the verses are OK to repeat". To these people, the selection by Goldings (1974) would prove a more placid digest. Goldings observes "easy regression to pregenital themes and issues", while only some rhymes "give "practice" to the girl's fantasy of her future fortune and heterosexuality (as older folklorists would have predicted)". See Sherman, J. & Weisskopf, T. K. F. (1995) *Greasy Grimy Gopher Guts: The Subversive Folklore of Childhood*. Little Rock, AR: August House; Goldings, H. J. (1974) Jump-rope rhymes and the rhythm of latency development in girls, *Psychoanal Study Child* 29:431-50

Postman⁵² suggested that the sexological status of “childhood” was related to the invention of print media, and reconceptualised by electronic ones. Language barriers provide the main structuring factor of discourses as segmentalising the sexological society. The existence of “erotic grouping” in childhood is a regular feature of Euro-American sexual histories, and was described as early as 1922 (Hermann)⁵³. What goes on may be primarily verbal exchange, where scatology and information as indistinguishable. This may be true for children’s play groups in every continent. Even “good” boys engage in “dirty” play (Fine, 1986)⁵⁴, and sex talk is a semipublic expression of this (p84-5). “Obscenity”, thus, represents a semi-public format of agonism / antagonism that might address what cannot be addressed as effectively in another format: aggression, approach, request, response. Outside a psychoanalytic framework (Borneman), these possible functions have not been verified, and it is not clear how cultural factors shape the curricular practice of sexology. This, however, is an interesting subject regarding the cross-culturally universal importance of peer education.

4.5 Sexual Communications, Power Dynamics and Shaping of Curricular Masculinities

Langford (1997)⁵⁵ observes how “adults” incorporate “childish” personae within the private microculture of dyadic intimacy. Conversely, one may explore how childhood language represents, or is instrumentalised, to incorporate “grown up” styles of doing sex.

4.5.1 The Dirty Dozens

“Playing the dozens” or “sounding” (Berdie, 1947; Golightly and Scheffler, 1948; Bruhn and Murray, 1985)⁵⁶ has been identified as typical for African (**Igbos** of Nigeria, Ghana) and Afro-American adolescence. A report by Ortony et al. (1985)⁵⁷ concluded that the use of figurative language in sounding did enhance Harlem’s elementary school children’s ability to understand the more literary uses of metaphor and simile encountered in the classroom. In adolescents, it is suggested that it served as “an outlet for repressed impulses of sex and aggression in groups lacking recreational outlets” (Golightly and Scheffler, 1948)⁵⁸. According

⁵² Postman, N. (1987) The Blurring of Childhood and the Media, *Religious Educ* 82,2:293-5

⁵³ Hermann, I. (1922) Geheime Gesellschaften der Kinder und die Sexualität, *Archiv f Frauenk* [etc.] 8:175-7. See also Nagy, L. (1926) A sexualitas hatasa az ifjak tarsas eletenek kialakulasara [The influence of sexuality upon the development of social life in youth], *A Gyermek* [The Child] 19:65-76

⁵⁴ Fine, G. A. (1986) The dirty play of little boys, *Society*, Nov/Dec:63-7

⁵⁵ Langford, W. (1997) “Bunnikins, I Love You Snugly in Your Warren”: Voices from Subterranean Cultures of Love, in Harvey, K. & Shalom, C. (Eds.) *Language and Desire: Encoding Sex, Romance and Intimacy*. London: Routledge, p170-85

⁵⁶ Berdie, R. F. (1947) “Playing the Dozens”, *J Abnorm Soc Psychol* 42:120-1; Golightly, C. & Scheffler, I. (1948) “Playing the dozens”: a note, *J Abnorm Soc Psychol* 43:104-5; Johnson, C. S. (1941) *Growing Up in the Black Belt*. Washington: American Council on Education, p184-5, 228; Schulz, D. A. (1969) *Coming Up Black: Patterns of Ghetto Socialization*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, p67-9; Abrahams, R. D. (1962) Playing the Dozens, *J Am Folkl* 75:207-20

⁵⁷ Ortony, A. et al. (1985) Cultural and Instructional Influences on Figurative Language Comprehension by Inner City Children, *Res Teach English* 19,1:25-36

⁵⁸ Golightly, C. & Scheffler, I. (1948) “Playing the dozens”: a note, *J Abnorm Soc Psychol* 43:104-5

to 1966 data by Stromberg, as adapted by Schulz (1969:p66)⁵⁹, the average age of beginning to play the dozens was 10.8. Chimezie⁶⁰ concludes that “dirty” Dozens involve boys “around the puberty stage” (p416), and Lefever⁶¹ as well as Dyck⁶² situates the usual Dozens in adolescence. Lefever details seven functions for the Dozens, among these educating the participant. States Schulz,

“The Dozens [...] functions to inform both sexes of some of the aspects of sexuality at an early age. These verbal contests acquaint children with many details of sexuality, often before they are otherwise aware of them. They are a kind of primer imparting information about the sex act, sexual deviance, sexual anatomy, and mores which serve as basic guidelines for children who are exposed to sexuality early and completely without being reared in a home where the matters of sex are commonly talked about”.

Competitions in verbal abuse (“cussing”, “blowing”) occur in boy subcultures, covering sexist, sexual, and racist discourses (Kehily and Nayak, 1997:p72-4)⁶³. The Dozens demonstrate how sexuality is operationalised to shape and inform inner-group control and status mechanisms. Language becoming “the stage for the performance of masculinity” and producing heterosexual hierarchies, it instrumentalises and rehearses categories of sexual agency and identity within the curricular subdomains of the semipublic discourse of sexuality. Specifically, verbal humour was identified as “a regulatory technique, structuring the performance of masculine [specifically, heterosexual] identities”.

4.5.2 “Homophobic” Masculinities⁶⁴

From elementary school on, children’s alleged romantic inclinations are the focus of gossip and teasing, marking social hierarchies. The loading is heterosexual, and predominantly male homophobic (Thorne and Luria, 1986)⁶⁵. In one study⁶⁶, 377 14 and 15-year-olds listed the pejoratives they heard at school and identified the ones they considered most taboo. As some of the most vitriolic items reported, homophobic pejoratives accounted for 10 per cent of the 6000 items generated. Homophobic terms have a rich developmental history and play a central role in U.S. adolescent male peer-group dynamics. Starting from fourth, or third⁶⁷,

⁵⁹ Schulz, D. A. (1969) *Coming Up Black: Patterns of Ghetto Socialization*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

⁶⁰ Chimezie, A. (1976) The Dozens: An African-Heritage Theory, *J Black Stud* 6,4:401-20

⁶¹ Lefever, H. G. (1981) “Playing the Dozens”: A Mechanism for Social Control, *Phylon* 42,1:73-85, at p73

⁶² Dyck, G. (1969) “Talking the dozens”. A game of insults played in a group of adolescent boys, *Bull Menninger Clinic* 33, 2:108-116

⁶³ Kehily, M. J. & Nayak, A. (1997) Lads and laughter: humour and the production of heterosexual hierarchies, *Gender & Educ* 9,1:69-87

⁶⁴ Cf. Appendix, III.4.

⁶⁵ Thorne, B. & Luria, Z. (1986) Sexuality and gender in children’s every daily worlds, *Social Problems* 33,3:176-90

⁶⁶ Thurlow, C. (2001) Naming the “outsider within”: homophobic pejoratives and the verbal abuse of lesbian, gay and bisexual high-school pupils, *J Adolesc* 24,1:25-38

⁶⁷ Voss, L. S. (1997) Teasing, Disputing, and Playing: Cross-Gender Interactions and Space Utilization among First and Third Graders, *Gender & Society* 11,2:238-56, at p245; Mac an Ghail, M. (1994). The making of men: masculinities, sexualities and schooling. Buckingham: Open University Press, p94, 165; Thorne, B. (1993) *Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School*. New Brunswick, NJ.: Rutgers University Press, p154; O’Conor, A. (1995) Who gets called queer in school?, in Unks, G. (Ed.) *The Gay Teen: Educational Practice and Theory for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Youth*. New York: Routledge / *High School J* 77,1-2:7-12; Rofes, E. (1995) Making our schools safe for sissies, in Unks, G. (Ed.) *The Gay*

grade a very powerful use of homophobic terms occurs prior to puberty, which would, Plummer argues, rarely carry “sexual connotations” [sic]⁶⁸: “[f]ar from being explained as indiscriminate use of homophobic words, the early use of these words is powerful, highly meaningful and precisely targeted—even when not targeting sexuality”. Sexism, homophobia, and harassment were said to make American schools “a highly sexualised site” (Epstein, 1997)⁶⁹. Antihomosexual narrative enters the pervasive “heterosexual” discourse of grade school together with discourses of imagined futures, traditional rhymes, sexist/sexual harassment, assays into the world of “going out”, and gossip networks (e.g. Epstein, 1996)⁷⁰. Thus, the (performance of) homophobia both polices and constructs heterosexual masculinities in schools⁷¹.

The above observations conceptualise “homophobic” narrative as a structuring device in the larger design of performed sexualities. Redman⁷² understands boys’ antilebian/-gay talk and behaviour in terms of the “local and dialogic performance of heterosexual masculinities”, but continues with arguing for “forms of analysis capable of addressing the unconscious and the social as intersecting and mutually constitutive dynamics”. As with the Dozens, males are typified as construing masculinities on the basis of a contrasting process using flattened, negativised social counterimages: females and homosexuals. This explains the dominance of feminist and gay activist theorising concerning the matter.

4.5.3 The Heterophobic / Heteromysic / Hetero-Erotophobic / Sexist Performance⁷³

Anecdotal material suggests children may go through a phase where they display an opposition to the mere concept of engaging in “erotic” or heterosexual genital / orificial activities. Specifically, there seems to be a recurrent theme of dislike for opposite sex’s genitals. The origin of this curricular antagonism, or curricular hetero-erotophobia is not known⁷⁴. The American girl, at some date, turns “boy crazy”⁷⁵ after a *puellomysic* period. “Developmental” crossgender-antagonistic attitudes are predominantly discussed in the negative terms of “sexism”, sexual “prejudice”, sexual “stereotyping”, and more positively in terms of sexual

Teen: Educational Practice and Theory for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Youth. New York: Routledge, p79-84, at p82 / *High School J* 77,1/2, 1994, 37-40

⁶⁸ Plummer, D. C. (2000) The quest for modern manhood: masculine stereotypes, peer culture and the social significance of homophobia, *J Adolesc* 24,1:15-23. Cf. Plummer, D. (1999) *One of the Boys: Masculinity, Homophobia and Modern Manhood*. New York: Haworth Press; Plummer, D. (2001) Policing manhood: new theories about the social significance of homophobia, in Wood, C. (Ed.) *Sexual Positions: An Australian View*. Collins, Melbourne: Hill of Content; Plummer, D. (March, 2000) *Girls Germs: Sexuality, Gender, Health and Metaphors of Contagion*. Paper, NSW Chapter Scientific Meeting. From http://www.acshp.org.au/sexual_health/transcripts/girls_germs.htm

⁶⁹ Epstein, D. (1997) Boyz’ own stories: masculinities and sexualities in schools, *Gender & Educ* 9,1:105-15

⁷⁰ Epstein, D. (1996) *Cultures of Schooling, Cultures of Sexuality*. Paper presented at the 77th Annual Conference of the American Educational Research Association. New York, April 8-12

⁷¹ Nayak, A. & Kehily, M. (1997) Masculinities and schooling: why are young men so homophobic?, in Steinberg, D. L., Epstein, D. & Johnson, R. (Eds.) *Border Patrols: Policing the Boundaries of Heterosexuality*. London: Cassell, p138-61

⁷² Redman, P. (2000) “Tarred with the Same Brush”: “Homophobia” and the Role of the Unconscious in School-Based Cultures of Masculinity, *Sexualities* 3,4:483-99

⁷³ Cf. **Appendix, III.5**

⁷⁴ An informant told Herdt that “**Sambia**” boys are feared for sexual intercourse with women by men (*Intimate Communications*, p108-9).

⁷⁵ Greydanus, D. E. (1985) The teenage girl who is “boy crazy”, *Med Asp Hum Sex* 19,8:120-4

preference for playmates and authority figures⁷⁶. 1970 and early 1980 American awareness of “sexism” has raised issues in matters of education, children’s literature, and child rearing (TV, theatre, etc.). According to some authors, the solution to the basic mistrust between the sexes, probably more typical of some periods in history and of some cultural settings, would be to avoid negative conditioning in childhood⁷⁷. One study⁷⁸ suggested that boy-girl antipathy of the intermediate school grades is more a product of girls changing attitudes toward boys than vice versa. Children’s sexist cultures mimic “historical cultural adaptations, producing mini-replicas of both sexist and egalitarian social systems” (Goodenough, 1990:p228)⁷⁹.

Campbell (1939)⁸⁰ found that “[t]here is at first an undifferentiated social relationship with the opposite sex until about the age of eight years, then a rising preference for children of the same sex, until puberty, when hetero-sexual feelings begin gradually to develop”. Martinson (1973:p88-9, 121-3; cf. 1981:p90-1) clearly describes how the curricular relationship between the sexes is subject to historical developments. Specifically,

“[c]ross-sex antagonism during preadolescence has been explained as partly due to the efforts of individuals to identify themselves more closely with their own sex and as a result of parents and others instilling into children the difference between boys’ and girls’ roles. These differences are diminishing. In the last generation the sex roles have become more flexible and now overlap in many areas. The contents of the two sets of expectations are becoming more similar as women have achieved many prerogatives previously regarded as exclusively masculine and men have begun to share many traditionally feminine responsibilities. As these roles converge and the experiences and values of the two sexes become more similar, cross-sex hostility becomes less appropriate. Rejection of the values of the opposite sex loses much of its purpose when values are similar. Similarly, as the social status of the two sexes approaches equality, many boys appear to feel less need to defend a shaky claim to superiority”.

Sexual antagonism is related to another problem of “informal” versus formal curricular separation by gender, as explored in preliminary reviewing⁸¹. Sexism (Francis, 1997)⁸² is a curricular species of gender performance (Epstein, Tobin, Francis, Kehily and Nayak). Authors have demonstrated the continual use of sexual innuendo in teasing as an aspect of girl-boy interaction (Best, 1983:p129; Goodenough, 1987:p433; Clark, 1990:p38-46)⁸³. The situation is performed in a cross-culturally stereotypical fashion: “petty altercations” (Kibbutz), insults that provoke real quarrels” (Korea), “pulling girls’ breasts and then running away” (Brittish Guiana). As Martinson illustrates, “ “[r]omances” at [preadolescence] often involve rough play, teasing, hitting, hurting, and at least feigned pain, disgust, and

⁷⁶ It turns out that few if any of these studies addresses the important relationship between developmental social preference and developmental erotic preference.

⁷⁷ Horney, K. (1930) Des Misstrauen zwischen den Geschlechtern, *Psychoanal Bewegung* 2:521-37; Maccoby, E. E. (1998) *The Two Sexes: Growing Up Apart, Coming Together*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap

⁷⁸ Harris, D. B. & Sing, Ch. T. (1957) Children’s attitudes toward peers and parents as revealed by sentence completions, *Child Developm* 28:401-11

⁷⁹ Goodenough, R. G. (1990) Situational stress and sexist behaviour among young children, in Sanday, P. R. & Goodenough, R. G. (Eds.) *Beyond the Second Sex*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p227-51

⁸⁰ Campbell, E. H. (1939) The social-sex development of children, *Genet Psychol Monogr* 21:461-552

⁸¹ *Opportunity, Sexuality and the Life Span: Segregation, Antagonism and Mobility*.

⁸² Francis, B. (1997) Discussing Discrimination: Children’s Construction of Sexism between Pupils in Primary School, *British J Sociol Educ* 18,4:519-32

⁸³ Best, R. (1983) *We’ve All Got Scars*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Clarck, M. (1990) *The Great Divide : Gender in the Primary School*. Melbourne: Curriculum Corporation; Goodenough, R. G. (1987) Small group culture and the emergence of sexist behaviour: a comparative study of four children’s groups, in Spindler, G. & Spindler, L. (Eds.) *Interpretive Ethnography of Education*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum

anger" (1973). In later childhood, "[...] teasing becomes part of a preromantic type of interaction that reaches a peak among twelve- and thirteen-year-olds, particularly among girls. Purported romantic liaisons are matters of public notice and widespread rumor and teasing. Sexual and romantic teasing marks preadolescent social hierarchies" (1994). Even below the threshold of romantic affliction, boys' and boy-girl socialising operates on a rough-housing physical level including throwing, wrestling, pushing, fooling and stage-acted fighting routines. The main theme advocated here is that issues operate *in spite of* antagonistic initiatives of adults:

"[...] although the school appeared to be fairly successful in getting rid of the conception of gender-appropriate jobs and games, it made very little headway in modifying the salience of gender in the children's interactions. Although teachers made valiant efforts to prevent gender dichotomisation, the children determinedly sorted themselves by sex (Jordan, p72)".

The quasi-aggressive format of initial courtship leaves room for speculation on the ethological or sociological origins, as it mimics closely the play fighting of boyhood⁸⁴ and at times is minimally separated from the antagonism-based expression of hostility. Aldis⁸⁵ observes that "immature sexual behaviour" and agonistic play or play fighting are sometimes confused by the inexperienced observer, and that they may alternate, usually in a disruptive fashion.

In most human societies, play sexuality is a "polymorphous" arena where coitus is either absent or eccentric due to information and (subsequent) attitudinal barriers. This dismisses extensions to the human case (Aldis, 1975:p147-55, 246-7; Lancy, 1980:p485)⁸⁶ that "play sexuality" is phenomenologically and functionally peripheral because of the absence for a need to practice such simple behaviour as intromission. The notion of "sex play" should be extended along the lines of "gender play" (Thorne), a discourse in which "sexuality" is (progressively) "gendered", and in which sex does not occur outside gendered playgrounds and curricula. Sexuality, for instance, follows thoroughly gendered institutions: from *quasi*-institutionality (pretend marriage), to *pseudo*-institutionality (dating, going steady), and *semi*-institutionality (rooming in) and other *pre*-institutional configurations (engagement) (cf. **chapter 15**).

4.5.4 The Humour Performance

The conceptualisation of "childhood sexuality" as a joking coping mechanism reactive to a barred and scary future economy can be demonstrated by observing the phenomena of the "sexual" joke in children (Zumwalt, 1976; Borneman, 1985; Sutton-Smith and Abrams, 1976; 1978; Wolfenstein, 1954)⁸⁷, including sexually violent jokes⁸⁸. Judging from a brief look at the

⁸⁴ Jordan, E. (1995) Fighting boys and fantasy play: the construction of masculinity in the early years of school, *Gender & Educ* 7,1:69-86

⁸⁵ Aldis, O. (1975) *Play Fighting*. New York: Academic Press

⁸⁶ Lancy, D. F. (1980) Play in Species Adaptation, *Ann Rev Anthropol* 9:471-95

⁸⁷ Zumwalt (1976) Plain and fancy: a content analysis of children's jokes dealing with adult sexuality, *Western Folklore* 35:258-67; Sutton-Smith, B. & Abrams, D. M. (1976) Psychosexual material in the stories told by children, in Gemme, R. & Wheeler, C. C. (Eds.) *Progress in Sexology*. NY: Plenum Press,

research⁸⁹, humour development is a science not taken seriously. Humour, however, is a multi-faceted, multidimensional social strategy in which phases can be recognised, and distinct age dynamics are operative (Bariaud, 1988)⁹⁰; as such, it serves distinct adaptive functions⁹¹. A sense of humour contributes to *Humour Identity*, identified by *Humour Phases*. One might hypothesise that the ambiguous nature of humour allows children “to explore sensitive issues like sexuality without having to reveal explicitly the extent of their actual knowledge in this area” (Sanford and Eder, 1984:p235)⁹². According to some studies, it provides a forum for sexual curiosity⁹³. As sexuality, it can be conceptualised as the ability to understand and reproduce socially significant patterns of communication, and as providing an arena for antagonism and abreaction. The association of humour and sexuality in a developmental (phaseological) perspective is a virgin field of research⁹⁴.

Kehily and Nayak (1997)⁹⁵ argue that

“[...] humour is a technique utilised for the regulation of masculinities and the negotiation of gender-sexual hierarchies within pupil cultures. Bodily practices were prevalent in the interchanges, playing a part in the contestation and production of differentiated heterosexualities. Humour was an organising principle, deployed to position pupils within differing dominant and subordinate peer group sexual cultures”.

Humour was seen as “a regulatory technique, structuring the performance of masculine identities”, thus victimising those who did not “circumscribe to the [dominant] hyper-heterosexual practice of masculinity”⁹⁶. In folklore, sexual “transgressions” involving children can be sold through humour⁹⁷.

4.5.5 Sexuality, Subversion and Environment

p491-504; Sutton-Smith, B. & Abrams, D.M. (1978) Psychosexual material in the stories told by children: The Fucker, *Arch Sex Behav* 7,6:521-43; Wolfenstein, M. (1954) *Children's Humor*. Glencoe: Free Press, p63-91

⁸⁸ McCosh, S. (1977) Aggression in Children's Jokes, *Maledicta* 1,2:125-32

⁸⁹ See Reference List, *Childhood Humour Development*. Available from the author.

⁹⁰ Bariaud, F. (1988) Age differences in children's humor, *J Children in Contemp Society* 20,1-2:15-45

⁹¹ Weisfeld, G. E. (1993) The Adaptive Value of Humor and Laughter, *Ethology & Sociobiol* 14,2:141-69

⁹² Sanford, S. & Eder, D. (1984) Adolescent Humor During Peer Interaction, *Social Psychol Quart* 47,3:235-43

⁹³ Fine, G. A. (1977) Humor in situ: the role of humor in small group culture, in Chapman, A. J. & Foot, H. C. (Eds.) *It's a Funny Thing, Humour*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, p315-8; Ransohoff, R. (1975) Some observations on humor and laughter in young adolescent girls, *J Youth & Adol* 4:155-70; Sacks, H. (1978) Some technical considerations of a dirty joke, in Schenkein, J. (Ed.) *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction*. New York: Academic Press, p249-69

⁹⁴ E.g., Fry, W. F. (1974) Psychodynamics of sexual humour: sexual views of children, *Med Asp Hum Sex* 8,9:77-80

⁹⁵ Kehily, M. J. & Nayak, A. (1997) Lads and laughter: humour and the production of heterosexual hierarchies, *Gender & Educ* 9,1:69-87

⁹⁶ This stress on hierarchical dimensions, and the apparent normalisation of “adult” heterosexual discourse as a measure for hypermasculinising adolescent discourses is illustrative of the concern for female and minority participation (“subordination”) in male positioning.

⁹⁷ Mulhern, Sh. (1990) Incest: A Laughing Matter, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 14,2:265-71; Mathews, F. (1994) What's So Funny about the Abuse of Boys and Young Men? *J Emotional & Behav Problems* 3,1:15-9; Gartner, R. B. (1999) Cinematic depictions of boyhood sexual victimization, *Gender & Psychoanal* 4,3:253-89

Sexual graffiti has been a subject of study since the early 20th century (Luquet, 1910)⁹⁸. It is known that adolescents in ancient Greece wrote “soliciting” graffiti on walls of the *agora*. Whatever its incidence, even “sexual symbolism” (implicitness) in children’s drawings has not been investigated systematically, although frequently used in child psychoanalysis.

In a wonderful Dutch video program (Van Heelsbergen, 1985)⁹⁹ boys were demonstrated to provide excellent alternative interpretations of sexual (or is it?) drawings on a neighbourhood basement wall when questioned alone, while the pornographic implications were readily enumerated in the company of friends [penis becomes aeroplane, sword].

Wilhelm Koch (1979, 1980, 1984, 1986)¹⁰⁰ since 1972 collected more than hundred “erotic drawings” on neighbourhood walls, children’s playgrounds, etc. Koch argued that such “spontaneous” art forms and graffiti done by children and adolescents would provide for schools the opportunity to thematise sexual feelings, and offer an insight to children’s day dreaming. Not referring to Koch, Lucca and Pacheco (1986)¹⁰¹ collected 672 instances of graffiti from bathroom walls in 10 elementary schools in Puerto Rico. The graffiti reflected a wide variety of content related to the children’s immediate life experiences such as concerns with their self-identity, interpersonal relations, cultural understandings, sexuality, and religious and political beliefs. Girls produced more graffiti than boys, but boys produced twice as many graffiti with “sexual” content.

4.6 Locating Narratives: Mapping Sites, Media and Technospheres

Eysenck and Nias (1978)¹⁰² summed up 24 published experiments since 1956 measuring immediate and short-term correlates on childhood graphic exposure to violence; to my knowledge, no equivalent study exists on exposure to visual erotica. Apparently, American-European clinical pedagogy is more open for what she recognises as “aggression” than for what she defines as “eroticism”.

Beside mere content analysis studies, authors have argued that “doing”, and not merely acquiring, gender/sexuality follows self-construed “styles” as inspired by peer-shared (colloquial) consumption of media-generated images and narratives: television¹⁰³, music¹⁰⁴,

⁹⁸ Luquet, G. H. (1910) Sur la survivance des caractères du dessin enfantin dans das grafitti à indications sexuelles, *Anthropophyteia* 7:196-210+ill.

⁹⁹ Heelsbergen, van (1985) *Vieze Kindertjes?* Rijksuniversiteit van Limburg. At Trimbo Institute

¹⁰⁰ Koch, W. (1979) Die erotische Kinderzeichnung, *Kunst & Unterricht* 55:52-5; Koch, W. (1980) Die “heimliche” Kinderzeichnung; Die erotische Kinderzeichnung im Unterricht, *Sexualpäd* 8,3:6-8;8,4:6-7; Koch, W. (1984) Erotische Zeichnungen von Kindern und Jugendlichen, *BDK* [Bund Deutscher Kunsterzicher] *Mitteilungen* 2; Koch, W. (1986) *Erotische Zeichnungen von Kindern und Jugendlichen*. Erziehungswissenschaften 15. Münster Lit.

¹⁰¹ Lucca, N. & Pacheco, A. M. (1986) Children's graffiti: Visual communication from a developmental perspective, *J Genet Psychol* 147,4:465-79

¹⁰² Eysenck, H. & Nias, D. (1978) *Sex, Violece, and the Media*. New York: St. Martin's Press

¹⁰³ Kelley, P., Buckingham, D. & Davies, H. (1999) Talking dirty: children, sexual knowledge and television, *Childhood* 6,2:221-42

¹⁰⁴ Emerson, R. (2002) *Hot Girlz, Shorties and Divas: Exploring the Responses of Teenage African-American Girls to Representations of Black Female Sexuality in Music Video*. Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin. Cf. Emerson, R. (2002) “Where my girls at?” Negotiating Black womanhood in music videos, *Gender & Society* 16,1:115-35; Janus, S. S. & Janus, C. L. (1985) Children, sex, peers, culture:

magazines (*vide infra*), cartoons, movies¹⁰⁵, internet¹⁰⁶, etc.¹⁰⁷. Dynamics of these media are located in the extent of their being available, authorised, interactive, and indeed peer-shared. Judging from the available literature, U.S. culture greatly appreciates to locate what sexualities are found where. In the interesting study by Kelley et al. (1999) it was observed how

“children’s talk about sex on television serves as a means of defining identities in terms of *age* and *gender*. [...] ‘talking dirty’ [discussing explicit television] is one of the strategies that children employ in reproducing and policing gender identities, and in enforcing a form of compulsory heterosexuality”.

The author’s recommend that “we need to develop a more nuanced understanding of the *range* of identities that television makes available to children. As well considering what children do with television, we also need to consider what television does for children”.

Data suggest children’s erotic and gendered playgrounds are progressively widening, or rather, organised within a world in which opportunity and fantasy become separate units of realism, separate spaces, perhaps requiring dual identities. By altering space, subjectivity as well as communication, “sexual” interactions take on divergent forms and meanings.

An example delineates the extent of written and “read sexuality” as a formative discourse:

4.6.1 Magazined Sexualities

Magazines provide a tool to monitor society’s tolerance for portraying preadult sexualities¹⁰⁸, and to monitor material sexual cultures. “It is in listening to and hearing the voices and experiences of young women that we can begin to understand how teenage [!] women are shaped as **sexual** beings in a culture of patriarchy”, Van Roosmalen¹⁰⁹ argues. These women will tell the researcher that it is magazines that shaped them. Magazines aimed at an adolescent female market can be seen as a cultural resource for teaching and learning about sexuality¹¹⁰. This medium is a potential educator in for instance

1973-1983, *J Psychohist* 12,3:363-9; Fisher, G. A. (1997) *Kids, Culture, and Courtship: The Acculturating Effects of Popular Music*. Paper for the American Sociological Association

¹⁰⁵ Strover, Sh. (1991) *Popular Media and the Teenage Sexual Agenda*. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association. Chicago, IL, May 23-27

¹⁰⁶ Stern, S. (2002) Sexual selves on the World Wide Web: Adolescent girls’ home pages as sites for sexual self-expression, in Brown, J. D. & Steele, J. R. et al. (Eds.) *Sexual Teens, Sexual Media*. LEA’s Communication Series. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, p265-85; Loftus, J. (1999) “Let’s Talk about Sex, Baby”: Discourses of Female Adolescent Sexuality in Cyberspace. Paper for the American Sociological Association; Bay-Cheng, L. Y. (2001) SexEd.com: Values and norms in web-based sexuality education, *J Sex Res* 38,3:241-51

¹⁰⁷ E.g., Durham, M. G. (1999) Girls, media, and the negotiation of sexuality: A study of race, class, and gender in adolescent peer groups, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quart* 76,2:193-216

¹⁰⁸ O’Donohue, W., Gold, S. R. & McKay, J. S. (1997) Children as sexual objects: Historical and gender trends in magazines, *Sexual Abuse* 9,4:291-301

¹⁰⁹ Van Roosmalen, E. (2000) Forces of patriarchy: Adolescent experiences of sexuality and conceptions of relationships, *Youth & Soc* 32,2:202-27

¹¹⁰ Kehily, M. J. (1999) More Sugar?: Teenage Magazines, Gender Displays and Sexual Learning, *Eur J Cult Stud* 2,1:65-89. Cf. McRobbie, A. (1996) More! New sexualities in girls and women’s magazines, in Curran, J., Morley, D. & Walkerdine, V. (Eds.) *Cultural Studies and Communications*. London: Arnold, p172-194. Reprinted in McRobbie, A. (1997) *Back to Reality? Social Experiences and Cultural Studies*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Walsh, Ch. K. et al. (2002) From “just the facts” to

the U.S.¹¹¹, China¹¹², Sweden¹¹³, Germany¹¹⁴, Brazil¹¹⁵ and most probably the larger part of the literate world (e.g. Canada, Spain, Croatia, Yugoslavia, Mexico [explicit mags], India, and (South) Africa). The curricularising aspects are implicitly present in the (historically variable) ages for which they proclaim to be intended¹¹⁶, and the topics covered.

Feminists, particularly, have questioned the way magazines (and other media, such as movies)¹¹⁷ shape femininity, and curricular feminine sexualities. It could be suggested that “teen magazines limit females’ sociality and sexuality within narrowly defined heterosexual norms and practices”¹¹⁸. Clearly, the sources form an alternative to adult interference¹¹⁹. Exploring “cross-cultural” differences, coitarche can be made “more appealing and feasible”¹²⁰. However, it should be clear, authors argue, that the magazine sexuality discourse is an active colloquial one¹²¹. Collateral reading confirms that (dirty) magazine reading is a process of acquisition, hiding, collecting, discussing, interpreting, etc., and comparable to children “doing” any school or non-school reading¹²².

“downright salacious”: Teens’ and women’s magazine coverage of sex and sexual health, in Brown, J. D. et al. (Eds.) *Sexual Teens, Sexual Media*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers, p153-71; Treise, D. & Gotthoffer, A. (2002) Stuff you couldn’t ask your parents: Teens talking about using magazines for sex information, in Brown, J. D. et al. (Eds.) *Sexual Teens, Sexual Media*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers, p173-89; Wray, J. & Steele, J. R. (2002) Girls in print: Figuring out what it means to be a girl, in Brown, J. D. et al. (Eds.) *Sexual Teens, Sexual Media*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers, p191-208; Carpenter, L. M. (1998) From girls into women: Scripts for sexuality and romance in Seventeen magazine, 1974-1994, *J Sex Res* 35,2:158-68; Durham, M. G. (1998) Dilemmas of desire: Representations of adolescent sexuality in two teen magazines, *Youth & Society* 29,3:369-89; Tinkler, P. (1995) *Constructing Girlhood: Popular Magazines for Girls Growing Up in England, 1920-1950*. Philadelphia, PA: Taylor & Francis. Based on a 1988 unpublished PhD thesis, University of Lancaster.

¹¹¹ Downes, L. M. (2000) *Lessons for Life: Adolescent Culture and Society in the World of the “True” Confessions*. Paper for the American Sociological Association

¹¹² Guang-Ren, L. (1997) An investigation of adolescent health from China, *J Adolesc Health* 20,4:306-8

¹¹³ Rosenqvist, L. & Lundberg, P. O. (1992) Sex- och samlevnadsfrågor som de avspeglar sig i en tonarstidnings frågespalt 1988-1990 [Questions on sexuality from a column in a teenagers’ magazine 1988-1990], *Nordisk Sexol* 10,3:129-38

¹¹⁴ Lohr, H. & Rathgeber, R. (1995) Mädchen und Sexualität, *Diskurs* 5,1:54-60;

¹¹⁵ Jablonski, B. (1998) Crenças e crendices sobre sexualidade humana [Beliefs and misbeliefs about human sexuality], *Psicol: Teor & Pesq* 14,3:209-18; Osterman, A. C. & Keller-Cohen, D. (1998) “Good girls go to heaven; bad girls...”: learn to be good: quizzes in American and Brazilian teenage girls’ magazines, *Discourse & Soc* 9,4:531-58

¹¹⁶ Mitchell, C. & Reid-Walsh, J. (1999) *Nine Going on Seventeen: Boundary Crises in the Cultural Map of Childhood / Adolescence*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Montreal, Quebec, Canada, April 19-23

¹¹⁷ Pardun, C. J. (2002) Romancing the script: Identifying the romantic agenda in top-grossing movies, in Brown, J. D. & Steele, J. R. et al. (Eds.) *Sexual Teens, Sexual Media*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, p211-25

¹¹⁸ Gardner, A. et al. (1998) Narrative Analysis of Sexual Etiquette in Teenage Magazines, *J Communic* 48,4:59-78

¹¹⁹ Treise, D. & Gotthoffer, A. (2002) Stuff you couldn’t ask your parents: Teens talking about using magazines for sex information, in Brown, J. D. & Steele, J. R. et al. (Eds.) *Sexual Teens, Sexual Media*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, p173-89

¹²⁰ Carpenter, L. M. (2001) The first time/das erstes mal: Approaches to virginity loss in U. S. and German teen magazines, *Youth & Soc* 33,1:31-61

¹²¹ E.g., Gonick, M. (1997) Reading selves, re- fashioning identity: Teen magazines and their readers, *Curriculum Studies* 5:69-86

¹²² E.g., Epstein, D. (2000) Reading Gender, Reading Sexualities: Children and the Negotiation of Meaning in ‘Alternative’ Texts, in Spurlin, W. (Ed) *Lesbian and Gay Studies and the Teaching of English*. Washington, DC: National Council for Teaching English, p213-33

Apart from their importance for the performance of enculturation, these works provide a clue to how sexuality is represented (cf. children's literature)¹²³, marketed and translated for curricularised audiences. Children's books, for instance, currently are being colonised by abuse prevention efforts¹²⁴.

4.7 Narratives that "Space": Empty, Ambivalent and Bogus Salient Spaces

By verbalising discursive material, narratives establish interpersonal "salient spaces" for sexual behaviour to take place, or to be prevented. In some cases, however, salient spaces are created without an initial reference to sexual behaviour. Girls, particularly, are socialised at an abstract level at which they do not grasp their situation, but nevertheless are rigidly controlled / situated.

An **Ovimbundu** mother "[...] will teach her daughter saying, A girl does not play with boys, for boys are sharp ones¹²⁵. Don't play with them. This advice is because of sex, although the child may not understand it at the time. But when the boys call her, she will remember the advice of her mother and may quickly reply, saying, My mother says, Don't play with boys: they'll hurt you. Thus she has taken to heart what her mother has told her and may go ahead in the same way". Pauw states that among the

¹²³ For Dutch impressions: Deputer, F. (1965) *Erotische kinderlektuur? Van het poppenspel naar de roman, Heibel* [Dutch] 1,3:23-40; Ros, B. (1997) *Jeugdboek is de kindersites en tienerbladen erotisch de baas: 'Hij kuste haar, diep, nat, lang, hartstochtelijk'*, *Leesgoed Den Haag* [Dutch] 24,2:66-70; Coillie, J. van (1997) *Open en bloot: in poëzie voor kinderen en jongeren*, *Leesgoed Den Haag* 24,2:72-5; Lierop- Debrauwer, H. van (1997) *Meisjesboekenmeisjes: van braaf naar seksueel actief*, *Savante Amst* 5(20):24-6; *Dokumentatie Jeugdliteratuur in Thema's* 6,3: *Seksualiteit in de Jeugdliteratuur* 1984; RoSA (April, 1994) *Copieënbundel artikels 'homoseksualiteit en lesbische aspecten in kinder- en jeugdliteratuur'*. Brussel: ROSA, Studie-, Informatie, en Dokumentatiecentrum omtrent Sekserollen, Feminisme en Vrouwenzaken; Hemmes (1982) *Homoseksualiteit in kinderboeken, Orlando* 1,1:20-3; *Seksboeken voor kinderen: fictie en non-fictie, Boekblad* [Amsterdam] 167(2000),18:10-1; Vaerenbergh, J. van & Devos, A. (1983) *Homofilie en Eerste Seksualiteit in de Jeugdliteratuur*, <http://www.ping.be/~demayer/boekbesp/frameset.htm>; http://www.dvh-net.com/Gay/Hoofdstuk_3/Hoofdstuk_3-4/hoofdstuk_3-4.htm; Campen, van (1976) *Voorlichting voorbehouden; seksualiteit in het kinderboek, Verkenningen op het Gebied v/d Jeugdlit* [Dutch] 7,5/6:96-101. Further Krugovoy, A. (2000) *Silver's "A Caught Dream": John Ruskin, Kate Greenaway, and the Erotic Innocent Girl*, *Children's Lit Assoc Quart* 25,1:37-44; Slavin, H. (1994) *Images of sex and sexuality in books for children, parents and young people, Sexual & Marit Ther* 9,2:201-7; Wersba, B. & Frank, J. (1973) *Sexuality in books for children: an exchange, School Libr J* 19,6:44; Selected international bibliography on sexuality in books for children, *Bookbird* 32(1994),2:37-9; Bürger, Th. & Schiller, U. (1992) *Kinder- und Jugendbücher zum Thema Liebe: Eine Kommentierte Auswahl-Bibliographie mit Didaktischen Anmerkungen*. Arbeitsstelle für Kinder- und Jugendliteratur an der PH Ludwigsburg; Dahrendorf, M. (1982) *Die Entdeckung der Sexualität in der modernen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, Sexualpäd* 10,2:1-6[cf. *Info-Jugendlit & Medien* 34(1983),2:34-8; Griffiths, J. M. (1987) *The Treatment of Four Social Issues in Contemporary Children's Literature: Violence, Breakdown of the Family Unit, Human Sexuality, and Drug and Alcohol Abuse*. [Microform] National Library of Canada, 1988. M. Ed. Thesis, Memorial University; Clyde, L. A. & Lobban, M. (2000) *Out of the Closet and Into the Classroom: Homosexuality in Books for Young People*. Port Melbourne, Victoria, Australia; Kidd, K. (1999) *Sexuality and children's literature. Editor's introduction, Lion & The Unicorn* 23,3:v-viii; Nelson, C. B. (1989) *Sex and the single boy: ideals of manliness and sexuality in Victorian literature for boys, Victorian Studies* 32,4:525-50; Fuchs, L. (1984) *The Hidden Messages in Children's Books*. Paper presented at the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Florida Reading Association, Jacksonville, FL, October 18-21; Klein, N. (1977) *Growing Up Human: The Case for Sexuality in Children's Books, Children's Lit in Educ* 8,2:80-4

¹²⁴ Hollander, Sh. K. (1989) *Coping with child sexual abuse through children's books, Elementary School Guidance & Counseling* 23,3:183-93; Günin, J. & Niedermann, A. (1993) *Sexueller Missbrauch-Prävention durch das Kinderbuch? Vierteljahresschr f Heilpäd & Nachbargebiete* 62,3:327-48

¹²⁵ *Imel'el'e*, lit. sharpened stakes such as those used at the bottom of a pit-fall to trap game. [orig. footnote]

urban **Xhosa** of East London menarchal girls are told the possibility of pregnancy. "Other mothers only gave a vague warning not to play or laugh with boys, because they are "dangerous", "mischievous", "cruel", or "rough". A few girls claimed that they did not realize the significance of their condition when they became pregnant". In the **West Indies**, menarchal girls were told, apart from hygienic instructions, not to "play" or "mess" with boys. Among the **Tebu**, girls are not instructed in sexual matters, but are frequently warned against sexual relations. Contemporary **Kikuyu** girls are told the negative consequences of "running around", but "the actual sexual activities [...] are indirectly prohibited are not detailed" (Worthman and Whiting, 1987:p160). In a study on Spanish-speaking people of San Jose, Clark (1970:p135) noted: "Parents avoid sexual discussions with preadolescent children except for giving them general instructions to "stay away from the boys" or "leave the girls alone". On **Jamaica**, Greenfeld (1966) documented that "[r]epeated admonitions about "staying away from boys", young informants complained, never include a discussion of "what to stay away from".

The cross-culturally stereotypical technique creates ambivalent spaces:

A **Puerto Rican** informant for Alvarez (1988) stated girls are told that "God forbid that some boy should touch you, because "I'll beat you up". But they wouldn't tell you why; then you don't know any better".

In other cases, mothers employ devious rationalisations for preventing association with boys.

After toddlerhood, **Iranese** children are explicitly discouraged from playing together by the warning that they might transform into the opposite sex. An autobiographical account (Dyk, 1938) reveals that seven or eight-year-old **Navaho** boys may be told girls will bite their genitals off, or have vaginae dentatae (p44-5). **Kgatla** menarchal girls are told that "if you now play with boys you will get a baby" (Suggs, 108).

The most widely use of bogus salient spaces is effected through medical arguments (cf. §11.1.2). These have to be distinguished from cases where such spaces are part of the genuine fabric of gender space:

"**Sambia**" "boys would be polluted and their growth blocked by sexual play with girls [...]" (Herd, 1993:p199).

Globally, linguistically construed spaces can be characterised by the degree of definition (empty/full) and the fabric of their content (dualistic, nosological, ...).

4.8 ...But I Didn't Even Know What it Was About: Reconstructed and Pedagogic Erotic Biographies

Numeric accounts of sexual autobiographies (e.g., Kinsey) are not suitable for constructionist approaches. A limited number of papers and monographs present the sexual histories of North-Americans at a descriptive level¹²⁶, data not paralleled for the majority of western and

¹²⁶ Schaefer, L. C. (1964) *Sexual Experiences and Reactions of a Group of Thirty Women as Told to a Female Psychotherapist*. Report of an Ed. D. doctoral project. Columbia University. Data were later incorporated into Schaefer, L. (1974 [1973]) *Women and Sex*. New York: Pantheon; Ribal, J. E. (1973) *Learning Sex Roles: American and Scandinavian Contrasts*. San Francisco, Calif.: Canfield; Martinson, F. M. (1973) *Infant and Child Sexuality: A Sociological Perspective*. St. Peter, MN: The Book Mark; Martinson, F. M. (1974) *The Quality of Adolescent Sexual Experiences*. St. Peter, MN: The Book Mark; Halloran, J. (1995) *The Sexual Education of Ten Men*. Diss., Temple University (DAI-A

non-western cases (e.g., Simmons¹²⁷ [Hopi], Sekaquaptewa¹²⁸ [Hopi], Enry [Ruanda¹²⁹, Zaire¹³⁰], Bloom¹³¹ [Zambia], Rotkirch¹³² [Russia, Finland], Amin¹³³ [Egypt], Crapanzano¹³⁴ [Morocco], Dyk¹³⁵ [Navajo], Barton¹³⁶ [Philippines], Villanueva¹³⁷ [Puerto Rico], Shostak¹³⁸ [!Kung], Ellis [Britain]¹³⁹). Particularly interesting is the work by Ribal providing a transatlantic challenge of American and Scandinavian (Swedish and Danish) narratives. These can be analysed in addition to parental accounts¹⁴⁰ providing pedagogic constructions of the early “sexual” situation. Most of the material is fragmentary insofar as it does not generate complete descriptive autobiographies.

These works explore what is culturally, methodologically or personally demarcated as “the sexual” factor, or element, as producing “the sexual” space, trajectory and curriculum. Autobiographical narratives clarify how activities/experiences are retrospectively

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- 56/04(1995):1249); Leroy, M. (1993) *Pleasure: The Truth about Female Sexuality*. London: HarperCollins, p16-38; Morrison, E. S. et al. (1980) *Growing Up Sexual*. New York [etc.]: D. Van Nostrand, p1-60; Kronhausen, Ph. & Kronhausen, E. (1960) *Sex Histories of American College Men*. New York: Ballantine, p26-96, 250-3; Lamb, Sh. (2001) *The Secret Lives of Girls*. New York: Free Press. Clinical samples: Lukianowicz, N. (1960) Imaginary sexual partner, *Arch Gen Psychia* 3, Oct.:121-41; Caprio, F. S. (1955) *Variations in Sexual Behavior*. New York: Grove Press. 1962 Black Cat ed. [see subchapters *Earliest Sexual Recollections*]; Bell, A. P., Weinberg, M. S. & Hammersmith, S. K. (1981) *Sexual Preference*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, see p96-113, 164-80, and several works by John Money. See also Reiss, I. L. & Reiss, H. M. (1990) *An End to Shame: Shaping our Next Sexual Revolution*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, p49-60. Some accounts are available on homosexual trajectories (§8.2.1). Some insights may be gained through secondary reading: Thorne, E. (1971) *Your Erotic Fantasies*. New York: Ballantine, p9-31; Friday, N. (1975) *Forbidden Flowers: More Women's Sexual Fantasies*. 1976 [1978] Dutch transl., *Verboden Vruchten*. Utrecht/Antwerpen: Bruna & Zn., esp. p20-55; Friday, N. (1980) *Men in Love*. New York: Doubleday. 1981 Dutch transl., *Mannen en Liefde*. Utrecht/Antwerpen: Bruna & Zn.; Hite, Sh. (1981) *The Hite Report on Male Sexuality*. New York: Knopf; Hite, Sh. (1994) *The Hite Report on the Family: Growing Up under Patriarchy*. London: Bloomsbury; Haavio-Mannila, E. & Roos, J. P. (1999) Love stories in sexual autobiographies, in Josselson, R. & Lieblich, A. (Eds.) *Making Meaning of Narratives*. London: Sage, p239-74; De Anda, D., Becerra, R. M. & Fielder, E. (1990) In their own words: The life experiences of Mexican-American and White pregnant adolescents and adolescent mothers, *Child & Adolescent Social Work J* 7,4:301-18
- ¹²⁷ Simmons, L. (1942) *Sun Chief*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- ¹²⁸ Sekaquaptewa, H. ([1969]) *Me and Mine: The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press
- ¹²⁹ Enry, P. J. P. (1981) *De l'Education Traditionnelle a l'Enseignement Moderne au Rwanda*. Vol. II, p409-18
Thesis, Université de Lille
- ¹³⁰ Erny, P. (1971) Vie et éducation sexuelles chez l'enfant et l'adolescent Zairois, *Probl Soc Cong* 94/5:89-118; Erny, P. (1977) *Sur les Sentiers de l'Université. Autobiographies d'Étudiants Zairois*. Paris: La Pensée Universelle, p331-65
- ¹³¹ Bloom, L. (1972) Some values and attitudes of young Zambians, studied through spontaneous autobiographies, *Afr Soc Res* 14:288-300
- ¹³² Rotkirch, A. (1997) *Women's Sexual Biographies from Two Generations. A First Comparison Between Finland and Russia*. Paper presented at the workshop on “Biographical Perspectives on Post-Socialist Societies”, 13-17 November, St. Petersburg; Rotkirch, A. (1998) Gender and generational differences in the sexual life course in St Petersburg and Finland. Presentation at the Life Course Center, Dept of Sociology, University of Minnesota, April 6
- ¹³³ Amin, H. Ah. (1988) Childhood in Cairo, *Jerusalem Quart* [Israel] 48:129-44
- ¹³⁴ Crapanzano, V. (1980) *Tuhami, Portrait of a Moroccan*. Chicago: Chicago University Press
- ¹³⁵ Dyk, W. (1938) *Son of Old Man Hat*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Relevant pages include p10, 44, 46, 97, 119, 137, 208
- ¹³⁶ Barton, R. F. (1938) *Philippine Pagans. The Autobiographies of Three Ifugaros*. London: George Routledge & Sons
- ¹³⁷ Villanueva, M. I. M. (1997) *The Social Construction of Sexuality: Personal Meanings, Perceptions of Sexual Experience, and Females' Sexuality in Puerto Rico*. Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
- ¹³⁸ Shostak, M. (1981) *Nisa: Life and Words of a !Kung Woman*. New York: Vintage Books
- ¹³⁹ Ellis, H. (1901) The development of the sexual instinct, *Alienist & Neurologist* 22,3:500-21
- ¹⁴⁰ Berges, E. T. et al. [The Study Group of New York] (1983) *Children & Sex. The Parents Speak*. New York: Facts on File

temporalised (curricularised), theorised, reassessed, and situated within this “sexual” sphere / trajectory / curriculum. Such narratives (Martinson, 1973; Ribal, 1973; etc.) suggest that in autobiographies people predominantly reconstruct their “sexual” ontogenesis as an active process (contemplation, acquisition and application), whereas in pedagogical accounts there is more representation of passive “sexualisation” ideologies (cf. Straver).

Reading adult recalls of childhood erotogenetic events one is stunned by the vigour by which some defend their ignorance or impotence regarding the nature of phenomena. A case of Martinson (1973) relates:

“All I really noticed about them [erections when seven or eight years old] was that they occurred when I thought about a young girl I felt romantically inclined toward. Also, they made it very difficult to roll over in bed. I never knew the purpose of the arousal, but I was aroused”.

Early sexuality becomes conceptualised within the negatively formulated realm of not-knowing, not-realising, not-associating, etc.: “I could have performed sexual intercourse that day [early childhood] with a total lack of knowledge, desire, or instinct for reproduction” (M., 1973:p37). The following account includes rationalisation and biologisation of transitions, negotiation of “sexual” content and motivation, and theorising of the sexual situation:

“[Until eleven] I was so busy getting into trouble in other ways that I probably did not have much time to think about sex [...]. From the ages of eleven to fourteen, I began to have something happen in my sexual ego [...] Perhaps they [Boyscout “sexual games”] were only half-sexual games [...] I do not remember feeling that it was more than a game that we were playing [...] We told these stories [fucking, girls] to each other as substitutes for our own powerless experience [...]” (Ribal, p82-3).

The following accounts demonstrate how the early “sexual” situation is retrospectively contextualised within diverse spaces, including knowlegability, biophysiology, the allosexual realm, and essentialistic categories (Ribal):

“Our own attempt to do this [parental coitus] was very simple and even innocent” (p36); “There was something exciting to me about having another’s hands on my body (p48)”; “It [masturbation] was a joy like many other joys. I did not connect this stimulation with the other sex. I did not connect it with sexual living in any way. That came later” (p62); “I probably regarded it [masturbation] as a natural thing to do because I enjoyed it” (p66).

Narratives provide curricularised interpretations of whether “sexual” activities arise from a personal social (“sexual”) orientation, situated opportunities, such “protoerotic” drives as curiosity, seduction, or discursive contextualisations such as peer-pressure, or love commitment.

4.9 Preliminary Conclusions

Children's social-sexual curricula, bodies and agenda are shaped, operationalised and redirected through language, and conversely, utilise language to shape, expand on and regulate social-sexual interactions. Language is used to represent, facilitate, prevent, order and categorise sexual behaviour. Language acts as the structural substance, or "grid", of "social" and "personal" spaces, which are "provided" through the socialisation curriculum but also maintained and elaborated upon. Sexual "development" can thus be conceptualised by the ways in which sexual meanings are progressively embedded in sustainable uses of space-structuring and space-structured communications.

5

Puberty.

Manufacturing, Operationalising and Regulating Chronology and Discontinuity

Summary: This chapter explores cultural operationalisations of puberty, particularly within a sexological context. It was hypothesised that two major identifiers of sexual cultures (chronology and discontinuity) are related to social structure as regarding its curricular organisation of reproductive affiliations. This was approached via three interrelated levels: the manufacturing, operationalisation, and regulation of puberty. It was further demonstrated how discontinuity was effected through nosological and magical operationalisation. On the basis of SCCS data, a rough preliminary baseline was created for cultural sexologies of puberty.

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Author's note: The structure of this article facilitates a constructionist approach of “pubertal” sexuality. First, puberty is identified as a sociological explanandum rather than an endocrinological explanans. Secondly it was argued that pubertal bodies, as well as pubertal identities, are recognised, labelled and dealt with within ontological, deontological and teleological frameworks, thereby creating (rather than managing) bodily revolutions. Subsequently (3), it was explored how puberty is translated to sexual activity as a possibility and curricular probability. Lastly (4), this identification as operable (“operationalisation”) may be interpreted within the (native) concept of regulation.

5.1 Introducing Puberty: Elementary Problems

Authors have observed that “adolescent girls resist, experiment, and practice gender in a trying-on process; gender, race, and class structures in the communities mutually [reinforcing] particular kinds of femininities”¹. Thus, children “[try] out ways of inhabiting and performing their gender”². This being the case for gender, this is less well mapped for identities related to genital behaviours. Puberty, of course, represents a complex maze of discourses, addressing and readdressing themes of gender, sexual behaviour and gender-based orientations/identities, and requiring a more or less continuous working or reworking of these variables.

This chapter is mainly occupied in identifying the cultural production of erotic puberties. An important hypothetical anchor here seems to be what is generally identified as the erotological *Othering* of prepubescence as well as pubescence. According to Rogers and Rogers³, “child concern disciplines covertly provide a mandate which continues to allow the adult world to treat the young as alien subjects--a state in which they remain disenfranchized and dehumanised”⁴, and effect exclusion⁵ from social arenas. Modern childhood as a social construction is linked to the Enlightenment, serving the purpose of “maintaining social order by separating the child from the adult”⁶. “The (re)construction of childhood that began in the early modern period in the West had as its primary movement a reformulation of the adult-child relation as one between very different beings”⁷. One hypothetical specification is that many of such “concern disciplines” may experience their origin in a modern history of life

¹ Williams, L. S. (2002) Trying on gender, gender regimes, and the process of becoming women, *Gender & Society* 16,1:29-52

² Maybin, J. (2002) “What’s the hottest part of the sun? Page 3!” Children’s exploration of adolescent gender identities through informal talk, in Litosseliti, L. & Sunderland, J. (Eds.) *Gender Identity and Discourse Analysis*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company, p257-73

³ Rogers, R. S. & Rogers, W. S. (1992) *Stories of Childhood: Shifting Agendas of Child Concern*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press / London: Harvester Wheatsheaf

⁴ See especially their chapter “Rearing its ugly head: Children and sexuality”.

⁵ Sarmento, M. J. (2002) Infancia, exclusao social e educacao como utopia realizavel, *Educacao & Sociedade* 23(78):265-83

⁶ Sykes, D. L. (1999) *Taking the Child out of the ‘Hood: Packaging Childhood in an Other-Directed Society*. PhD Dissertation, Texas A&M University [DAI 60,8, Feb. 2000, 3164-A]

⁷ Kennedy, D. (1998) Empathic Childrearing and the Adult Construction of Childhood: A Psychohistorical Look, *Childhood* 5,1:9-22

phase categorisation, in itself based on, more than anything else, biological bias⁸. This has produced the concept of “erotogenetic puberty” according to which “puberty” is thought to *de novo* factualise both erotic stamina and agenda, as predominantly operationalised as gender-normative erotic orientation. Considering the problematic notion of biological puberty and the erotic experience, it seems that both issues are generally identified by (1) an oversimplification in terms of chronology and phenomenology, and (2) a reductionism on highly arbitrary grounds. This applies to ethnography as to the whole of Western academic tradition. The issue of pubertal “erotarche” has been reconsidered only partially and, understandably, not substantiated by prospective study. Endocrinological essays using reductionist operationalisations).

5.1.1 The Nature and Nurture of Sexarche

A twin study on coitarche age (Dunne, Martin et al., 1997)⁹ marked a significant generational change both in the overall importance of genetic and environmental sources of variance in the onset of genital intercourse and in the relative influence of these factors in males and females. Here, as in a multitude of previous clinical efforts, there is a neglect of the difference between adrenal and gonadal puberty. As reviewed elsewhere¹⁰, Udry et al. (1986)¹¹ found adrenal hormones predictive of sociosexual behaviours and ideation in female adolescents. A theory proposed by McClintock and Herdt (1996, 1998; 2000)¹² argues that that sexual attraction is linked to adrenarche¹³, starting at around age 6 and ending around 10, rather than gonadarche¹⁴ (cf. **Addendum on Latency**):

“Although cross-cultural differences in the meanings of sexual arousal and attraction are impressive, the evidence for a deeper structure of adrenal hormonal development that influences the sequence and timing of sexual attraction before adolescence is profound. This is not to say that cultures may of course thwart the emergence of developmental subjectivities of sexual attraction in late childhood, through the

⁸ Morss, J. R. (1990) *The Biologising of Childhood: Developmental Psychology and the Darwinian Myth*. Hillsdale, NJ, England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

⁹ Dunne, M. P., Martin, N. G. et al. (1997) Genetic and environmental contributions to variance in age at first sexual intercourse, *Psychol Sci* 8,3:211-6

¹⁰ *Paradoxia Sexualis*. Unpublished literature review

¹¹ Udry, J. R., Talbert et al. (1986) Biosocial foundations for adolescent female sexuality, *Demography* 23,2:217-30

¹² McClintock, M. and Herdt, G. (1996) Rethinking puberty: the development of sexual attraction, *Curr Direct Psychol Sci* 5: 178-83; McClintock, M. and Herdt, G. (1998) Preadolescent determinants of sexuality, *Pediatr Update* 19,9:1-10; Herdt, G. & McClintock, M. (2000) The magical age of 10, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,6:587-606

¹³ The enlarged foetal adrenal cortex, which produces sex steroids quickly regresses after birth. Adrenarche occurs independent of pubertal development; premature adrenarche does not lead to premature pubertal signs, and a normal adrenarche is seen in cases of delayed pubertal onset. The chief hormonal product of adrenarche is dehydroepiandrosterone (DHEA) and its sulfated product DHEA-S (Ibanez L et al., 2000). Presenting symptoms are premature pubarche (92%), while 6.2% present with body odour, acne and/or hirsutism. This process is considered premature if it occurs before age 8 year in girls and 9 year in boys. 9.1% is eventually diagnosed with “exaggerated adrenarche”, while 5.7% is diagnosed with 21-hydroxylase deficiency (Likitmaskul et al., 1995). Major cortico-adrenal hyperactivity disorders in childhood include Cushing’s syndrome (irrespective of mechanism) and Cushing’s disease (ACTH-dependency); signs are hirsutism, typical configuration adipositas, facial puffiness, growth retardation, etc. Causes leading to increased adrenal androgen or oestrogen production include congenital adrenocortical hyperplasia, adrenal tumour, pituitary tumour, and ACTH-producing extrapituitary tumour. Childhood hypoadrenocorticism is associated with Addison’s disease, adrenoleukodystrophy, Waterhouse-Friderichsen’s Syndrome, and congenital adrenal hypoplasia caused by a number of autosomal recessive enzyme defects, with variable effects on cortisol, aldosterone and androgen production; in association, there can be ambiguous genitalia, hypertension, and (pubertal) virilisation or delayed pubarche in girls.

¹⁴ Isolated premature thelarche or pubarche, and adolescent gynaecomastia have been characterised as essentially harmless variations, with absence of other pubertal signs; psychosexual concomitants are rarely discussed, however relevant, beside the recommendation of reassurance.

use of beliefs, taboos, rituals, and social gender roles. [...] We should not ignore the context of political power in the social regulation of childhood and adolescent sexuality" (2000:p602, 603).

The possible connection of adrenergic-noradrenergic substitution in habitual childhood masturbation, as well as a neurological basis, was proposed by Cocchi (1977) and Cocchi et al. (1977)¹⁵. This raises the question of historical trends, anthropological and zoological comparisons, and the influence of adrenal dysfunction in childhood. I have found no studies reporting either sexual behaviour or psychosexual alterations or abnormalities associated with childhood adrenocortical disease (note that a number of psychological difficulties are found to be associated with the condition). Some "normative" data were collected in **chapter 16**, which seem to argue against any simplistic notion of erotarche. One alternative hypothesis reads that adrenal metabolism is associated with a rather atypical complex of psychobiological potentials, including that of the proto-erotic curriculum. This needs clarification in future studies.

5.1.2 Puberty Discourses: Cultered Hormones and Libidinal Agency

Is it, as Gadpaille (1976, 1978, 1981)¹⁶ suggests, that the control of [Western] pre-adolescent sexual expression results in the child arriving at puberty "without the ego readiness to cope with the pubertal surge of sexual awakening and, more specifically, with the heterosexual implications of puberty"?¹⁷ Judging from a literature study¹⁸, European authors even surprisingly recently could argue with concepts such as endocrinological revolutions to justify a general noncoverage of prepubertal sexuality, a void historically filled by pathological frameworks. The main problem with the ethnohistory of "pubertal libidarche" or "erotarche" centralises around the distinction between observation and interpretation, and the degrees of ethnocentrism in both processes. Cultural differences are noted. For instance, the social construct of hormones as an "intoxicating and distracting force" was common among U.S. teachers, while Japanese teachers did not link puberty with hormones or "disruptive behaviour with sexual energy"¹⁹. A quick scanning through the literature suggests that only some early ethnographers wished to challenge or confront their own native beliefs regarding such items as the "timing" of heterosexual interests, or to address their lack of possibilities for observation. Anyhow, either the onset or the process of puberty

¹⁵ Cocchi, R. (1977) [The hypothesis of adrenergic-noradrenergic substitution in habitual childhood masturbation: Two cases], *Rassegna di Studi Psichia* 66,1:9-16; Cocchi, R. & Ghiglione-Rocca, R. (1977) [Neurotic masturbation and infantile depression: clinico-theoretical approach and possible neuro-psychological explanation], *Acta Neurol (Napoli)* 32,2:229-41

¹⁶ Gadpaille, W. J. (1976) A consideration of two concepts of normality as it applies to adolescent sexuality, *J Am Acad Child Psychia* 15,4:679-92. Reprinted as Gadpaille, W. J. (1981) The delay of normal psychosexual development, in Constantine, L. & Martinson, F. (Eds., 1981) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p95-107; Gadpaille, W. J. (1978) Psychosexual developmental tasks imposed by pathologically delayed childhood: A cultural dilemma, *Adolesc Psychia* 6:136-55. Another interesting article in this respect: Gadpaille, W. (1970) Is there a too soon? *Today's Health* 48:34-5, 70-1

¹⁷ Gadpaille argues that sexual identity develops from numerous psychodynamically separate increments derived from an innate maturation sequence. Adolescent distress or conflict is related to cultural distortions of psychobiological growth that have produced this "pathologically" delayed childhood. In other words, "[...] most [US] middle-class adolescents must accomplish during adolescence what the normal human animal would naturally have accomplished in childhood".

¹⁸ A full discussion is presented in my previous work, *Paradoxia Sexualis*.

¹⁹ LeTendre, G. (April, 1996) *Middle School Teachers' Theories of Puberty*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, New York

universally stands out as an individual and/or intergenerational crisis, a problem, somehow caused and somehow managed by the immediate environment.

Body/mind dichotomies are part of major, perhaps central discourses in which man establishes and institutionalises a concept of agency. Discourses justify (create) given power-based hierarchies, and recruit the fuels for this process: sexual “identity”, “orientation” and behaviour.

Kinsman et al. (2000)²⁰ provided an interview based study of **Baganda** adolescent sexual socialisation. In rural Masaka, parental coitus is observed by children due to the narrow living confinements. Weddings, commonly identified as sexarchic events, provide another opportunity; apart from hide-and-seek and “mother and father”, weddings games are played where the children “smooch or fondle each other”. A boy:

“If you look at it critically, this thing is in the blood. God created it in us. For example you might watch a young kid that only crawls touching funny areas and covering them shyly. That thing is in the blood”.

Santal

“[c]hildren are equipped with a complete phallic knowledge by *Cando Bo[?]nga* (Supreme Deity). It is ordained by him as to whether a man will have progeny or not; so we find some men are denied children, although they mate like others”, said an old Santal to us. They want children; they like children. Overpopulation, a dismal apprehension to the educated middle-class, does not act as a nightmare to their primitive minds” (Mukherjea, p392-3).

Leaving important biocultural perspectives aside²¹, the following presentation aims to explore the cultural spectrum of dealing with puberty as an argument for sexual behaviour curricularisation. This tentative exploration follows to some extent the major institutions that seem to qualify or disqualify the participant as an actor of functions within culturally defined sexologies. Of two factors, curriculum and efficacy of enforcing the curriculum, the emphasis is on the former.

5.1.3 Two Problems of Sexual Behaviour Discontinuity: Necessity and Chronology

Drawing a parallel between cockerels and pullets growing faster and ultimately making “better birds” when separated until puberty, Aston (1909:p167)²² considered the existence of

²⁰ Kinsman, J. et al. (2000) Socializing influences and the value of sex: the experience of adolescent school girls in rural Masaka, Uganda, *Culture, Health & Sex* 2,2:151-66

²¹ One major bias in Western ideologies of “psychosexual” maturation, is that it is dominated by biological processes. The causes of this biologism may be diverse, but it is argued that among these, the moral climate plays a manifest role. As is detailed elsewhere (*Paradoxia*), the endocrinological claims of adolescent behavioural sexualisation are not convincing at all, and are not studied in a cross-cultural perspective. Far from proclaiming a culturalist view, it can not be concluded that hormonal pubescence has a *direct* and *specific* correspondence with any culturally centralised behavioural pattern (e.g., coitus). Rather, as Money has argued, hormones may predispose the individual to explore socially recognised patterns of self-expression in ways that are specific only as far as this recognition is so, and via the mental structure these patterns are interpreted by. This perspective, of course, argues for an interactionist model of cultural and individual levels of curricularised reality, *potentialising* rather than determining the sexual behaviour agenda.

²² Aston, W. G. (1909) The Incest Tabu, *Man* 9:164-8

puberty rites as “the formal removal” of the taboo²³ on prepubertal sex. The assumption that initiation and childhood restraint are universally co-occurring has been proved invalid (*vide infra*). Moreover, both the “erotagogic” nature and timing of initiation rites labelled as “pubertal” or “sexual” are variable in ethnographic and historiographic perspective, rendering these labels obsolete when arguing from a cross-cultural perspective. Nevertheless, many authors come to a generalised association (e.g., DeMeo, 1989)²⁴. Equally addressing cultural anxieties, Brain (1977:p193-4)²⁵ stated that

“some form of rite of passage between the asexual [anerotic?] world of childhood and the sexual world of adulthood is extremely common. This transition is usually seen as dramatic and dangerous in nature, largely because of a human need to establish order and to categorize. [...] The transition from childhood to adulthood is perceived as being especially important because of human fears about death and sexuality and anxiety about the human prohibition on incest, which is the foundation of all human societies”.

Brain does not address the legitimisation of the at times blatant emphasis on disrupted continuity. It could be argued that policies fostering discontinuous sexual behaviour curricula are borne out of a general tendency to dichotomise the life span at pubescence, which appears to be absent in at least some societies²⁶. This was established by 1984 SCCS data, for both sexes. Less unambiguously, it was argued that initiations “[help] to ameliorate biological discontinuity” (Barry III & Schlegel, 1980)²⁷.

Lee (1976)²⁸ observed that major differences started with puberty in that Americans hold the sexual double standard, Arabs enforce female seclusion in order to prevent premarital sex and thereby ensure receipt of the bride price, and African tribes are less anxious about human sexuality and only few insist on virginity of unmarried women. However, double standards are instituted at adolescence only in a minority of cases; more societies institute a double standard in late childhood, or resign a previous double standard at adolescence²⁹. Official seclusion is often anticipated by some degree of social segregation. The choice for puberty, thus, equally appears to be debatable. In some cases, the temporal relation between a sexologically relevant initiation and puberty is very loose or indefinite³⁰. Some authors³¹ observe that young people conceptualise sexarche as a self-devised rite de passage.

²³ According to Ellis (1887:p128), family tutelary deities are the special protectors of chastity of girls before puberty (beginning at age 11 or 12). A family deity appoints a spirit to walk behind each girl. At puberty its duties end. Barrenness is commonly thought to be due to prepubertal sexual intercourse (*ibid.*).

²⁴ DeMeo, J. (1989) The Geography of Genital Mutilations, *The Truth Seeker*, July/August, p9-13. Disregarding the apparent ethnocentric air in the term “mutilation”, the author concluded that the “underlying psychology of genital mutilations is anxiety regarding sexual pleasure, mainly heterosexual genital intercourse, as indicated by the associated virginity taboos and ritual absolutions against vaginal blood. In the final analysis, these mutilations say more about predominant attitudes regarding sexual pleasure than anything else”.

²⁵ Brain, J. L. (1977) Sex, incest, and death: initiation rites reconsidered, *Current Anthropol* 18,2:191-208

²⁶ Malinowski comments on the apparent continuity of **Trobriand** sexual development: “If we place the beginning of real sexual life [penetrative coitus] at the age of six to eight in the case of girls, and ten to twelve in the case of boys, we shall probably not be erring very greatly in either direction. And from these times sexuality will gradually assume a greater and greater importance as life goes on, until it abates in the course of nature”. Danielsson ([1956:p88]) notes the same for **Polynesia**, as do (Adriani and Kruijt, p385) on the East **Toradja**.

²⁷ Barry III, H. & Schlegel, A. (1980) Early childhood precursors of adolescent initiation ceremonies, *Ethos* 8,2:132-45

²⁸ Lee, D. R. (1976) *Exploring Sex Roles in African Studies*. Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the National Council for Geographic Education, San Francisco, California, November 24-27

²⁹ Judged from reexaminations of SCCS data.

³⁰ “After circumcision an [Azande] boy is recognised as a person old enough to have sexual intercourse [...]” (Baxter and Butt); this, however, occurs at an age variable from early postnatally to age 18. Anyway, the children play at coitus. According to others, puberty does not seem to be associated with transition rites, and proved altogether inconspicuous (Bohannan).

Schlegel (1995)³² presented a cross-cultural view of adolescence to argue that the social function of adolescence is to prepare children for adult reproductive careers and that this role is modified in industrial societies to preparation for occupational careers where training beyond childhood is necessary. This goes along with a *dissociation* between reproductive and productive age, and a *subordination* of the former to the latter in terms of preparation (cf. Bridenthal, 1976)³³. In traditional societies, this does not occur. Paige and Paige (1981)³⁴ suggested that menarche presents a dilemma, or potential crisis, for preindustrial societies, for which a direct political or legal solution is often not possible. The prospects for resolving this dilemma without recourse to ritual depend on the political and economic resources of a society (economy leads to polity leads to ritual). The authors do not address the encountered variability of anticipating such need for ritualised (discontinued) curricula.

The *public* recognition³⁵ and announcement of the daughter's sexual capacity makes her a reckoned candidate for marriage, which benefits paternal and fraternal interests. Traditionally, African initiatory ritualism is markedly characterised by its being a preparation for marriage, including such elements as the cultivation of coital expertise, fattening, artificial defloration, etc. The pro- or contrasexual implications of the rite would depend on the organisation of the immediate subsequent period, thus whether it is a pre-courtship, or pre-marital institution.

5.2 Manufacturing Puberty

Anthropologists have invested considerable effort in establishing cross-cultural or cultural functions and causes of "initiation rites". The classic interpretation by Whiting et al.³⁶ was later tested with variable success³⁷. The present interpretation departs from the position that such initiations manufacture, (sexologically) operationalise, and (thus) "regulate" sexual behaviour during, puberty.

³¹ Ramsey, P. (1982) Do you know where your children are? *J Psychol & Christianity* 1,4:7-15; Fujita, H. et al. (1984) Various aspects of sexuality in delinquent girls through their compositions, *Jap J Crim Psychol* 22,1:37-43

³² Schlegel, A. (1995) A cross-cultural approach to adolescence, *Ethos* 23,1:15-32. See also Schlegel, A. & Barry, H. III (1991) *Adolescence: An Anthropological Inquiry*. New York: The Free Press; Fuchs, E. (1975) Cross-cultural perspectives on adolescence, *J Am Acad Psychoanal* 3,1:91-104; Castelnuevo, A. (1990) La adolescencia como fenomeno cultural, *Rev Psicoanal* 47,4:661-72; Correal-Sanin, G. (1976) [Adolescence in tribal cultures], *Rev Colomb Psiquia* 5,1:76-84; Caldwell, J. C. et al. (1998) The Construction of Adolescence in a Changing World: Implications for Sexuality, Reproduction, and Marriage, *Stud Fam Plann* 29,2:137-53

³³ Bridenthal, R. (1976) The Dialectics of Production and Reproduction in History, *Radical America* 10,2:3-11

³⁴ Paige, K. E. & Paige, J. M. (1981) *The Politics of Reproductive Ritual*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press

³⁵ SCCS code 1251, degree of public awareness of menarche, N=51

³⁶ Whiting, J., Kluckhorn, R. & Anthony, A. (1958) The Function of Male Initiation Ceremonies at Puberty, in Maccoby, E., Newcomb, T., & Hartley, E. (Eds.) *Readings in Social Psychology*. 3rd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p359-70. Whiting explained the cross-cultural association between severe male puberty rites and low salience of father in the early socialization process by means of the intervening variables of ambivalence in sex (gender) identity in the growing male. The authors identified four associated cultural variables: male initiation rites involving genital mutilations, polygynous marriage system, postpartum sex taboos of one year or longer duration, and exclusive mother-child sleeping arrangements.

³⁷ E.g., Parker, S. et al. (1975) Father absence and cross-sex identity: The puberty rites controversy revisited, *Am Ethnol* 2,4:687-706; Snarey, J. & Son, L. (1986) Sex-Identity Development among Kibbutz-Born Males: A Test of the Whiting Hypothesis, *Ethos* 14,2:99-119

5.2.1 Manufacturing Sexual Periods

All human societies recognise a division of their members into categories according to age and sex. The number and definition of the categories, and the behaviour expected of members of each category, show considerable variation from one society to another (Linton, 1942)³⁸. Many societies recognise no periods that correspond to “early childhood”³⁹. The concept of adolescence is socially constructed in each local setting, and the concept of “late adolescence”, for instance, may be totally absent in some communities⁴⁰. The timing, the essential character, and even the existence of a “developmental” period may be strongly influenced by cultural factors (Segall et al., 1990)⁴¹.

It may be obvious that societies centralise phases in their sexology, while eccentricising or marginalising others. The centralised phase is usually the “adolescent” phase, semantically following the phase which literally translates to the period “*before one is becoming an adult*” (pre-adolescence). This is to say, the global content of sexology is characterised primarily on the power struggle that is implied in the transition from the parental home to economic independence contemporary to marriage.

5.2.2 Causing and Sculpting Puberty

There appears to be a dichotomy of cultural positions in conceptualising coitarche as a magical *sine qua non* or *accelerator*, or as a necessary antecedent of pubertal development (§11.1.1). As demonstrated in **chapter 12**, the experience of puberty is further construed as a social or personal milestone, or is marginalised into taboo curricula. In traditional societies, the pubertal body is actively sculpted (cf. §12.5) as an instrument.

The following paragraph explores the sexological concomitants of social uses of discontinuity reactive to biological milestones.

5.2.3 Initiations

Overt sexological meanings of initiation rites are marked by the use of proscribed sexual expressions, the signification or enhancement of fertility and practical knowledge, and, usually, a marked change in sexual behaviour regulations⁴². This predominantly takes the form of an official relaxation⁴³, in males commonly symbolised by means of removal of the preputial stigma. Other cases are more ambiguously ritualised, and best defined as *premenarchal* taboos (e.g., **Mbuti**). Cultures apply different scales for defining readiness.

³⁸ Linton, R. (1942) Age and sex categories, *Am Sociol Rev* 7:589-603

³⁹ Whiting, B. B., Burbank, V. K. & Ratner, M. S. (1986) The duration of maidenhood, in Lancaster, J. B. & Hamburg, B. A. (Eds.) *School Age Pregnancy and Parenthood*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, p273-302

⁴⁰ Chatterjee, P. et al. (2001) Adolescence and old age in twelve communities, *J Sociol & Soc Welfare* 28,4:121-59

⁴¹ Segall, M. H., Dasen, P. R., Berry, J. W. & Poortinga, Y. H. (1990) *Human Behavior in Global Perspective: An Introduction to Cross-Cultural Psychology*. New York: Pergamon Press

⁴² See for instance Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde*, Deel 1. Amsterdam: SUA, p114-23

⁴³ E.g., Chagga, Masai, Pedi, Swazi, Swahili, Thonga, Afikbo, Wolof, Kikuyu, Venda, Tanna, Amwimbe, Tiriki, Becwana (Mochuana), Tiv, Kipsigis, Nandi, Tuken, Tiv, Ibibio, Bakuria, Ewe; Papua Koko, Bánaro, Shuswap; Tukano.

Among the **Bangwa** of Western Cameroon, a strong taboo is placed on pre-nubile, or pre-adult, sexual intercourse, with both boys and girls. The criterion for this lies in the concepts of “social” instead of “sexual” puberty, so that a youth of twenty may be regarded as a “child”, *id est*, unfit for sexual intercourse. This timing is a function of age-graded or – stratified sexual hierargies.

Schlegel and Barry III (1979)⁴⁴ studied the sexological and timing implications of “initiation” ceremonies. To put the expression “pubertal initiation” in perspective, 21% of boy and 9% of girl cases were scheduled “before genital maturation”. In 13 of 63 SCCS societies ($\approx 1/5$) practising these ceremonies for boys, it is “intended for or clearly results in the initiation of [hetero]sexual relations”; this is the case for 28 of 84 societies ($1/3$) practising such ceremonies for girls. Of these boy cases, ceremonies are variably held before till later than “genital maturation”; for girls, it is more typically “at” genital maturation in a majority of cases. The author’s positive formulation, though not tested for all cases, should variably be interpreted in the negative: the initiation forms the end of a restrictive era proper; also, the authors apparently do not explicitly acknowledge initiations to be enforcing a more restrictive curriculum. In 10 of 62 (11%) boy initiation cases “sexuality” (referring to “sexual capacity or attractiveness”) was the “principle focus” of the ceremony; this would be so in 18 of 84 (21%) girl initiation cases. *Fertility*, in contrast, would be the principal focus in 10 boy cases, and 34 girl cases. Taken together, sexuality/fertility accounts for the *focal agenda* in about $1/3$ of exclusively boy cases ($N=17$), $1/2$ of exclusively girl cases ($N=39$), and up to 71% for girls where there are ceremonies for both sexes ($N=45$).

Using HRAF sources, Rogoff et al. (1975)⁴⁵ examined 27⁴⁶ variables that would signify “cognitive or social changes which might occur with age in childhood or be attributed to children in a particular age, and which would be noticeable to an ethnographer visiting a culture”. While modesty and sex differences revealed a mode at age 4-6 and 5-7, respectively, sexual attraction had a mode of 13 and “considered sexual”, along with some other variables, seemed to be assigned across a broad age range⁴⁷, 11 before age thirteen and 11 at or after this age⁴⁸. This suggests at least a rather loose chronological relation with pubescence.

5.3 Operationalising Puberty

5.3.1 “Sexual Behaviour Maturity”: Cultural Operationalisations

⁴⁴ Schlegel, A. & Barry III, H. (1979) Adolescent initiation ceremonies: a cross-cultural code, *Ethnology* 18,2:199-210

⁴⁵ Rogoff, B. et al. (1975) Age of assignment of roles and responsibilities to children: A cross-cultural survey, *Hum Developm* 18,5:353-69

⁴⁶ 39, of which 12 were rejected on the basis of low reliability, low credibility or lack of information

⁴⁷ The data are for age (N): 3(1), 4(1), 6(2), 7(1), 8(1), 9(3), 10(1), 12(1), 13(3), 15(8). Identities of societies are not indicated.

⁴⁸ This range is most likely caused by the surprising dualistic definition, and the indefinite character of the term “sexual”. Although a central issue in socialisation, the first part of the definition (socially recognised sexual capacity) is not explored elsewhere.

Frayser (1985:p124-69)⁴⁹ provided an overview of sociocultural dimensions attached to puberty/adolescence. Hotvedt (1990)⁵⁰ also offered a delineation of institutions related to sexual control in adolescence. Using Becker's classification⁵¹, sexual maturity can be operationalised or regulated through negative and positive terms. In "sex negative" societies, critical boundaries seem to be such lateral concepts as criminal culpability⁵², hypothetical paraphilic onset⁵³, and consent requirement⁵⁴. The culture is bound to be occupied with defining maturity ages as legislative, moral and social barriers. What are labelled "positive" interferences ("education") are actually de-operationalising communications, stressing lateral, negative and medicalised subjects (disease prevention, birth control, harassment). In sex-positive societies, or in those that come to stress sex positive arguments, it is a function of variables such as potency, general physical fitness, genital maturity, and libido. These are actively cultivated and maturity depends on active intervention, functional shaping of the sexual apparatus, augmentation of biological resources and training in techniques (see **chs. 12 and 7**). The culture is bound to be occupied with promoting expertise, addressing virtues, capacities and orientations. The child, for instance, is not educated along *some* sexual principle, he is educated along definite, articulated heterosexual principles. The anticipation of future roles is specific on subjects of sexual obligations, status and conformity. In "ambivalent" (perhaps "transitory") cultures, a tendency to rely on both categories would be expected. In Western settings, maturation is seen as an idiosyncratic, biological process indirectly to be shaped by noninterference, rather than having it fit into a productive framework, and used for productive purposes. Some examples will illustrate these principles.

Examples of a detailed accounts includes that of Gorer (1967) who gives an account of **Lepcha** (-2,2-, 2,2,2-,2-) sexological operationalisation of puberty⁵⁵ which deals with the distinction between "real" and "play" sex. In other societies critical issues seem to be addressed by the nullification of prepuberal sex.

⁴⁹ Frayser, S. G. (1985) *Varieties of Sexual Experience: An Anthropological Perspective on Human Sexuality*. New Haven: HRAF Press

⁵⁰ Hotvedt, M. E. (1990) Emerging and submerging adolescent sexuality: culture and sexual orientation, in Bancroft, J. & Reinisch, J. M. (Eds.) *Adolescence and Puberty*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, p154-72

⁵¹ Becker, G. (1984) The Social Regulation of Sexuality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, *Curr Percept Soc Theory* 5:45-69

⁵² Flandrin (1975:p150) found prepubertal promiscuity mentioned in many *ordonnances synodales* collected from the period 1507-1778. While only one was directed at postpuberty, 15 were intended for ages after seven (the age of reason), and two even for after age four. Masters (1966:p67-71) relates that children in Medieval Europe were held responsible for the Devil's paedophilic nature. The ages at which this crime would begin was debated (p122-3). "In any case thousands of children are reported to have been executed for lewdly coupling with incubi and succubi. In Würzburg alone more than three hundred children of such ages as three and four years confessed to sexual intercourse with demons. After age seven, a child was considered sufficiently corrupt and incorrigible to be put to death- an age limitation many judges and attorneys objected to as being unrealistically over-lenient".

⁵³ A cursory historical study of this concept in Western literature suggests that ever since Freud this problem is avoided by authors.

⁵⁴ American slang for pornography demonstrates a centralising of curricular restraint: it is called "adult". For a comprehensive discussion of consent matters, see Helmut Graupner's 1996 dissertation, circulated under the 1997 2-volume *Sexualität, Jugendschutz und Menschenrechte : über das Recht von Kindern und Jugendlichen auf sexuelle Selbstbestimmung*. Frankfurt am Main [etc.] : Lang

⁵⁵ The Lepcha "ignore puberty" and have no word for it (p315). Female sexual maturing is attributed to copulation, or, in the rare case of a virgin menarche, to the visit of a supernatural Kandoo *moong*, a sign of good luck. "The majority of women, however, depend on the intervention of a man; the physical signs will start whenever a girl experiences copulation, and there is therefore no stigma attached to grown men forcing little girls of nine or ten, and this occurs occasionally". A child should know who are his *num-neu-zong*, that is, those people with whom all sexual contact is prohibited, by the time he is nine or ten (p153). There is "no formally marked beginning of sexual life [...]. Some men make a distinction between pre-puberty and post-puberty sexual activity, but this distinction is personal and not cultural. Most men, when talking of their past lives, emphasise what was their first "real" sexual experience; but some place this first experience very early, at the age of eleven or twelve. I think the operative distinction in the mind of the Lepcha is whether the sexual adventure formed part of a play, or was undertaken seriously for its own sake" (p316). Betrothal and marriage start at age 8 (girls) and 12 (boys); at the time of writing, most girls were betrothed before, or at, pubescence.

While fully recognising and promoting prepubertal sexuality, the **Muria** (uncoded) argue that “[r]eal happiness only comes when you are both mature” (Elwin). Similarly, a premenarchal **Kanuri** (uncoded) girl “[...] knows nothing, she copulates yes, but takes no interest in such things, there is no pleasure in it for her. When she bleeds, then she is *kamu kura* (a mature woman) and she knows everything and will take pleasure from sexual intercourse” (Cohen). In many African societies maturity is synonymous with sexual behaviour maturity. Likewise **Pakistan** villagers were convinced that puberty was synonymous with maturity and a mature girl had to have her sex urge satisfied. It was “folly to ignore this”. Likewise, “[a]part from modern legal ideas concerning the attainment of adulthood, the **Burmese** view is one is adult when physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a term meaning “virgin”. The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which corresponding precautions are necessary”. Such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behaviour preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the “blood is trying to flow”.

In other societies puberty is a central issue in customary law issues⁵⁶. As becomes apparent from the **Dogon** case⁵⁷, societies may try to control sexual maturity by means of redefining its essence via the means by which it is cultivated (and regulated): language. The Dogon sexual curriculum is a linguistic curriculum, and sexual maturity equals linguistic maturity⁵⁸. In contrast, American puberty is traditionally operationalised predominantly by a biomedical framework, which today is translated into a commercial curriculum⁵⁹.

5.3.2 Puberty and Parental Operationalisation

Cross-culturally, puberty variably requires a role transition of parents and adolescents. In many premodern societies, puberty used to be a serious parental concern:

“Parents of such [**Ashanti**] girls look for signs of maturity in them, assess their age, watch the development of their breasts, and may even submit them to occasional genital inspection to be sure they are not hiding the fact that they have reached puberty. Such parents, as indeed many other Ashanti parents, are so concerned for their daughters to remain chaste that they insist on absolute abstention from pre-nubile love games [60]. They see to it that their daughters go to bed early, and severely warn, scold and at times beat them, if these girls associate too frequently with boys. When it is known that the girls have had their first menses, they are carefully watched to see if their periods are thereafter regular” (Sarpong).

It is suggested that initiations either introduce sex-promoting and/or sex-inhibiting definitions of sexuality, but do not fail to apply a definite regulatory principle (Becker). The

⁵⁶ A significant idea on Dogon puberty is noted when “the only case in which the young girl has the right, indeed the obligation, to lose her virginity to a man other than her fiancé is if her fiancé is absent at the time when she passes into sexual maturity. This is so that her first menstrual period will not precede the breaking of the hymen. [...]. The husband has no right to complain of the situation, since he brought it about by allowing himself to be absent at the critical moment”⁵⁶ (Calame-Griaule).

⁵⁷ The author points out that “[t]he Dogon express the idea of sexual maturity in two ways: [...] “he who knows speech” and [...] “he who knows shame”. Mastery of speech and decent behaviour are prerequisites to marriage according to Dogon rules. This is why the child’s acquisition of language, particularly that of the little girl, is supervised so carefully”. This also relates to verbal sexual instructions. At puberty, the girl receives her “hidden speech” or “speech of the bedroom”. Later, when she goes to the “house of the old woman”, the girl receives another education called “outside speech”.

⁵⁸ However, “[t]he sexual importance of the initiation is lessened by the fact that boys and girls are circumcised a few years before sexual maturity, that even before, children already play sexually with one another, and that sexual activity is taken seriously only when it can lead to propagation” (Parin et al.).

⁵⁹ Hufnagel, G. (1999) A cultural analysis of the evolution of menarche and menstruation: Implications for education, *DAI-A* 60(6-A):2256.

⁶⁰ See p41-2.

custom of Kyiribra⁶¹, the nonperformance of puberty rites on a girl who is already pregnant, is a traditional means of *negative, but definite* social control in some communities of West Africa. Kyiribra is indicative not merely of a crime but also a sacrilege⁶². In this sense, Western puberty was conceptualised as a cultural paradox in that it manifests significant biosocial changes, but is “not accorded much importance by our society”⁶³. According to Becker (1984) this neglect of puberty could signify a (hazardous) indifference to sex, and would actually be surprising in an “ambivalent” society as America; however, it would help explain social contraction, and individualism.

The factual operationalisation of sex at puberty takes many variations, but represents a complete course in postpubertal life. According to Swantz (1965:p45-6)⁶⁴ this information included statements such as

“with maturity comes sex, never refuse your husband; use three pieces of cloth to wipe him after intercourse and keep them washed; do not commit adultery; when you menstruate dig the blood into the ground and never climb into the loft for food at that time- send somebody else; only mature women can attend *mkole* [ceremonial inauguration]; mothers must not teach their daughters; don’t be stubborn, especially with your husband, stubborn ones die of snakes; do not pass a cross-roads directly”.

5.3.2.1 The Anticipation and Celebration of Puberty: The Bemba Case

Traditional African patterns are characterised by a distinct, definite concern for anticipating marital, reproductive and sexual success. The SCCS code for the Northern Zambia Bemba (-,-,-,2,2, no sexologically relevant initiations, pinpointed 1897, principle author Richards) is rather surprising, given the data on coital play of children, female initiations to married life, and prepubertally consummated marriage. “*Ukuwila Icisungu*, to have one’s first menstruation, was celebrated as a wondrous event when the young woman received the gift of her sexuality from the Transcendent. The word *Chisungu* is derived from the verb *ukusunguka*, to be overwhelmed, to be startled and is associated with the noun *chisungusho*, a wondrous event” (Hinfelaar). “At their first menstruation the initiates, sometimes called *Cisofu* “the big elephants”, run into the forest [...]. Their unbridled sexual fertility will be rescued from chaotic animal needs and brought under social control” (Maxwell). Girl’s pubertal stages are intimately linked to social status; a distinction is made between pre- and postpubertals, and for prepubertals, between pre- and neothelarchics. Bemba girls speak earnestly of their duty to prepare themselves in this way for matrimony, watch anxiously to see their breasts forming, and constantly refer to the coming of physical maturity and to their ability to bear children. Typical for the entire African record, the rites are disappearing or abbreviated (Mair; Jules-Rosette), “with the consequent omission of moral and magical instruction”. Though perhaps unnecessary (Richards, Rasing), Bemba instructions on coital techniques were

⁶¹ Banuaku, A. F. (1976) “Kyiribra”: Tradition, Change and Anomie in Puberty Rites, *West-African J Sociol & Polit Sci* 1,2:169-76

⁶² The introduction of the Christian rite of confirmation as an alternative to puberty rites produced an anomaly, since confirmation was not always delayed until puberty was reached. This was said to relax sexual standards, producing a high incidence of young unmarried mothers.

⁶³ Adams, P. L. (1969) Puberty as a biosocial turning point, *Psychosomatics* 10,6:343-9

⁶⁴ Swantz, L. W. (1965) *The Zaramo of Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: Nordic Project Tanganyika, mimeographed

notoriously explicit, an expertise highly appreciated in neighbouring tribes. Running counter Christian teachings, the Bemba socialise sex and prepare the young of both sexes for the satisfaction of the sex impulse “as soon as possible” and “to an extent unknown in modern society”. This concern for anticipation is also illustrated by the practice of anatomical preparation (labial elongation) serving coital satisfaction.

5.3.2.2 *The Fear of Puberty in the Light of Technologising Dyscurricular Puberty*

Western society has developed an elaborate technology to counter puberty’s “pathological” or exceptional timing. A potentially salient rationale for doing so (among other more substantial ones), medically luxated communications reveal that parents fear early puberty for its alleged sexological implications (as excerpted from *Paradoxia Sexualis*):

Thamdrup (1961)⁶⁵ communicates that while nearly all parents of 100 cases of precocious puberty had worried about the children’s sexual activity, only a few could relate concrete episodes as a cause of their worries. In the case of girls, the parents “nearly always feared their children would be exposed to sexual crimes”. In a later publication, Money and Alexander (1969)⁶⁶ present longitudinal data on the psychosexual development of 18 cases of male sexual precocity, 4 idiopathic and 14 secondary to virilising adrenal hyperplasia. They comment that several parents exhibited a “panicky, initial concern” that sexual activity not only would appear early, but would run wild and uncontrolled as well, and seven parents openly expressed their concern that their sons would become “sex maniacs, sex deviates or homosexuals”. Some school authorities worried about possible sexual misconduct. On some [all] 17 children are such “concrete episodes” described: they range from nocturnal emissions at age 8 to masturbation in combination with being the great favourite in dancing school. Two were said to exhibit “really aggressive [*sic*] sexual behaviour” [one female aged 9 with sexual passes at boys, making eyes at grown-up men in the street, been exposed to sexual aggression by man, brain tumour, and the other, a boy of 12, with “marked sexual excitation [who] committed assault on other members of the family”, tuberoses sclerosis, idiocy; initial request for castration withdrawn; p104-6]. In comparison, Van der Schot-de Jong et al. (1992)⁶⁷ found that 31% of mothers and 34% of fathers (N=42) expressed worries concerning early sexual behaviour of their IPP children. In a study by Xhrouet-Heinrichs et al. (1997)⁶⁸, fear of sexuality remained obvious throughout the study in most patients. Selicoff (1987)⁶⁹ further reported on parents’ “fear of sexual abuse by older peers or adults”.

5.3.3 *The Experience of Puberty: Sexological Operationalisation*

⁶⁵ Thamdrup, E. ([1961]) *Precocious Sexual Development*, Transl. Copenhagen: Munksgaard. See p104-8

⁶⁶ Money, J. & Alexander, D. (1969) Psychosexual development and absence of homosexuality in males with precocious puberty, *J Nerv & Ment Dis* 148:111-23

⁶⁷ Van der Schot-de Jong, L. W., Otten, B. J. & Robbroeckx, L. M. (1992) Gezinsbelasting bij ouders van meisjes met te vroege puberteitsontwikkeling, *Tijdschr Kindergeneeskde* [Dutch] 60,6:193-9

⁶⁸ Xhrouet-Heinrichs, D., Lagrou, K., Heinrichs, C., Craen, M., Dooms, L., Malvaux, P., Kanen, F. & Bourguignon, J. P. (1997) Longitudinal study of behavioral and affective patterns in girls with central precocious puberty during long-acting triptorelin therapy, *Acta Paediatr* 86,8:808-15

⁶⁹ Selicoff, H. (1987) Efectos psicologicos de la pubertad precoz en niñas, *Rev Mex Psicol* 4,2:138-46

In Australia, genitalia and sexual maturity are important organising factors in everyday life; menarche, thelarche, pubarche, and ejacularche are commonly referred to by children as indicating age or age difference. Boys are (probably playfully) insulted by the exclamation *kalu* (penis) *alputalputa* (dry boy's [male-associated] grass), which, according to Róheim (1938:p346) is "slandorous as it indicates that the boy's penis is devoid of semen".

Cultural use of puberty as an argument for control or an agenda for intervention pervasively modifies the experience of its objective attributes. Elementary body functions are not anticipated, leading to traumatological interpretation. A closer look at these issues suggests that the control on sexological operationalisation is primarily arrived at by noncoverage in ambivalent and sex-negative cultures. The sexual apparatus, its curricular changes, and its possibilities are not officially transmitted to subsequent generations, leaving the matter to an optional, peer- or self-directed curriculum (e.g., Best).

5.4 Regulating Puberty

5.4.1 The Political Meaning of Pre-Initiation /Pre-Puberty Rules: Regulating and Operationalising Violations

Apart from fines⁷⁰, etc., nosological or even thanatological threats may be used in anticipation of adverse consequences of violating the initiation rule⁷¹. Sometimes, institutional confessions are used⁷². An approved threat is that of impaired reconvalence after circumcision (**Kikuyu, Tiriki; Lau Fijians**). Among the **Toradja**, the operator (and the rice plants) would suffer⁷³. Other tribes use theological rationale⁷⁴. Nosological arguments are used to shield children from initiation-stratified encounters⁷⁵, in which cases the spell or

⁷⁰ Tikiri, Masai

⁷¹ Among the Jivaro, "premature sexual intercourse is prohibited to a youth until he has passed through the initiation for manhood to become what is called a *tsémbraca*" (Karsten). If this rule is violated, he may die (Ford).

⁷² Tikiri boys are questioned on their sex history before circumcision. When he confesses to having had sexual connections before circumcision, he must pay a fine, under the threat that he would bleed to death when circumcised if he had not done so (Sangree). Sometime afterwards the *kloketen* initiation rite of the Selk'nam, the initiate will be made to confess whether he has had sexual relations (though he would not be required to name the woman or women involved). The young men would have been warned that premature sexual relations would stunt their growth (Chapman). Among the Cuna, a girl's sexual past is "read" during initiation, but no consequences are mentioned (Marshall). A pre-initiation Gikuyu girl is "[...] closely questioned to verify that she never had sexual intercourse or indulged in masturbation. If she has broken any of the prohibitions of the Gikuyu social codes, the girl makes a confession to the *motiiri*, who reports the confession to the girl's parents. The service of a *motahekania*, or a "family purifier," is then engaged to purify (*koruta mogiro*) the girl and prepare her for the *irua*" (Kenyaatta).

⁷³ "Boys were incised (*montindi, mopatindi*) anywhere from their sixth to fifteenth year. If a boy had had sexual intercourse before the operation, however, it was thought to be dangerous both for him and the operator and could have harmful effects on the rice plants. [...] Boys had their teeth shortened when they felt they had grown up, at any rate after they were incised and before they were married. It was more dangerous, however to operate on a boy who had already had sexual intercourse, and therefore only some one who had killed an enemy could safely do it" (Downs).

⁷⁴ Among the Anlo Ewe, sex before the puberty rites was considered not only immoral but also an affront to the spiritual powers, particularly the ancestors. Sexual intercourse was reserved for procreation, the family regarded as a sacred unit

⁷⁵ The Cewa believed that full intercourse with an uninitiated girl led to sickness of a supernatural origin. Sexual intercourse with a Siriono girl who has not undergone her puberty rites is believed "to be followed by a supernatural sanction of sickness and death" (Holmberg).

responsibility⁷⁶ is placed on the environment. Sporadically, the responsibility seems to be placed on girls (**Akan, Ewe**). The adverse consequences would hurt the culprit⁷⁷, the girl⁷⁸, both⁷⁹, or the wider social cause⁸⁰. This argument may also be used to regulate the introduction of sexual exchange in age stratified institutionalised bondings⁸¹. A common pattern describes prepubertal betrothal, with “delayed”, pubescent or post-initiatory consummation⁸². In other (much debated) cases, however, it is made explicit that conjugal consummation does not await puberty⁸³. Sometimes, the initiation is held necessary even in a physiological sense⁸⁴, or delay is informed by an apparently sincere economic concern⁸⁵. Promoting and nosological arguments may seem paradoxical at times, though⁸⁶. Generally, it can be observed that there are cross-culturally universal tendencies to delay sex until puberty only when this is seen in the perspective of age disparate arrangements.

5.4.2 Infantile/Juvenile, or “Reverse” Pseudolice: Meaning and Transitions

What may appear cases of a paradoxical “sexual licence” for young age strata commonly is a spurious privilege since the infant’s capability for sexual acts is not regarded complete, and are nullified: it is not “about sexuality”. This implies the institution of prohibitions “at”

⁷⁶ Among the Mende of Sierra Leone, the Humui, or medicine society, forbids sexual intercourse with a girl under the age of puberty (Little).

⁷⁷ Afikpo boys are prohibited to have intercourse before circumcision, a reason to perform the operation early. When violating the rule, boys are thought to be weakened by the act. On Malekula, “[s]exual intercourse before puberty is strongly condemned by parents as being weakening” (Deacon). Among the Shuswap boys and girls were “not allowed to smoke or have sexual connection until after their periods of training. To indulge in the latter during their training would have a disastrous effect on their future, would render of no avail to the training they had undergone, and would make it impossible to obtain a manitou or become proficient in “mystery” for a long time. It would also make them heavyfooted, slow, and short-winded in after years” (Teit).

⁷⁸ Firth was told that Tikopia adults men “[...] do not interfere with little girls, “because if they do, the girl would die” ”.

⁷⁹ The male Mochuana (Becwana tribes) “is warned that sexual intercourse among the uncircumcised has the same connecting effect as when dogs indulge in it- that the internal organs of the woman are drawn out of her and many similar things too disgusting to mention” (Brown).

⁸⁰ Among the former Chaga, precircumcision intercourse was punished by staking the lovers to the ground in the forbidden position: “Almost the most heinous crime known to the Chagga people was sexual intercourse between a girl and an uncircumcised youth”, as it was believed to bring misfortune on the land (Dundas).

⁸¹ Valenge: “[...] if a marriage is consummated before a girl is physically fit, it is considered a disgrace and a misfortune, and believed to bring illness and vene death upon the girl” (Earthy). Thonga adolescent boys may have thelarchic girls as lovers but adult sex with prepubescents in either configuration is said to cause a disease (*cinsiluwe*) in both parties; even deafness and prepubertal death would be attributed to seduction. Among the Akan: “In times not so very remote, any laxity of morals prior to reaching puberty was commonly punished by death or expulsion from the clan of both the guilty parties; if a man had sexual intercourse with a young girl prior to the appearance of her first period it was considered as an offence for which the whole community would suffer” (Rattray).

⁸² This occurs in most cases of pubescent marriage. For explicit statements, see Akan, Vagla, Amhara (lower class), Wolof (though premenarchal intercourse mentioned by Faladé), Marutze, Chewa, [Abessinier], Valenge, Nso’, Koalib, Lozi, Luo, Nandi, Nubia, Fanti, Mambwe, Bari, Ibibio, Kanda, Nkundo Mongo, Bela, Lalia-Ngolu; Pakistan, Brahmin, Punjabi, Taiwan Hokkien (Sim pua), Chuuk (formerly), Islamic countries (Iran), Kurtachi, New Britain, Saramaca (for betrothed girls), Zorcas, Warao; Aranda, Malekula (Mewun, Big Nambas), Shipibo

⁸³ Tuareg, Luvale, Pokomo, Kunandaburi (Australia), India: Veda (debated; legally issued in 1846, 1891, and 1925); Adjeh (debated); Wolof (debated); Hausa (debated)

⁸⁴ “At the first manifestations of puberty [polluarche], [Bena] boys undergo an initiation ceremony during which they are given definite instruction regarding sexual intercourse. It is believed that if they do not go through these rites their virility will fail” (Culwick & Culwick).

⁸⁵ Cashinahua boys “[...] become sexually active as soon as their hunting skills permit them to compete for lovers with adult male hunters, but they are frequently warned to limit their sexual activity until they are older lest it inhibit both their physical growth and the development of their skills as hunters”.

⁸⁶ At puberty, a Wahehe boy “is given medicine to prevent his being impotent, but is warned against sexual intercourse with any woman before marriage, lest he contract a disease, or made her pregnant and be obliged to pay compensation” (Hodgson).

puberty⁸⁷. On Leopoldville Raymaekers⁸⁸ writes: “Il semble que les relations sexuelles ente jeunes gens débutent dès la plus tendre enfance sans pour autant, évidemment, que les jeunes réalisent pleinement la signification de l’acte qu’ils posent” (p8). Hougaard (1996:p87)⁸⁹ notes: “Aside from the overall lack of acceptability of intercourse, acceptability of sexual behavior decreases as the child grows older. This may suggest that several sexual behaviors among younger children are viewed as exploratory and thus are more acceptable”. Rather, sexual activities in younger age segments are subject to different interpretations than equivalent activities in older generations, rendering a linear comparison at odds with cultural definitions. In Africa, before puberty, especially before circumcision, the individual is “sexually insignificant; he, or she, is incapable of fecundation, and consequently without effect either magically or socially. This explains children’s freedom together, and the liberty an adult is allowed with a pre-adolescent child, or a woman with an uncircumcised boy” (Rachewiltz). This was illustratively demonstrated among the **Pangwe** where Tessmann (1904 [I]:p131)⁹⁰ noted that boys “who as is well known “have neither understanding nor shame” “ have sexual acquaintances with older men, who “are excused with the [...] assertion: a bele nnem e bango= “he has the heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys”. Tessmann’s further accounts of African interpretations of play/serious sex are valuable in this respect (§2.5.1).

The Nuer and Dogon, indeed, applied the prefertility argument, or, according to the elders, “What harm can they do? No babies will result!”. Reiss⁹¹ suggests this is not manifest in American society. When puberty approaches, a Baifa father would warn his daughter: “Jetzt ist das “*tepampam*” [native indication of “sexual rehearsals”] zu Ende!” “. Physiological anejaculation may have its adaptive qualities. In some societies, ejacularche ends copulatory fun motivated by the fear of impregnation. This is described for the Kanuri (Cohen, 1967:p61⁹²; 1971:p78)⁹³.

The argument made here is that cultures (a) lessen the subjective obligation for control by redefining social significance (hence, equivalence) via discursive recategorisation; and by doing so (b) erect a curricular sociological framework by which activities enter the realm of personal operationalisation. From this it follows that sexual behaviour develops from play to significant if and when this is communicated through socialisation interactions. Children understand and apply these messages to “claim” privileged positions. As Rachewiltz notes, “[m]any of the girls conceal their first menstruation, so as to enjoy their liberty a little longer”⁹⁴.

An illustrative case in this respect was presented by Krige and Krige (1947:p109)⁹⁵ mentioning “play intercourse” among the Lobedu. For this purpose, play villages were erected under the guise of *mandwane*, a most extensively described poly-ethnic (predominantly Bantu) sex play. The authors note

⁸⁷ E.g., Bakatla, Baifa, Tlingit, Dogons, Tebu, Burundi, Zulu, Bororo Fulani, Kanuri, Haiti, East Bay. The incest taboo is markedly loosened in some societies regarding juvenile coitus (Eddystone Island, parts of New Guinea, Chaga, Yolngu).

⁸⁸ Raymaekers, R. (1960) *Materiaux pour une Étude Sociologique de la Jeunesse Africaine du Milieu Coutumier de Leopoldville*. Leopoldville: Université Lovanium

⁸⁹ Haugaard, J. (1996) Sexual behaviors between children: professionals’ opinions and undergraduates’ recollections, *Fam’s in Soc: J Contemp Hum Services* 11:81-9

⁹⁰ Tessmann, G. (1904) *Die Pangwe*. Berlin: E Wasmuth. Vol. I; Murray and Roscoe (1998:p142)

⁹¹ Reiss, I. L. (1986b) A Sociological Journey into Sexuality, *J Marr & Fam* 48,2:233-42, at p235

⁹² Cohen, R. (1967) *The Kanuri of Bornu*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

⁹³ Cohen, R. (1971) *Dominance and Defiance: A Study of Marital Instability in an Islamic African Society*. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association

⁹⁴ See also Evaldsson, A. C. (2000) *Don’t Write That We’re Children! On the Dual Nature of Ethnographic Research with Preadolescents*. Paper for the American Sociological Association

⁹⁵ Krige, E. J. & Krige, J. D. (1947) *The Realm of a Rain-Queen*. London: International Institute of African languages and cultures

how, “not more than a few years ago”, sexual intercourse would take place as pubertal boys and girls (of marriageable age) claimed a role in the play. Parents apparently started to object to what was considered adolescents’ confiscation of the play scenario and contemporarily, “[t]he game [was] confined to children under the age of puberty”. They further note how “[...] masturbation among children is looked upon as “playing with” the sexual organs, among boys and girls it is indulged in less for its sexual satisfaction than to prove to their mates that they have reached maturity.

5.4.3 “Adolescence”, Initiation and Sexual Restraint: Selected SCCS Data

In [Table 1](#), and working within the negative (or *reversed negative*) formulations of SCCS definitions, it is suggested that societies can be trichotomised in their attitudinal reaction to the late childhood-adolescence transition (T2) when looking at either boy or girl. Note that in some three quarters of societies this reaction could not be rated as wholly curricularly consistent (i.e., is discontinuous).

Table 1 Sexual Restraint (SR) Patterns over T2 acc. SCCS Ratings (reduced sample Ia,b)⁹⁶

T2 Type	B (valid %)		G (valid %)		Mean %	
SR _{adol} =SR _{late ch’h} (0)	32 (22)		39 (27)		24	
SR _{adol} >SR _{late ch’h} (A)	57 (40)		55 (37)		38	
SR _{adol} <SR _{late ch’h} (-A)	54 (38)	111 (78)	54 (37)	109 (73)	37	76
N of societies checked	143		148			
Weighted Transition Score ($\Sigma T / N$)	0.19		0.56			

Note: The following Tables were hand-made adaptations from the original paper *Ethnology* studies. Comparable composite scales have been produced using the corrected Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (2002) for SPSS. T2(b)=0 when v332=(v829 reverse scale), T2(g)=0 when v333=(v830 reverse scale), and so forth.

As judged from [Table 2](#), the more typical boy/girl configurations of T2 transitions include A/A (b/g) and -A/-A, followed by 0/0. Note that these formula do not signify either the inexistence of a double standard, or numerically gender-equal transitions.

Table 2 Gender/Phase SR Patterns T2 acc. SCCS Ratings (reduced sample II)⁹⁷

		G			Σ
		0	A	-A	
B	0	16	5	7	28
	A	12	39	5	56

⁹⁶ All societies entered for which sufficient data were available for transition II for at least one sex.

⁹⁷ All societies entered for which sufficient data were available for transition II for both sexes.

	-A	8	7	37	52
Σ		36	49	51	136

Note: SPSS Crosstabs T2girls * T2boys

Looking at sexual restraint transitions between late childhood and adolescence in societies with a initiation identified as sexologically significant (*vide supra*), the expected decline (-A) for the indicated gender is not met in most cases⁹⁸. In the 15m+28f=43 cases⁹⁹, transition -A(II) was found twelve times ([Table 3](#)); it was unascertained in seven, and in 16 cases, figures indicate the opposite. This suggests the qualification of these initiations have not systematically been operationalised or used as an signifier for SCCS sexual restraint or SR transitions. Problems arise when considering predefined phases and timing variability of ceremonies; also, sources for both measures have not been specified, and might be differing. Sexual expression was only rated for adolescence, so that curricular arguments remain frustrated on this point.

Table 3 “Sexologically Significant” Initiation Ceremony vs SR T2 acc. SCCS Ratings

T2	B	G	Σ
A	4	12	16
-A	7	5	12
0	2	6	8
-/?	2	5	7
Ntot	15	28	43

Note: Sexologically relevant initiations (SCCS v529, 530) include those for which the following is true: v555 or v556={4,6}. For v559 or v560=3, 3 cases each are found, all -A.

High degrees of adolescent sexual “freedom” (“nonrestraint” plus activity level) were positively associated with the presence of initiation ceremonies for adolescents of either sex in highly stratified, mostly intensely agricultural societies, and further negatively with female but not male initiations in nonagricultural less stratified societies (Barry and Schlegel, 1986; all $p<.05$)¹⁰⁰; in all other subcategories (and in the total N), the correlation was less than significant. Sexual permissiveness (Ford & Beach), also, does not generally seem to be related with the presence of female initiation rites (Textor 386x382¹⁰¹; cf. Cohen, 1964:p192-3)¹⁰². Likewise, Barry and Schlegel (1984)¹⁰³ failed to find a significant interaction between the degree of general childhood-adolescence continuity and sexual restraint severity (SCCS).

⁹⁸ Matching cases include the Lozi, Mende (boy, not girls), Bambara, Azande, Otoro Nuba (boy, not girls), Santal, Toradja, Wadadika Palute, Eastern Apache, Siriono

⁹⁹ In 8 societies, both sexes are thus “initiated”. Nsoc=43

¹⁰⁰ Barry, H. III & Schlegel, A. (1986) Cultural Customs That Influence Sexual Freedom in Adolescence, *Ethnology* 25,2:151-62

¹⁰¹ Textor, R. B. (1967) *A Cross-Cultural Summary*. New Haven: HRAF Press

¹⁰² Cohen, Y. A. (1964) *The Transition from Childhood to Adolescence*. Chicago: Aldine

¹⁰³ Barry, H. III & Schlegel, A. (1984) Measurements of adolescent sexual behavior in the standard sample of societies, *Ethnology* 23,4:315-29

Table 4 “Adolescent”¹⁰⁴ Initiation Ceremony vs SR T2 acc. SCCS Ratings (full sample minus 5 societies)

	I+		I-		I?		Σ I+/-	
T2	B (%)	G (%)	B (%)	G (%)	B	G	B	G
A	16 (32)	25 (37)	36 (39)	23 (30)	1	1	53	49
-A	19 (38)	23 (34)	35 (38)	33 (43)	-	-	54	56
0	15 (30)	19 (28)	22 (24)	20 (26)	2	1	39	40
-/?	13	18	26	22	1	1	40	41
N I+/- (tot)	50 (63)	67 (85)	93 (119)	77 (98)	4	3	182 (186)	183 (186)

Note: SPSS Crosstabs: T2girls * v530 / T2boys * v529

As becomes apparent in [Table 4](#), and working within the (reversed) negatively defined SCCS concept, sexual restraint T2 types are fairly evenly distributed over both initiation societies and non initiation societies, and over both boy and girl initiation societies. This might suggest that cultures may be trichotomisable both in their sexual restraint in adolescence, and in their reaction to T2 (the onset of sexual maturity) regardless of gender or the presence of initiations.

5.4.4 Power, Age Stratification and Sexual Privilege

In selected societies ethnographers have pointed to the issue of power gradients governing age stratified patterns of affiliation and “sexual recruitment”. These power gradients control curricular issues of mate selection and mobility. Changes in boy initiation ages poses problems to traditional age structured heterosexual systems (e.g., Nuer)¹⁰⁵. The divergence of puberty and sexologically salient initiation is a tool used by the ruling age class to limit heterosexual competition: the sexual system represents a maximalisation of heterosexual access for the ruling age class at the expense of the younger generation.

¹⁰⁴ 22 boy or girl initiations are strictly speaking held “before genital maturation”, which in some societies would justify for the use of T1 transitions in sexual restraint. In the present data this is ignored.

¹⁰⁵ “Due to this decline in age of the average initiate, it was not uncommon during the early 1980s for boys to be scarified before reaching “puberty” (*juel*). The fact that many newly scarified “men” had to wait for years before enjoying the sexual privileges ritually conferred upon them at initiation while more and more bull-boys were actively engaging in courtship and marriage further complicated this situation. “Manhood” was increasingly considered a matter of degree rather than a definitive status. There were numerous occasions, for instance, in which I heard older men publicly ridicule and belittle these pubescent *wuuni* as no better than “boys” since they “still know nothing of girls”. I also heard such “men” derogatorily referred to by older men as *wuuni g[.]ri* (sing., *wut g[.]ri*), an expression that suggested that they were men only in the sense of bearing the marks of *gaar*. Similarly, a young man could praise himself in song by declaring “I’m not [merely] a *wut g[.]ri*,” thereby implying that he was, rather, a fully grown warrior, capable of assuming all the social privileges and responsibilities appropriate to “manhood”” (Hutchison).

5.4.4.1 Case: Initiation and Sexual Opportunity in an Age-Set Society

A case presentation may clarify the problems of rating both the reality of a pre-initiation taboo, and of the exact chronology of the facts. Especially interesting cases form age-set societies. The **Masai** being presented here, quite comparable cases are noted for the **Baraguyu**, **Nandi**, **Ariaal** and, probably, **N'Jemp**. Though not an obvious inclusion, Ford and Beach (1951:p188) listed the Masai (SCCS sexual restraint 2,2,2,2,-,-)¹⁰⁶ as permissive. They (p182) state also that intercourse is forbidden until puberty ceremonies, which is indeed confirmed by a series of communications¹⁰⁷. Whereas Fosbrooke noted that pre-circumcision taboo *with circumcised girls* (cf. Bagge) being "most strictly adhered to", Fox notes that the harsh punishment of sexual intercourse with a girl of *any sort* "is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys". Anyway, the exception seemed to have confirmed the rule (Leakey). Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually "as soon as they like", provided that they observe certain restrictions (Huntingford). Mann et al. stated that the ceremonies were held at age 8-12 (girls) and 12-15 (boys); the age of marriage for girls was given at 10-14, but males do not get married until age 30. The Masai practised foetal and infant betrothal (Merker, Leakey, Spencer). Thus, an extreme stratification by age dominated Masai sexarche. There is sexual intercourse of warriors with "immature" girls [*ditos*, ages 8-13]", in which the rules of consanguinity and affinity that regulate marriage are equally observed (Hollis, 1910:p479/1905:xvi, Hinde and Hinde, p68, 73, Johnston, II:p824; Leakey, p197-8, Merker, p65n, Talle). As a common legitimisation of such a situation, we find the Masai believing that the breasts of a girl can only develop when a man has had sex with her (Von Mitzlaff, p80, for the Tanzania Parakuyo; cf. Talle).

5.4.5 Changing Patterns

Many articles¹⁰⁸ and studies show that adolescence as a sexological concept is changing worldwide. These cases demonstrate differing phase-identified operationalisations of sexuality within cultures over a historical trajectory. Main factors have been identified as

¹⁰⁶ Sexologically relevant initiation indicated for boys, "after puberty". Ratings "pinpointed" for the Kisonko or S. Masai of Tanzania, around 1900. The focussed bibliography lists Merker (1904) as a first source.

¹⁰⁷ Saitoti, T. O. (?) *My Life as a Masai Warrior*; Jacobs, A. H. (1973) The pastoral Masai of Kenya and Tanzania, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p399-405; Von Mitzlaff, U. (1988) *Maasai Frauen*. Translated as *Maasai Women*. Trickster: Tanzania Publishing House, 1994; Hollis, A. C. (1905) *The Masai*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, page xvi. cf. Fischer, H. Th. (1952) *Huwelijk en Huwelijksmoraal bij Vreemde Volken*. Utrecht [Holland]: De Haan, p110; Hollis, A. C. (1910) A Note on the Masai System of Relationship and Other Matters Connected Therewith, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 40, Jul.-Dec.:473-82; Hinde, S. L. & Hinde, H. (1901) *The Last of the Masai*. London: William Heinemann; Leakey, L. S. B. (1930) Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colodny, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 60, Jan-Jun.:185-209; Merker, M. (1910) *The Masai: Ethnographic Monograph of an East African Semite People*. Second corrected and enlarged. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer. Original in German, 1904, *Die Masai*; Fosbrooke H. A. (1948) An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System, *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 26:1-50. Also referred to by Bernardi, B. (1955) The Age-system of the Masai, [eHRAF, p257-318, at p282n]; Fox, D. S. (1930) Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 60:447-65; Bagge, S. (1904) The circumcision ceremony among the Naivasha Masai, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 34, Jan-Jul:167-9; Huntingford, G. W. (1953) *The Southern Nilo-Hamites*. London: International African Institute; Talle, A. (Oct., 1983) Reproduction Control and the Role of Elders: The Case of the Massai in Kenya, in *Women and Reproduction* report from SAREC/SIDA seminar in Visby; Mann, G. V. et al. (1966) Survey of serologic evidence for syphilis among the Masai of Tanzania, *Public Health Reports* 81,6:513-8; Merker (1910:p58); Spencer, P. (1988) *The Maasai of Matapato: A Study of Rituals of Rebellion*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press

¹⁰⁸ Caldwell, J. C., Caldwell, P., Caldwell, B. K. & Pieris, I. (1998) The Construction of Adolescence in a Changing World: Implications for Sexuality, Reproduction, and Marriage, *Stud Fam Plann* 29,2:137-53; Mensch, B. S., Bagah, D., Clark, W. H. & Binka, F. (1999) The Changing Nature of Adolescence in the Kassena-Nankana District of Northern Ghana, *Stud Fam Plann* 30, 2:95-111; Ogbu, M. A. (1996) Girl to woman in a changing African society:

- (a) the disintegration of ritualised age stratification, replaced by school system based stratification, together with the inherent “lost” ritualised sexological age stratification;
- (b) the replacement of arranged and preferential mate selection systems by free mate choice systems;

These changes represent transitions between operationalising to nonoperationalising modes of sexual socialisation.

5.5 Summarising Notes

There are large differences between pre-industrial and industrial ways of growing up “sexually”, the interest of the immediate environment varying between an emphasis on the reproduction economy (fertility, exclusive and unambiguous paternity rights, fraternal interests), and on personalised social trajectories, whether explained materially (birth control, marital stability, parenthood) or in psychological terms (“psychosexual development”, “erotic lifestyle”, “sexual health”). These differences explain the placement of a parenting culture on both the global axis of promoting/restricting interventions, and the global axis of regulatory/nonregulatory attitudes at any given time in the sexual curriculum. Generally, economic development and stability predicts a non intervening attitude with a placement of puberty within a personalised curricular ideology controlled by lateral and indirect approaches (as well as an indirect pervasive conditioning before puberty), and anxieties only luxated and expressed with the occurrence of exceptional timing of puberty (§5.3.2.2). Paternal interests within selected pre-industrial economies cause the recognition of puberty to be placed within this scope, the form, direction and timing of regulation being directly linked to this interest (e.g., ritualised discontinuity).

The formalised or informal sexological operationalisation of puberty competes with variable circumstantial factors, including age hierarchy systems, age of marriage¹⁰⁹, presence and timing of betrothal, appreciation of early reproductive effort, as well as age of institutionally recognised reproductive milestones (which may or may not reflect actual ages¹¹⁰). With the absence of these institutionalised social organisations, and in gender egalitarian societies, the operational recognition is left to compete primarily with the girl’s training for future academic roles.

These factors determine whether there is a (mostly nonpublic) premature (prepubertal) operational recognition, an ad hoc ritualised public recognition (pubescent), a delayed (public or semipublic) recognition (post-pubertal, *permarital*), or an ambiguously chronologised recognition of “mature” sex. The operational recognition of pre-mature sexuality may depend on a variety of factors that reflect, anticipate or rationalise pubertal recognition or nonrecognition (enumerated elsewhere).

The impact of modernization and development on sexual socialization of adolescents, DAI-B 57(3-B): 1740; Worthman, C. M. & Whiting, J. W. (1987) Social change in adolescent sexual behavior, mate selection, and premarital pregnancy rates in a Kikuyu community, *Ethos* 15,2:145-65

¹⁰⁹ SCCS code 1252, average number of years between menarche and marriage ($N=51/186$)

¹¹⁰ In Ahafo, girls must not get pregnant before menarche is formally announced, a practice that may be delayed for years after its actual manifestation (Vervoorn, 1958).

5.x Appendix: Suggestions for Future Application of the Cross-Cultural Method

Ratings of sexual attitudes should be revised to fit antithetical frameworks, including (a) operationalisation and (b) sexological curricular continuity measures. These should be associated with the nature and purpose of institutions directed at regulating cultural agenda concerning reproductive capacity. The proposed scoring schema would thus reads:

Appendix: Schema for scoring sexological operationalisation of puberty

Puberty Scores (m/f)

- (1a,b) Puberty: Timing Score
- (2a,b) Male Puberty: Recognition: Salience Score
- (3a,b) Male Puberty: Recognition: Positive Modes Score
- (4a,b) Male Puberty: Recognition: Negative Modes Score

Institutional Sexological Discontinuity (Initiation) Scores (m/f)

- (5a,b) Institutional Sexological Discontinuity (Initiations, Marriage) : Timing Score (relative to puberty)
- (6a,b) Institutional Sexological Discontinuity: Positive Modes Score
- (7a,b) Institutional Sexological Discontinuity: Negative Modes Score
- (8a,b) Institutional Sexological Discontinuity: Positive Intervention Score
- (9a,b) Institutional Sexological Discontinuity: Negative Intervention Score

Summarising Scores

- (10a,b) Attitude to Puberty Score (composite 2-7)
- (11a,b) Institutional Sexological Discontinuity Composite Score (5-9)

Additional Scores:

Age of First Marriage, Nuptial Age
Age of First Betrothal

Suggested **Positive Modes**:, clothing, gender association, courtship requirement, arranged betrothal, arranged marriage, sexual behaviour prescriptions, sexual behaviour training, verbal clarification, prosexual morphological/physiological preparations /medicine, heterosexual identity/behaviour encouragement, generationally stratified institutional or approved coital initiation, approved subgenerational age stratified training environments (dormitories); productive biomedical sexology (promotive physiological qualities [poesis], preventative qualities, therapeutic qualities); public recognition / announcements (menarche, defloration)

Suggested **Negative Modes**: kinship avoidance rules, gender avoidance rules/ seclusion, age avoidance rules, residential change, sleeping/bathing/dressing arrangements, active prevention of instruction, deliberate misinformation, sexual behaviour proscriptions, contrasexual morphological/

physiological interventions /medicine, virginity examinations / requirements; destructive biomedical sexology (prevention of development, nosology).

6

Coitality, Koitomimesis and Coitarche. Construing “The” Sexual Act

“Ndize?”¹

Summary: A contemporary scripting approach (cf. §1.1.3.1) to human coitus development is used as a starting point for facilitating a demonstration of cross-cultural variations in prepubertal sexual behaviour. It is explored how the form and formality of such behaviour reflects social contextualisations used by children to actively shape legitimising scenarios. A modification of traditional script theory is explored in describing children as “using” legitimising scripts (e.g., “marriage”) that may facilitate the fulfilment of thus *hidden scripts* (genital behaviour). In this sense, children may *modify existing scenarios* to fit specific agendas, and, within such *ad hoc* scenarios, recruit potential partners. Coital *patterning* scripts (*curricular scripts*) are closely related to other patterning scripts, such as those addressing intimacy and pairbonding. Thus, form and timing of coitarche proper and coital patterning proper are shaped according to curricularising tendencies that, cross-culturally, are variably legitimised and organised. Genitality in nonprototypical (self-invented scenarios, nondyadicism) or protovariant (non-quasi “marital”) contexts were interpreted as allowing the situational generating and modification of scripts, as opposed to the adoption of complete stereotypical ones. It was further observed that legitimising categories as “play” may actively be used by pubescents in negotiating personal concepts of “sexarche”, as demonstrated by three ethnographic cases.

¹ See §6.1.3.1

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6.3 Discussion

6.x Addendum: Anatomising Coitarche

6.0 Introduction

Malinowski (1927:p56)² formulated a definite need for Melanesian children to organise contextuality around their sex. Be it marriage, picnics, or ceremonial trade exchanges, “[c]rude sensual pleasure alone does not seem to satisfy them; in [...] more elaborate games it must be blended with some imaginative and romantic interest”. Just how much this is part of a transmitted, perhaps hidden, stratified folklore appears to be as variable as its occurrence, yet common patterns can be recognised. “Playing marriage”, for instance, was documented by ethnographers in distant pasts. As cited by Buch (1882:p45)³:

“Ostrowsky [...] erzählt von einem Spiele, das von Mädchen [u]nd Burschen gespielt und Heiratsspiel genannt wird. Einige Bursche und Mädchen vertheilen sich paarweise; jeder Bursche wählt sich ein Mädchen, wobei es selbstverständlich nicht immer ohne Streit abgeht; jedes Paar versteckt sich dann an einem dunklen Orte, wo das Spiel dann sehr realistisch aufgefasst werden soll, darauf versammeln sich die “Familienpaare” alle wider zur Fortsetzung des Spieles”.

The numerous, remarkably uniform descriptions of this game in ethnographic communications are suggestive of a principle for human sexual development (e.g., John Money). To provide a rough baseline cross-cultural localisation for the human case in the formation of sexual behaviour trajectories, an extensive literature search provides some preliminary insights for an ethology, social construction and performance analysis of “coital development”.

6.1 Theoretical Preliminaries

6.1.1 Play Sexuality: Phenomenological to Operational Frameworks

Money and Ehrhardt⁴ described the identity of prepubertal sexuality as private rather than latent, and self-consolidating rather than complementary ([1996:p201]). Money repeatedly discussed the supposed place of behaviour in his (ethnologically informed) concept of lovemap formation⁵, but he never researched it beyond a single specifically motivated stay among Aborigines. As for an alternative formulation, Erikson⁶ postulated that “[s]ex play

² Malinowski, B. (1927) *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Inc. See also Jokisch, K. (1971) *Das Erziehungswesen der Trobriander*. Doctoral Dissertation. Bonn: Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, p140-4

³ Buch, M. (1882) *Die Wötjaken, eine Ethnologische Studie*. Stuttgart: Helsingfors

⁴ Money, J. & Ehrhardt, A. A. (1973/1996) *Man & Woman, Boy & Girl*. London: Aronson,

⁵ Money's coverage on “sexual rehearsal play” stretches over more than hundred relevant articles and monographs. His hypothesis is apparently not new, as it is shared by such celebrated figures as Wilhelm Reich, Wilhelm Stekel, Ernest Borneman, etc. Money's “sexual rehearsal play” theme surfaced in a 1970 article, although human “coital play” was mentioned before in the 1960s. Money's lovemap formation theory recognises two periods, of which only the second is discussed here. It this stage, play sexuality and courtship routines would form the basis of a sexual orientation scenario to be consolidated around or even before age eight. Data in support of this important theorem are never gathered.

⁶ Erikson, E. (1950/1963) *Childhood and Society*. Second, rev. & enl. ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

ends when the final act begins, narrowing choice, dictating tempo, and giving reign to “nature” ” ([1963:p214]). Of course, this is as far from an operationalisation as it gets. A phenomenological baseline, however, is lacking⁷.

It is reasonable to observe on the outset that hardly any material reviewed here is of satisfactory quality to justify extensive hypothesis testing. Still, ethnosexual data on childhood are primarily presented for the purpose of proving specific theses on the human situation. One such hypothesis, for instance, holds that children’s experimental pleasures “embody the political logic of local sexualities” (Streicker, 1993)⁸. Thus, “[w]itnessing heterosexual relations does not necessarily make little boys want to experience heterosex, but to perform penetrative sex”. According to this constructionist perspective, coitus is a function of learning variables that define the contours and malleability that are to contain both its possible and its probable occurrence. That is, children “operationalise” (legitimise, authorise, institutionalise) coitus on the basis of its contextual significance: the actors, the motives, the circumstances, the story. Within this framework, children may not be able to do “Coitus” by the grace of their being children: the “actor” requirements are not met, and the thing is play, not coitus. A sexologist, thus, has to examine the discursive relation between the application of scripts and the performance (renegotiation) of *transmitted* scripts.

6.1.2 Scripting Cultural Copulation: Agents and Structure

The fundamentals of “script” theory of “coitus” (e.g., Gagnon) being followed here predict that nothing coitally is likely to take place “[w]ithout the proper elements of a script that defines the situation, names the actors, and plots the behavior”. Thus providing a starting definition for the following exploration, coitus (as any behaviour) takes place if and when existing scenarios are utilised to legitimise its taking place, this being effected by identification, and application of existing complementary roles.

Judging from ethnographic accounts, genital play is either facilitated by or seen as a part of an integral role-play scenario, or requires participants to assume existing role configurations to legitimise the temporary pairbonding commitment needed for such contacts. One assumes this use of collateral legitimisation (either to possible partners or authority figures) gradually to erode under the development of a personality that dismisses “as-if” sexualities as obsolete. Rather, the collateral discourse becomes central, actors, at least theoretically, becoming acting sexual beings.

⁷ Some ethnologists have given some consideration to its identity (notably Tessmann), but it seems nowhere to be discussed in its own light. Stephens (1962:p19-24) broadly divided what he considered “obvious sexual expressions” in three spheres: “(1) sex play (genital contact or exhibitionism); (2) other kinds of body contact, resulting in apparent sexual pleasure; (3) “acting out” or play, which- although it is not sex play- seems to give clear signs of sexual preoccupation”. The limitations of these formulations are broad. A recent upsurge in typology building has its impetus in the delineation of “abusive” versus “normative” spectra in the US. Many such typologies have been designed, predominantly for clinical usage. For instance, Lamb and Cloakley (1993) proposed the following “normative” (nonabusive) typology for North-American female undergraduates: playing doctor, exposure, experiments in stimulation, kissing games, fantasy sexual play, and, interestingly, “other”. One is also reminded of the nine erotic games listed by Adler (1911).

⁸ Streicker, J. (1993) Sexuality, Power, and Social Order in Cartagena, Columbia, *Ethnology* 32,4:359-74

Zoologists have sufficiently delineated the occurrence and significance of preadult and prereproductive coitus in several primates⁹. In humans, the hybrid category of “sex play” is a social construct informed by the invocation of both species of behaviour (e.g., Huizinga, 1964:p43)¹⁰. There are, however, theoretical barriers to the semantics involved (G. H. Mead)¹¹. More importantly, there is the issue of agency. The behaviours here reviewed are almost invariably “child-structured”, in the sense of being created “on their own” and “out of sight”; and, as Schwartzman¹² notes while introducing Goldman’s admirable effort, the recognition and study of this species of play is a recent accomplishment within the anthropological field, as “In general [...] research on pretend play has failed to tease out the depths and elaborations that children seem capable of”¹³. However impossible a detailed analysis of “sex play”, the current paper encircles the scene by listing observed antecedents, environments, local organization, attitudinal ramifications, authoritative categorisation, etc., to arrive at a tentative localisation of sex-as-play within a format that accommodates agency as well as structural conditionality. No attempt was made to test or apply existing theoretical frameworks of play, or to address critically the methodological foundations for the observations reviewed below.

6.1.3 Play Coitus vs Coitarche

6.1.3.0 Academics on “Firsts”

According to Siegel and Shaughnessy (1995)¹⁴, American sexual and social “firsts” would be “imbued with an inordinate amount of emotional investment”. Societies (that is, individuals as a collective¹⁵) differ in their rigidity in the thematic dramatising of discourses woven around “the” “coitus”: the initiation, the transition, the “first time”. Over the ethnographic spectrum, this institutionalisation of coitus is often a ritually dramatised index of social transitions, persona and transactions.

Lambek (1983)¹⁶ explored the social construction of femaleness among the Islamic Malagasy speakers of Mayotte, Comoro Islands, in the western Indian Ocean. Lambek argued that “defloration in the

⁹ Preparatory overviews.

¹⁰ Huizinga, J. (1964) *Homo Ludens*. Transl. Boston: The Beacon Press. Analysing terms associated with eroticism, Huizinga notes that “the term ‘play’ is specially or even exclusively reserved for erotic relationships falling outside the social norms.

¹¹ Mead, G. H. (1934) *Mind, Self, and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. According to Mead, the “socialised self” goes through a *preparatory*, *play* and *game* stage, imitation being based on a primary lack of understanding of the other, a concept of a role associated with “significant others”, and a concept of a role associated with a “generalised other”. This explains why sexual expressions can hardly be labelled as “play” before age 2, or as “games” before age 4 to 5.

¹² Schwartzman, H. B. (1998) Foreword, to Goldman, L. R., *Child’s Play: Myth, Mimesis and Make-Believe*. Oxford / New York: Berg, pages xi-xiv. Goldman’s work does not include unambiguously “sexual” behaviour categories.

¹³ Cohen, D. (1993) *Development of Play*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge, p81

¹⁴ Siegel, J. & Shaughnessy, M. F. (1995) There’s a First Time for Everything: Understanding Adolescence, *Adolescence* 30(117):217-21

¹⁵ Thompson, Sh. (1990) Putting a big thing into a little hole: Teenage girls’ accounts of sexual initiation, *J Sex Res* 27,3: 341-61. Cf. Thompson, Sh. (1994) Changing lives, changing genres: Teenage girls’ narratives about sex and romance, 1978-1986, in Rossi, A. S. (Ed.) *Sexuality across the Life Course*. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Mental Health and Development: Studies on Successful Midlife Development. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p209-32

¹⁶ Lambek, M. (1983) Virgin Marriage and the Autonomy of Women in Mayotte, *Signs* 9,2:264-81

appropriate ritual context has a complex but essentially positive meaning for women, transforming child into adult, and expressing both her morality and the pleasures of adult sexuality. Moreover, when the bride's role in preserving her virginity until the wedding is considered, her active role in the exchange process can be understood. The gifts she receives represent recognition of her as a person. The wedding is a major step in the development of material, social, and psychological autonomy".

Ethnohistorically speaking, patterned, roughly age-symmetric, coital curricula are regularly begun before puberty, although its social recognition may be variable. In a number of societies, this seems socially equated with "adolescent" coitus, in others it is seen as "play". In still others, the timing of play-to-practice transitions remains indefinite, unexplored or ambiguous¹⁷, and this may well reflect native interpretations. In some societies, an "adolescent" recognition may or may not be ensured by the fact that the other party is an adolescent or adult. Homosexual encounters seem to allude to a "gay" status even in full adulthood. Both phases and categories of sexual behaviour attract individual and societal claims to their respective political status ("fun", "first", etc.).

Venturing along Erikson's idiom, a workable operationalisation of play/debut differences seems to be informed by *patterning*.

Meyer-Bahlburg (1977)¹⁸ argued that "sociosexual play" in childhood is *only sporadic and lacks the regularity* of adolescent or adult life. According to the author, "[i]t should be emphasized that all descriptive terms used like "homosexual play" or "coital play" are strictly defined in terms of overt behavior and do not imply that the child who engages in some such behavior necessarily acts with the same or a similar set of motives as the adult would" (p363, *ital.add.*). Why should this be emphasised? Zabin, Smith et al. (1986)¹⁹ place the following remark between parentheses: "Very early coital incidents [that is, retrospective self-reports], preceding even [menarchal/polluarchal] changes, are extremely rare [no references here], are less regularly distributed [than at a later date], and should probably be interpreted as *random historical events*" (*ital.add.*).

As developing before puberty, clinicians would argue that "[s]exual scripts can be considered the blueprints of sexual meaning, which will only be put into practice at a later age"²⁰. Expert sexologists, thus, operationalise "coitarche" (sexarche) by its taking place within some sequentiality, thought to be associated with some conscious²¹ social agenda, and according to some biological imperative.

In cases where coital patterning is apparently prepubertal, transitions are only broadly identifiable. Malinowski, sketching Trobriand coital transitions (1929:p63-7), locates its organisation in sexual segregation, a higher salience on dyadic stability, and a shift in residence necessitated "[...] now that amorous intercourse has become a passion instead of a game"; "[t]hus adolescence marks the transition between infantile and playful sexualities and those serious permanent relations which precede marriage" [note that the Trobrianders did not observe formal sexologically relevant initiation rites]. Specifically,

¹⁷ Examples include the Boloki, Azmiba, Lake Nyasa, Bakongo, Fan, Ababoua

¹⁸ Meyer-Bahlburg, H. F. (1977) Puberty, in Money, J. & Musaph, H. (Eds.) *Handbook of Sexology*. Amsterdam [etc.]: Excerpta Medica

¹⁹ Zabin, L. S., Hirsch, M. B., Smith, E. A. & Hardy, J. B. (1986) Ages of physical maturation and first intercourse in black teenage males and females, *Demography* 23,4:595-605

²⁰ Goozen, S. H. M. van, Cohen-Kettenis, P. T., Matthys, W. & Engeland, H. van (2002) Preference for aggressive and sexual stimuli in children with disruptive behavior disorder and normal controls, *Arch Sex Behav* 31,3:247-53, at p248

²¹ "The girl in jumping rope acts out the to and fro movement of the man during sex intercourse. Her own body takes the part of the active man, while the swinging rope imitates her own body adjusting to the movement of the man's. In this game, the girl acts both the role of the man and of the woman". Sonnenberg, M. (1955) Girls jumping rope, *Psychoanalysis* 3,3:57-62

“[a]s the boy or girl enters upon adolescence the nature of his or her sexual activity becomes more serious. It ceases to be mere child’s play and assumes a prominent place among life’s interests. What was before an unstable relation culminating in an exchange of erotic manipulation or an immature sexual act becomes now an absorbing passion, and a matter for serious endeavour. An adolescent gets definitely attached to a given person, wishes to possess her, works purposefully towards this goal, plans to reach the fulfilment of his desires by magical and other means, and finally rejoices in achievement. I have seen young people of this age grow positively miserable through ill-success in love. This stage, in fact, differs from the one before in that personal preference has now come into play and with it a tendency towards a greater permanence in intrigue”.

Using an auctorial perspective, Malinowski does not examine how transitions are reflected upon by adolescents themselves. This counterpart of social organisation is examined in more detail for contemporary Xhosa, which case (**Africa, →Xhosa**) as a whole is interesting in discussing early sexual behaviour transitions. Two more African cases are included to further illustrate the matter.

6.1.3.1 *Nothing Serious to Real I: The Xhosa / Undize Case*

Identifying a multifactorially determined “shift away from parental mediation of sexual enculturation towards a youth and peer-based framework for the same”, Ntlabati, Kelly and Mankayi (2001; cf. Kelly and Parker, 2000:p31-3)²² note how *Undize*, hide-and-seek²³, was traditionally played in a deep rural area of the Eastern Cape in South Africa by children aged 7 to the early teens. The game acquired a coital, as well as a more invariably sexual, level over the past 50 years. This has strained the definition of curricular categories (cf. Stradler)²⁴:

“[...] there used to be a strong distinction between sexual experimentation and sexual intercourse. This distinction appears to have blurred so that sexual experimentation much more rapidly evolves into intercourse, to the extent that *Undize* now involves sexual penetration, albeit somewhere between experimentation and fully-fledged, passion-driven intercourse”.

Thus, while “[l]earning about sex through play is hardly unusual, but in this case the play tends towards reality”. This discourse is suggested by the respondents’ persistent minimalising of the occurrences:

Female: “[...] it was nothing serious at that stage [12 a 13 to 15]” / “[...] it was not really serious. There was penetration but there was no ejaculation. We were just doing it and we didn’t even experience any

²² Cf. Kelly, K. & Parker, W. (Nov., 2000) *Communities of Practice: Contextual Mediators of Youth Response to HIV/AIDS*. Sentinel Site Monitoring and Evaluation Project. Stage Two Report, Commissioned by *Beyond Awareness Campaign*, HIV/AIDS and STD Directorate, Dept of Health

²³ *Undize*. Children call out “Ndize?” Can I come? The game was mentioned in Nelson Mandela’s 1994 autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*. New York: Little, Brown & Co. “Usually the boys played among themselves, but we sometimes allowed our sisters to join us. Boys and girls would play games like ndize (hide and-seek) and icekwa (touch-and-run). But the game I most enjoyed playing with the girls was what we called khetha, or choose-the-one-you-like. This was not so much an organized game, but a spur-of-the-moment sport that took place when we accosted a group of girls our own age and demanded that each select the boy she loved. Our rules dictated that the girl’s choice be respected and once she had chosen her favorite, she was free to continue on her journey escorted by the lucky boy she loved. But the girls were nimble-witted--far cleverer than we doltish lads--and would often confer among themselves and choose one boy, usually the plainest fellow, and then tease him all the way home”.

²⁴ See also Stadler, J. (1998) *Sex as Play and as Procreation: Adolescent Constructions of Sexuality in the Northern Province of South Africa*. 4th Reproductive Health Priorities Conference, Aug 18 - 21. Johannesburg, South Africa

form of pleasure. Hence I say it was nothing serious". Male: "I was 15 and this was nothing serious. We were just playing *Undize*".

These ramifications are significant enough to put data such as "[a]n astonishing 22% had their first sexual experience at or below the age of 11 years" on misty grounds (note that the authors omit to define their measure of "*sexual debut*").

Another account of Xhosa coitarche performances and negotiations leaves out games entirely, instead identifying intercourse as a performance indicative of "love" and "growing up":

"First sexual encounters were mostly reported to have occurred at a young age, often 12 years, with a male partner who was older by about five years. The consistently reported pattern was that women accepted male requests to establish a liaison, as revealed in the words 'he asked me if we could love each other and then I agreed'. To these young women, agreement to love was equated specifically with having penetrative intercourse and being available sexually. This equation clearly derived from their male partners, who told the women that sex was the 'purpose' of being 'in love', that people 'in love' must have sex 'as often as possible', and that sexual intercourse was 'what grown-ups do'. These constructions of love, apparently defined entirely by men, constituted the major reason to begin and continue sexual activity for the teenage women"²⁵.

However, the researchers (1997)²⁶ note that "[m]any of the adolescents described sex as 'playing'. One girl explained that some teenagers (particularly those from poor families) had sex frequently because there were no other activities available to them: 'it starts with the girls because we are lost. You just do a thing, not thinking about the after-effects; it's nice to go with boys' ". Adding to the confusion, male adolescents' sexuality discourse is complicated with themes of violence and infidelity, boys arguing they are "played with"²⁷ by girls in their love trajectories.

Leaving aside illustrative additional papers²⁸, the above attempt to delineate the use of "play" in Xhosa adolescent sexuality discourses demonstrates a number of issues, including:

- minimalisation of curricular sex (it's only *play*);
- self-curricularisation (back then it was *play*; now, it is *different*);
- negotiation of sexual relations (why can't we, it's just having *fun*);
- justification of political positions (he *toys* me around, I should dump him).

6.1.3.2 *Nothing Serious to Real II: The Pangwe Case*

Adding to Tessmann's own negotiations on the matter (§2.5.1), Pangwe teenagers up to their twenties respond to the question of their having had coitus with a stereotyped apology: "ich

²⁵ Wood, K., Maforah, F. & Jewkes, R. (1996) *Sex, Violence and Constructions of Love Among Xhosa Adolescents: Putting Violence on the Sexuality Education Agenda*. MRC Technical report, Medical Research Council, Cape Town, p3

²⁶ Wood, K., Maepa, J. & Jewkes, R. (1997) *Adolescent Sex and Contraceptive Experiences: Perspectives of Teenagers and Clinic Nurses in the Northern Province*. MRC Technical Report, Pretoria, p11, 35

²⁷ Wood, K. & Jewkes, R. (1998) *'Love is a Dangerous Thing': Micro-Dynamics of Violence in Sexual Relationships of Young People in Umtata*. Medical Research Council Technical Report: Pretoria, p10, 24

²⁸ E.g., Collins, T. & Stadler, J. (2001) *Love, Passion and Play: Sexual Meaning among Youth in the Northern Province of South Africa*. Paper presented at International Conference, *AIDS in Context*, April 4-7, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

bin ein Kind, d. h. unschuldig, ich weiß nichts vom Geschlechtsverkehr; er sicherte sich so das milde Urteil, mit dem wir "Dummejungenstreiche" abtun". To put this in perspective, coital imitations start at age 5, and with 8-9 years this family play is "schon nichts weiter als ein zielbewußter Geschlechtsverkehr" still known as child's play. Though less well documented as the **Xhosa** case, the project appears to be essentially identical: to contest hegemonic labelling curricula and to enjoy the liberties of an original "pseudolice" (§5.4.2).

6.1.3.3 *Nothing Serious to Real III: The Kunyenga Case*

Kunyenga is homosexual activity of Tanzanian street boys (Rajani and Kudrati; Lockhart). Rajani and Kudrati argued that *Kunyenga* functions as an "initiation rite", while Lockhart (2002) argued for its transitory status:

"[h]omosexual practices are rooted in a complex set of behaviors and ideologies known as kunyenga, which is a situated aspect of life on the streets and helps maintain the boys' strong dependence on one another. A key aspect of the boys' sexual careers involves a decrease in kunyenga activity as they approach the age of 18 and an increase in heterosexual encounters after the age of 11. There appears to be a critical period between these ages in which heterosexual and kunyenga activities overlap".

6.1.3.4 *Nothing Serious to Real IV: The Troca-Troca Case*

Parker (1995:p245-6) notes that "among *rapazes* [boys or young men] same-sex play and exploration is almost institutionalized through games such as *troca-troca* (turn-taking), in which two (or more) boys take turns, each inserting his penis in his partner's anus". [...] Assuming that the cultural system has, in fact, successfully carried out its mandate, [...] such early adolescent play is quite explicitly not expected to disrupt fundamentally the process of development that will ultimately transform the *rapaz* into an active home and the *moça* [girl] into a passive *mulher* [woman]".

6.1.4 *Pre-Coitalism in Coitocentric Society: Mistaken Sex and Ridiculous Coitus*

Lichtenstein²⁹ argued that "economic and cultural factors weigh heavily on a young women's ability to "be" a virgin", and that "virginity discourse is laden with middle-class assumptions about selfempowerment and achievement". Lying at the centre of adolescent discourses, first vaginal intercourse is an attractor of symbolic status, variable and ambiguous as may be³⁰. Medical ("abstinence") curricula have rightly questioned (and, thus,

²⁹ Lichtenstein, B. (2000) Virginity Discourse in the AIDS Era: A Case Analysis of Sexual Initiation Aftershock, *NWSA J* 12,2:52-69

³⁰ Carpenter, L. M. (2002) Gender and the meaning and experience of virginity loss in the contemporary United States, *Gender & Society* 16,3:345-65; Carpenter, L. M. (2001) The first time/das erstes mal: Approaches to virginity loss in U. S. and German teen magazines *Youth & Society* 33,1:31-61; Carpenter, L. M. (2001) The ambiguity of "having sex": The subjective experience of virginity loss in the United States, *J Sex Res* 38,2:127-39;

contributed to the salience of) what goes and does not go as “sex” or “abstinence”³¹. Coitarche represents the most central, clinically and medically most relevant, and hence the most significant social “first” in the discourse on human “sexual” curriculum. Coitus occupies a central place in Western erotic folklore, informing its *scientia* as it did *ars*. In a paper titled “Getting Started on Sexual Behavior”, Udry and Campbell (1994)³² relate:

“Although most people have sexual feelings and sexual thoughts, some autoinduced sexual experience [sic], and some range of nongenital erotic body contact before experiencing coitus, coitus is a simple identification of starting. Maybe we start here because, as Ira Reiss [33] says, Western sex is coitus centered, as contrasted to some imaginary society that is centered on something else” (p187).

The sexual life of children in coitocentric societies presents an obvious problem (explanandum): its noncoital form. [Other problems, including nonheterosexuality, nonallosexuality, and cross-species issues, will be discussed elsewhere³⁴] Especially apparent in anecdotal material on nonnative North America, for which culture descriptive accounts are most voluminous, children, in the absence of curricular coverage, mistake what is referred to as “sex” for what they know to be associated with the courtship routine and the reproductive “cycle”. The concept of “having sex” may be subject to diverse associations even in later life³⁵. The early indefinite character of “sex” results in the mimesis of courtship practices and public or semi-public “foreplay” as if representing “the sex act”, “the” coitus (S. Freud’s interpretation allows a reverse relation), representing a phase where sexual behaviour is *in its appearance* “uninformed” or “mistaken”, and therefore *ridiculous*³⁶: courtship is aborted in preliminary phases, or “skips” essential preliminaries. Phases of the reproductive life are copied in isolation, conform children’s fragmentary technology. Functional courtship routines are gradually pieced together from scattered data, while in the mean time, events are dysfunctional because of their incomplete, direct (offensive) nature. Children, or so it may seem, suffer from courtship “disorders”³⁷ or deficiencies, making them potential exhibitionists, frotteurists, voyeurists and rapists. This is so where life phase

Carpenter, L. M. (2000) Virgin territories: the social construction of virginity loss in the contemporary United States, DAI-A 60,7, Jan,2692-A. See also Blobel, R. & Silaschi, S. (1994) Das erste Mal (I); die ersten sexuellen Erfahrungen der Frau, *Sexualmedizin* 16,10:284-6; Lowry, T. P. (1982) First coitus, *Med Asp Hum Sex* 3,5:91-7; Lowry, T. P. (1982) First coitus, *Br J Sex Med* 9(91):31-3; Amuchástegui Herrera, A. (1999) Dialogue and the negotiation of meaning: Constructions of virginity in Mexico, *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 1,1:79-93. Also Amuchástegui Herrera, A. (1994) *El Significado de la Virginidad y la Iniciación Sexual para Jóvenes Mexicanos*. Reporte de investigación. The Population Council/UAM-Xochimilco, México; Amuchástegui Herrera, A. (1996) El significado de la virginidad y la iniciación sexual: Un relato de investigación, in Szasz, I. & Susana, L. (Eds.) *Para Comprender la Subjetividad: Investigación Cualitativa en Salud Reproductiva y Sexualidad*. México: El Colegio de México, p137-72; Amuchástegui Herrera, A. (1998) La dimensión moral de la sexualidad y de la virginidad en las culturas híbridas Mexicanas, *Relaciones* 19(74):101-34; Amuchástegui Herrera, A. (2001) *Virginidad e Iniciación Sexual: Experiencias y Significados*. EDAMEX, S.A. de C.V. y Population Council; Ntlabati, Kelly, K. & Mankayi, A. (April, 2001) *The First Time: An Oral History of Sexual Debut in a Deep Rural Area*. Conference presentation, *AIDS in Context* Conference, University of the Witwatersrand

³¹ E.g., Remez, L. (2000) Oral Sex Among Adolescents: Is It Sex or Is It Abstinence? *Fam Plann Perspect* 32,6:298-304

³² Udry, J. R. & Campbell, B. C. (1994) Getting started on sexual behavior, in Rossi, A. S. (Ed.) *Sexuality Across the Life Course*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, p187-207

³³ Cf. Weiss, I. (1960) *Premarital Sexual Standards in America*. New York: Macmillan. Indeed, the category “premarital” sex has never been understood as applying to anything but coitus, and adolescence.

³⁴ [Chapter 8](#).

³⁵ Pitts, M. & Rahman, Q. (2001) Which Behaviors Constitute “Having Sex” Among University Students in the UK?, *Arch Sex Behav* 30,2:169-76

³⁶ Early childhood intercourse is commonly received as “funny”, “amusing”, or at least smile-provoking in the adult or parental generation (Tuareg, Azande, Ijo, Bantu tribes, Baushi, Semai, Australian aborigines, Santal, Lepcha, Baiga, Dusun, New Guinea (Gimi, Eipo [boys], Trobrianders, Bimin-Kuskusmin, Batanabura), Qipi, Copper Inuit, New Britain, Marquesans, Tahitians, Pukapukans). The reaction is both phase- and culture-specific.

³⁷ Freund, K., Scher, H. & Hucker, S. (1983) The courtship disorders, *Arch Sex Behav* 12:369-79

stratification inhibits anticipating, *ad hoc* or *post hoc* parental correction (to functional patterns) or anticipating, *ad hoc*³⁸ or *post hoc* suggestions.

6.2 Construing Coitus and Coitality: An Ethnographic Exploration

6.2.1 Social Recognition of Pre-Formal Coitus: The Name of the Game

Metropolitan adolescent sexual scenes have been characterised by qualifications as “game”, which, according to Anderson, could be mediated by such institutions as “rap”³⁹. The use of the category clearly is “emic” to the scene, when arguing from a subculturalist perspective. Within an “etic” domain, children’s coital fun is given a specific expression in a number of ethnographies, suggesting an unambiguous appraisal of pre-institutional coitus/sex play scenarios, forms, opportunities or status. In European folklore the marriage and doctor role-playing are stereotypically occurring games, for which the genital *Leitmotif* is stereotypically acknowledged. The Trobrianders speak of *mwaygini kwayta*, “copulation amusement” (Malinowski), whereas the Zulu speak of *ukwenza isiNcogolo*, or playful sexual intercourse (Krige). Among some Aboriginal Australian tribes (Unambal and Worora) a specific expression (*jan jan*) exists for intercourse before initiation (Lommel). The games that become potentially *koiomimic* have specific names in several societies, especially in Africa⁴⁰. One variety is especially well described as being played by Bantu speaking children (e.g., Venda, Bemba)⁴¹.

In more than incidental cases, coitarche proper is marked by social recognition even though sexual behaviour is a patterned phenomenon prior to its occurrence. Thus, “**Aymara** children are aware of genital sexuality from earliest childhood”. Nevertheless, they have an expression for “coitarche”: *lliukattatha* (La Barre). In some attempts to establish “coitarche” ages, this leads to problems in defining the variable (e.g., **Ghana** acc. Bleek; **Jamaica** acc. Eggleston et al.)⁴². This used to be especially true for Australian Aborigines, where “even before puberty children are making crude sexual experiments”, that is, do coitus. Nevertheless, definite statements about the delay of conjugal “coitarche” until puberty are recorded for some tribes (though prepubertal commencement might have been the rule).

Apart from the mentioned selected cases little is known about children’s negotiation over semantic representation of genital behaviour. Therefore, the current “closing in” on sex play as a cultural

³⁸ “Sideline” instruction would have been the case among the Australian natives, where onlookers “make lewd and suggestive comments”.

³⁹ Anderson, E. (1989) Sex codes and family life among inner-city youths, *Annals Am Acad Political & Social Studies* 501:59-78 / Wilson, W. J. (Ed.) *The Ghetto Underclass*.

⁴⁰ Examples are found for the Kanuri, Baifa, Pangwe / Fan, Santal, Pedi, Xhosa, Ila, Baushi, Batetela, Alur, northern Basukuma, Shona, Thonga, Venda, Bemba, and in Tanzania; also Sharanahua

⁴¹ *Mantlewane* (Seligman), or *mandwane* (Krige and Krige) or *mantlantlwane* (Pitje), or *mantloana*, or housie-housie (Gevisser and Cameron), and *masanje* (Stannus) or *mansansa* (Kokonge and Erny), *masansa* (Maxwell) or perhaps *mahundwani* (“miniature village”) (Stayt).

⁴² Another reason for uncertainty was offered by Meekers, D. (1995) Immaculate conceptions in sub-saharan Africa: exploratory analysis of inconsistencies in the timing of first sexual intercourse and first birth, *Soc Biol* 42,3-4:151-61

performance will take place from diverse angles that, hypothetically, contribute to the early social construction of coitus: its reference to the biosocial realm (§6.2.2), hegemonic scenarios, etc.

6.2.2 Koitomimesis and the Reproductive Cycle: Coitus and Reproductive Scripts

Childhood *koitomimesis*⁴³ is rarely described as being integrated in a full (imagined) reproductive cycle; *cyesomimesis* (pregnancy)⁴⁴, “*gennomimesis*” (labour) and *galactomimesis* (lactation) are usually played out in separation, while impregnation rarely seems part of the narrative⁴⁵. Mead: “Detailed symbolic analysis of small children’s play suggests that little boys who take their cues from adult life play at copulation, and play at pregnancy, but they play less at impregnation, at a sequence that they initiate and another must finish”. The impregnation or “reproduction” games are indeed rare⁴⁶, but this finding is probably flawed with the problematic nature of studying children’s coital narratives.

Given the universally problematic nature of educating coitus, even associated items (breastfeeding⁴⁷, labour, pregnancy⁴⁸) are omitted from formal teaching. Thus, children act upon known isolated items of what may to adults be “complete” scripts. This may include children selecting or rejecting partial scripts.

6.2.3 Husband and Wife, etc.

Playing marriage was mentioned in the bible (Math.11:16-7; as cited by Patai, 1960:p186)⁴⁹, and is known to have been played with sexual intents by 18th century European children (Van Ussel, 1968 [1971:p171-2]). Playing house might be seen in children as young as age two (Parten, 1933)⁵⁰.

The most frequent play scenario in which some form of coitus was noted is the married dyad. The sexual nature of the game is variable, but some ethnographers feel compelled to comment on it even in the negative⁵¹. It has been documented on all continents, as it is something of an ethnographic cliché⁵². Marriage is taken literally in the wedding or bride-

⁴³ From *koite* meaning “bed”, “marriage bed”. In a less formal way, the use of the term *koite* may stretch to playing the active role in copulation. Often there is no argument for this term, since its character lacks the subjective quality of imitation.

⁴⁴ Money once published a photographic representation of this form. It is only infrequently regarded as “sexual” by surveyors. The *Child Sexual Behavior Inventory* (Friedrich et al.) never included it.

⁴⁵ Of course, the imitation of child-rearing behaviour is near universal, as is *morphological teleiomimicry* (mammae=thelomimicry, pubes, barba, etc.). In some pre-industrial organisations children will stage-act initiation rites before their time, which may include mock circumcision and actual preputial conditioning to hasten sexual privileges with initiated women. Women, on the other hand, are widely reported to practice paedomimic techniques in the attempt of attracting a spouse.

⁴⁶ Cases are reported for the Kanuri, Pukapuka, Luo, and Comanche

⁴⁷ Gheerbrant, A. (1954) *Journey to the Far Amazon*. New York: Simon & Schuster, p314: “[...] the little girls of the tribe [Guaharibo] would often try to imitate their mothers and offer their little nipples to their brothers and cousins”.

⁴⁸ E.g., Dinslage, S. (1986) *Kinder der Lyela*. Hohenschäftlarn: K. Renner, p249-52; Price, S. (1993) *Co-wives and Calabashes*. 2nd ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p13-4

⁴⁹ Patai, R. (1960) *Family, Love and the Bible*. London: MacGibbon & Kee

⁵⁰ Parten, M. B. (1933) Social play among preschool children, *J Abnorm & Soc Psychol* 28:136-47

⁵¹ “Uitgesproken sexuele handeligen waren hierbij niet te constateren”, argues Chabot, H. Th. (1950) *Verwantschap, Stand en Sexe in Zuid-Celebes*. Groningen/Djakarta: J. B. Wolters, p142. Play at marriage among Dinka children does not involve “any physical relationship”, states Deng.

⁵² A large number of cases of “imitated coitus” by parental example might be included here. Unambiguous ethnographic examples of the parental *scenario* with sexual elements, often coital, include: Australian aborigines, Trobrianders, Western Papuas, Akamba, Kanuri, Ila, Mbuti, Bakatla, Amhara, Nuer, Nkole, Bemba (Bantu tribes in

and-groom (defloration) game⁵³. In these cases, the coital form is explained by the traditional role of weddings as the public demonstration of virginity loss. This does not explain why the specific narrative of the game would allow microgeographic variations (e.g., Italy acc. Parca).

6.2.4 Negotiated Games

Some cases acquire a semi-institutional character, played by adolescents and under the auspices of parents; the sex play here is controlled whereas in most more or less unsupervised cases full intercourse is probable.

In Senegal, *adolescents* are permitted to “play husband and wife” (*suka-sehil*) which is regarded as immature courtship or flirtation and does not lead to consummation or marriage (Wane). In the harvest season, Shona early adolescents would be allowed a parentally supervised one-month period of play marriage; supposedly, this *muhumbwe* (or *mahungwe*, *mahumbwe*) and takes place in shelters does not include full intercourse (Gelfand, Shire). Among the Pedi, “childish” temporary pseudo-marriage unions, “although little more than a game”, are frequent, and recognised by adults as a social institution which provides practice in home management. Although usually dissolved when the “pseudo-husband” enters *lodika*, a form of tribal initiation school, the union may be revived with the consent of both sets of parents (Krige and Krige). Concerning Kanuri children’s elaborate *mai-mai*, “[a]dults expressed satisfaction with this type of play and remarked on its instructive value for the children” (Cohen); “[a]dults thought this play was instructive and remarked that it was a good way for the children to learn the customs of the people” (Cohen). The sphere of meaning is thus negotiated: “Wedding foods in miniature are passed around to the adults who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness although they may comment on or question some detail of the ceremony carried out mistakenly or omitted by the children”.

In this selection of examples one is justified to assume that the categories of formal and play sexuality are created by children and based on the communications or metacommunicative frameworking by parents.

6.2.5 All the Way and Further: Adultery, Co-Wife and Other Games

It is a fact that house playing in the “traditional” sections of manhood is, with few exceptions, very realistic⁵⁴. Children may erect an entire village, and coitus may seem a modest inclusion

general, including Lobedu, Venda, Pedi), Baganda, India (Santals, Nimar Bahalis, Baiga, Lepchas) Chewa, Sisala, Ga, Tallensi, Gogo, Shona, Thonga, Nandi, Batetela, Muyaka, Baushi (“kitchen”, etc.), Nkundo Mongo (also age stratified), Chaga, Sukuma, Bena (?), Azimba, Lake Nyasa, Pangwe / Fan, Mbum (and other Cameroon tribes), Kwakiutl, Blood (also Mother-and-Child), Klamath, Yakutat Tinglit, Hopi, Pawnee, Polynesia, Marquesan, Siuai, native Tahitians, Pukapukans, Mehinaku, Tapirapé, Yanoama, Sharanahua, Jamaica, and many European countries. The game is most probably universal, including some of the ethnographic reports on children’s marriage playing without a reference to genital behaviour.

⁵³ Kanuri (Cohen), Bakatla (Schapera, acc. Seligman), Morocco (Davis and Davis), Baganda (Kinsman et al.).

⁵⁴ An illustrative example describes Ethiopian Amhara children: “Their powers of observation, active, free and relatively unstructured prior to later discipline, imitate in their play activities the social relations, including the family and sexual-social relationships of their elders. When about five years old, boys and girls - for the sexes are not yet separated up to that time - play “house” with considerable sophistication. For example, when they play “marriage”, the “father” of the “bride” goes to the “elders” to inquire about the character of the “groom”, after the groom’s father has initiated the negotiations on the groom’s request. They build a “marriage hut”, and play at heavy drinking of barley-beer and honey-mead. The “bride” demands a gift from her new “husband”, and enters into his “residence”. After they have been in there a while, the two best-men [...], who had been duly sworn to protect her even against her husband, go off to the bride’s parents to announce loudly and joyfully that the girl had proven a

in the whole scenario. The same is seen in various places in Africa, where children's societies closely mimic adult hierarchical structures (cf. Malinowski's "children's Republic"). Kanuri children rebuild a whole political society under the name *mai-mai*; this also includes adult sexual politics. It is clear that sex life is fully integrated in every-day economics, and this organisation is well understood by "imitating" children.

All courtship phases are stage-acted by children, usually in isolation of the full, functional routine; variations, however, are also covered. Moll (1908 [1912])⁵⁵ already referred to a "number of little boys and girls, almost all under eight years of age, played at being prostitutes, souteneurs, and men-about-town". Grützner⁵⁶ noted among the Basuto,

"neben der sanctionierten Hurerei eine Heimliche, welche die kleinsten Kinder, treiben, und wobei die Knaben den Mädchen perlen, Messingdraht, u.s.w. als Hurenlohn geben".

Children are known to practice coitus within scenarios that clearly anticipate adult customs: adultery (Australia, Normaby Island, Yanoama, Mehinaku), co-wives (!Kung), "wife abduction" (Crow), wife-exchange ("let me taste yours"; Pedi), and elopement (Sioux). Other examples include prostitution (Basuto, Germany), rape (Mehinaku), pornography (nonnative North America) and "age-graded" seduction. Incidental anecdotes include statements on play homosexuality, play paedophilia, play exhibitionism, play voyeurism, etc., all in apparent imitation of observed adult stereotypes.

A particularly interesting pattern of meta-realistic imitation is that certain Eskimo tribes "are known to choke each other as part of their sexual activity and it is common for their children to suspend themselves by the neck in playing" (Freuchen). Both issues are mentioned by many ethnographers. Although it is not reported that children's play coitus (which is well documented for Eskimo tribes) includes asphyxia, boyhood masturbation might (a fatal case is reported by De Cocola and King).

These cases justify the hypothesis that children get to "select" scenarios when offered more than a single. They also suggest that children actively recombine (instead of confuse) scripts.

6.2.6 All Made Up: Self-Invented Scenarios and Scripting Plasticity

Turney-High marks for the Flathead that "[i]n common with the children of many tribes there was considerable sex exploration. This seems never have been formalized into sex games, nor does it have been normally heterosexual". The meaning of this statement remains unclear, but suggests either atypical or hypertypical "explorations". Genitalia are occasionally known to surface in unorthodox scenarios that appear to be ad hoc inventions to smoothly legitimise and facilitate such surfacing. The names are neologisms, the acts commonly noncoital. Examples include "fun house" (Martinson, 1973:p36)⁵⁷, "horror house"

virgin! Whereupon the mize are feted" (Messing and Bender). [note: The *mize* are married relatives or friends of the groom who may perform the task of ceremonial defloration when not accomplished by him, and who take the bloodstained cloth as proof of the girl's virginity]

⁵⁵ Moll, A. (1908) *Das Sexualleben des Kindes*. Leipzig: Vogel

⁵⁶ Ploß and Bartels (I:p392); Bloch (1902, I:p254)

⁵⁷ Martinson, F. M. (1973) *Infant and Child Sexuality: A Sociological Perspective*. St. Peter, MN: The Book Mark

(p42-3), “upper and lower” (p45); “we are a boy” (Ribal, 1973:p62)⁵⁸, etc. This improvisation, or recourse to nonstereotypical legitimisation, together with the noncoital form suggest both the lack of coital technology and the absence of translocating genitality discursively localised within the concept of the marital stereotype (as sex education was apt to provoke in the early 1970s).

These instances pose a challenge to scripting theory if one assumes that genital play may only be operationalised within cultural stereotypes (marriage, doctors). Rather, genital behaviour acquires its own “script” and demands a situational legitimisation for its practice and necessary recruitment of partners. Children may “use” such legitimising scripts to facilitate the fulfilment of secondary (or primary) scripts, this situation perhaps being a silent mutual agreement on such facilitation. The “coitus” taking place is the result of a negotiation of roles within the children’s reconstruction of the adult coital world, pieced together from (fragmentary, ambiguous, etc.) impressions. Western data suggest that these impressions generally are of a kind, quality and frequency as not to facilitate a pragmatic coitality before it is assimilated within the pre- and pseudoinstitutional dyadic scripts of “love” or “steady” commitments; hence the (probably) sporadic occurrence of such preinstitutional coitus.

The following typology of pre-institutional sexual behaviour contextualisation is based on the theoretical formulations of “performed sexuality” rather than, for instance, a zoological account⁵⁹;

- (i) protoerotic / protosexual and preformative scripts⁶⁰;
- (ii) quasi-sexual / borrowed scripts (as-if parental coitus);
- (iii) sexualised - modified scripts (genital “tag”, fireman, cow milking);
- (iv) institutionalised age-stratified game scripts (“kiss”, spin bottle, pantsing);
- (v) “idiosyncratic” sexual negotiations (show me/show yours; “...used to give me pennies if I would pull down my pants...”).

The performative tasks in the various types immediately become apparent: reproduction and application (ii), modification and recombination (iii), structuring, organising and institutionalisation (iv), and negotiation (v). It should be noted that “adult sexuality” is tacitly presumed to be based primarily on an idiosyncratic negotiation curriculum (sex-as-sex), however interpreted as “games”⁶¹ or “play”.

6.2.7 Your Own Place: Pseudo- and Semi-Institutional Residences and Compartmentalised Coital Curricula

Departing from the Trobriand cue that places are an important index to the social significance of coitus, one is reminded of ethologist perspectives stating that coital privacy lessens the threat posed by dominant males to the pairbonding stability of the copulating

⁵⁸ Ribal, J. E. (1973) *Learning Sex Roles: American and Scandinavian Contrasts*. San Francisco, Calif.: Canfield

⁵⁹ See preparatory literature review by the author.

⁶⁰ Case by Martinson: “Near the age of six or seven holding the genitalia would give me a vague feeling of security. I would do this frequently in bed and it seemed almost an unconscious action that was associated with security”. The presence of “scripts” does not become apparent.

⁶¹ E.g., Burgest, D. R. 1990) Sexual Games in Black Male/Female Relations, *J Black Stud* 21,1:103-16; Anderson, E. (1989) Sex Codes and Family Life among Poor Inner-City Youths, *Ann Am Acad Polit & Soc Sci* 501, Jan.:59-78

dyad (Schiefenhövel; Money & Ehrhardt). Money even replaced Freudian “latency” by the concept of coital privacy development. Indeed, past-infancy “sexual” games are isolated from adult and, increasingly so, peer observers. This suggests a dual evolution that emancipates the boy from (anticipated) paternal rebuttal and introduces (Freud: *reorients*) him into a more horizontal competitive field. This also severely compromises adult, particularly parental and ethnographers’, observation as an indicator of occurring sexual activity.

Langfeldt (1990:p191)⁶² speaks of kindergarten “fucking rooms”. In preindustrial settings, the bush is the most frequently mentioned place, in some cases not different from the elders. In the context of play marriage, improvised huts are built where coitus can take place outside the visual range of adults⁶³. Lamba children even know three “generations” of hut building: one for childhood, boyhood and girlhood (Doke, 1931:p143-6)⁶⁴, and although no observations were made on sex play, obscenity and genital preparation was to take place here. Another pattern is that children have sexual get-togethers in the camp, while adults are away (or asleep), as noted for the Fulbe (Hopen) and Australians (Kaberry). As for some Aboriginals, “[a]t the age of eight or ten boys and girls frequently have their own little houses” (Róheim) outside the adult camp. Other places for boys to do or play sex include the institutional bachelor’s hut systems. Briefly identified in §7.2.10, the introduction of the child in these residences is a hallmark social transition with definite implications for his/her daily schedule, including sexual activity. In other societies, the domestication of girls, or the settlement of boys on out-posts (herding cattle) dramatically reissues sexual opportunities.

The former data suggest that children contribute to a coital/sexual order that is based on compartmentalisation and curricular segmentalisation (cf. §10.2.3). The child “creates” the coital scene according to the structuring rules pertaining to time and space.

6.2.8 Improvised Juices: Lubricating Scripts

Although little is known on prepubertal sexual fluids⁶⁵, the use of saliva and other lubricants by children is frequently noted⁶⁶. These aspects image children trying to “make it work” even when physiology would veto the scene. It suggests that children seek recourse to effecting scenarios that incorporate specific anticipated realities (ejaculation, etc.). It is also suggested that cultures modify such anticipation by offering the realities involved. In some societies,

⁶² Langfeldt, Th. (1990) Early childhood and juvenile sexuality, development and problems, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology*, Vol. 7. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p179-200

⁶³ This is explicitly documented for the Melanesians, Santals, Bakatla, Kwakiutl, Dobe Ju, Pawnee, Ingalik, former Blood Indians, Tenetehara, Netsilik Eskimos, Alorese, Barabaig, Akamba, Bemba, Gogo, Kikuyu, Ruandese, northern Basukuma, Pedi, in rural Tanzanians, Sharanahua, Sweden, non-native Americans and occurs in many more, probably including some of the ethnographic reports on children’s hut-building without a reference to sexuality.

⁶⁴ Doke, C. M. (1931) *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia*. London [etc.]: Harrap

⁶⁵ See “*Versunken in Mysterischer Betrachtung*”: *Proto-Orgasms and Other Choppers to Chop Off Your Head*. Unpublished literature review by the author.

⁶⁶ E.g., Edwardes and Masters (1961:p138-9). Hiatt (1965:p105-6) heard from an informant that native Australian boys “used saliva to lubricate the girl’s vaginas”. Falkenberg and Falkenberg (1981:p77-8) stated that uncircumcised boys from the Marinbata tribe use secretions of a specific orchid (*tjalamajin*) applied to the penis as a lubricant; a modern substitute is soap. An elder informant for the Botswana !Kung told Shostak (1981:p112) that a boy “[...] takes some saliva, rubs it on her [girl’s] genital, gets on top and pokes around with his semi-erection, as though he were actually having intercourse [...]”. Voget (1961:p100) stated that Crow boys of 8 and 9 were invited by pubescent and sometimes older girls to “urinate in lieu of ejaculation”.

boys understand that ejacularche ends copulatory fun, as described for the Kanuri⁶⁷. (In this respect, it is also to be noted that in some societies, girls delay the disclosure of their menarche in order to enjoy the freedoms of childhood as long as possible [De Rachewiltz]). “Juices”, thus, are anticipated, negotiated, and fabricated within a social and practical space. If anything, the case illustrates how children “substitute” in their curricula, and compensate for deficiencies so as to “lubricate” the doing of sex, to make “it” (the sex including the fluid) work.

6.2.9 Script Matrices and Coital Patterning

In some societies, partner choice and coital frequency follow the regulations of the semi-selfregulating dormitory society, in others coital regularity is a less rigidly controlled variable generationally and left to an, at least theoretically, facultative curriculum. Pattern formation of masturbation and allosexual activity is a rarely discussed indicator of preadult sexual socialisation. Patterning of coitus commonly occurs in adolescence, but considerable differences are recorded for its timing. Data allow the differentiation between cultures where its (facultative) childhood occurrence is a daily routine within the peer group (e.g., Muria, Pilagá), and those where the practice suddenly becomes a routine at marriageable age (which may be prepubertal). In most societies, coital patterning evolves from a stereotyped step-wise intimacy curriculum (precoital patterning, petting), which in turn takes place within a stereotyped curriculum of (pre-)institutional pairbonding commitments (see §15.4.4). Thus, coital patterning scripts are intimately connected to other, “concentric” curricular scripts. Together, the curricular transmission and interpretation of such scripts reinforce sexual behaviour curricularisation.

6.2.10 Transitional Nondyadicism: Informal and Formal Group Sex

Some alternative scripts associated with childhood genital pursuits reflect the dyadic norm, such as partner exchange (Marquesan) and adultery. As adult eroticism may be called stereotypically dyadic, or even monogamous, its precursor phases, at least in part, seem to show a distinct tolerance for group interactions, and promiscuity. Hermann (1922)⁶⁸ already mentioned childhood grouping with erotic intent. Langfeldt⁶⁹, for instance, offered some insights to Norwegian boys’ homosexual grouping. Nonbloody genital preparation of girls is commonly done in groups. The organisation and enactment of marriage and village play is ordinarily a group event, though the coitus is usually described as dyadic, or bidyadic. A

⁶⁷ Cohen, R. (1967) *The Kanuri of Bornu*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., p61; Cohen, R. (1971) *Dominance and Defiance: A Study of Marital Instability in an Islamic African Society*. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, p78

⁶⁸ Hermann, I. (1922) Geheime Gesellschaften der Kinder und die Sexualität, *Archiv f Frauenk* [...] 8:175-7

⁶⁹ Langfeldt, Th. (1981) Childhood masturbation: individual and social organization, in Constantine, L. & Martinson, F. (Eds.) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p63-72, at p67-8; cf. Langfeldt (1990:p188-92), *op.cit.*

rough typology includes group contests⁷⁰ (Raphael (1988:p76-7)⁷¹ details an American summer camp contest featuring a 'Beat the Meat' recording the number of times each boy in a cabin had masturbated), gang initiations, polydyadic formations, coital piling (Kwoma, Pilagá⁷²), and stage-acted gang rape (Mehinaku).

Predyadic sexual interactions, it could be argued, may be transitional in the way they bridge solitary and preformal dyadic scenarios (cf. §15.4.2). As argued supra, a lack of dyadic (or any) scenarios and the pre-operational form of existing ones grants children the freedom to recombine "breaches of scripts" to form creative, situational "sexual scripts" (Frith & Kinzinger, 2000). This would help explaining the presence of genitality in nonprototypical contexts.

6.2.11 The "Pseudocoitus": Societal Shaping and "Precoitarchal Coitality"

In most cultures there are institutionalised precoital techniques which by their form or institutional practice confirm the existence of a coitarchal cult. American adolescents have been known to practice "simulated intercourse", "humping"⁷³, also known as "outercourse"⁷⁴. The Koka Shastra⁷⁵ described that "a young girl who is not yet mature must be approached by way of the 'outer' forms of lovemaking"; or embraces⁷⁶. There were two sorts of embrace for those who have not yet declared their love, four embraces by which they can make known their mind, and eight embraces for those who have shared love-pleasure already.

Preconsummatory and perconsummatory tests of virginity have been employed in a number of societies valuing premarital physical intactness, done in a formal⁷⁷ or less formalised way, the latter perhaps as a preventative strategy⁷⁸ (cf. Paige and Paige, 1981:p89-91)⁷⁹. Ericksen (1989)⁸⁰ found 24 out of 115 African societies where tests were present in some form⁸¹. A

⁷⁰ Explicit statements are found for the U.S., Baluba, Baushi, Crow, Mohave, Aritama, Okinawa, Argentina, Poland; Tahiti?. See for instance Cornog, M. (Sept, 2000) *The Circle Game: Social Masturbation for Young and Old(er)*. Paper presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, Midconti Region Annual Conference, May 20-23, Madison, Wisconsin. Cf. Cornog, M. (2001) Group masturbation among young and old(er): a summary with questions, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 26,4:340-6

⁷¹ Raphael, R. (1988) *The Men From the Boys: Rites of Passage in Male America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press

⁷² The Henries called this the "spreading" of sexuality

⁷³ Martinson, F. M. (1974) *The Quality of Adolescent Sexual Experiences*. St. Peter, MN: The Book Mark, p40-1

⁷⁴ Cobb, J. C. (1997) Outercourse as a safe and sensible alternative to contraceptives, *Am J Public Health* 87,8:1380-1; Genuis, S. J. & Genuis, S. K. (1996) Orgasm without organisms: science or propaganda? *Clin Pediatr [Phila]* 35,1:10-7

⁷⁵ Comfort, A. (1964) *The Koka Shastra*. New York: Stein and Day.

⁷⁶ Cf. Sir Richard F. Burton (Transl., 1885) *The Ananga Ranga*, ch. VIII, "Treating of External Enjoyments", meaning "[...] the processes which should always precede internal enjoyment or coition. The wise have said that before congress, we must develop the desire of the weaker sex through certain preliminaries, which are many and various; such as the various embraces and kisses; the Nakhadana, or unguiculations; the Dashanas, or morsications; the Keshagrahanas, or manipulating the hair, and other amorous blandishments. These affect the senses and divert the mind from coyness and coldness. After which tricks and toying, the lover will proceed to take possession of the place". These were not designed to spare the child bride, for the next chapter on "internal enjoyments" deals with a FAQ: "Well, if a woman be only twelve or thirteen years old, and the man is quite grown up, and has lost the first vigour of his youth, what must be done to make them equal?" "In such a case, the legs of the woman must be stretched out to the fullest extent, so as to weaken the powers, and by these means the man will prove himself her equal".

⁷⁷ Preconsummatory: Arab Muslims, Omani, Iran, Turkey, Gilbert Islands, Ngoni, Shona, Lemba, South Africa (formerly), Tebu, Nandi, Zulu, Nyakyusa; Sri Lanka. Also Bemba, Ovimbundu (debated)

⁷⁸ Kikuyu, Zulu, Mpondo

⁷⁹ Paige, K. E. & Paige, J. M. (1981) *The Politics of Reproductive Ritual*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press

⁸⁰ Ericksen, K. P. (1989) Female genital mutilations in Africa, *Behav Sci Res* 23,1:182-204

number of African societies⁸² practice nonpenetrative coitus as a means of preserving premarital virginity, customs at times acquiring a (semi-)institutional status, and a specific name⁸³ (details). “Before marriage, in general, adolescents were permitted varied sexual experiences, although completion of the sex act was to be avoided and was often condemned”⁸⁴. Coitus (penetration) is effected without penetration (coitus). In these societies and less formally in many more, the form and timing of coitarche proper and coital patterning proper are shaped according to curricularising “operative rules” (Straver) that are variably organised. [This proves a useful entry in studying all aspects of the sexual “socialisation” process, and is explored for some dimensions elsewhere.]

6.2.12 The “Infantile Coitus”: Western Development of Coital “Scripts”

Infantile coital *movements*, as opposed to *posturing*, are mentioned incidentally in literature (notably Lewis, 1965)⁸⁵, but their incidence nor their necessity have been established. Rare “ethological” observations on human prepubertal “mounting” behaviour seem to be done by Langfeldt (1981:p39-40; cf. 1990:p189-90), not an ethologist, who writes:

“Unpublished observations and interviews by the author show that pelvic thrust movements in prepubertal boys engaged in group sex play are mostly accompanied by penile erection. The same was true for mounting behavior. However, when a boy presented himself to another boy, he did not necessarily get an erection. During sex play both boys and girls showed a strong tendency to exhibit both presenting and mounting behavior within the same behavior episode. Again, if a boy exhibits only one of the patterns, he will normally show mounting behavior, while the opposite is true for the girls. [...] Probably in all cultures the older boy mounts the younger, and the younger seems to accept the unilateral role pattern”.

Contemporary normative data on maternal *observations* in the industrial West reveals little such rehearsing or observing⁸⁶ (Friedrich et al., 1991; Phipps-Yonas et al., 1993; Lindblad et al., 1995; López, Del Campo and Guijo, [1997]; Schoentjes et al, 1999; Davies et al., 2000; etc.)⁸⁷,

⁸¹ 32 are identified: Amhara, Arusi, Ashanti, Bambara, Barabra, Buduma, Diula, Egypt, Fon, Futajalonke, Ganda, Ibo, Kabyle, Kafa, Kanembu, Kikuyu, Luguru, Mao, Mbum, Mbundu, Mossi, Nyakyusa, Riffains, Sandawe, Siwa, Somali, Songhai, Swazi, Teda, Venda, Wolof, Zazzagawa

⁸² Africa: Chaga, Kikuyu, Hausa, Dakarkaki, Nyakyusa, Xhosa, Tebu, Swazi, N’Jemp, Amazulu, Kipsigis, Venda, Pedi (debated), Bemba

⁸³ *Hlobonga* or *ukusoma* (Amazulu), *ngwiko* (Kikuyu) or *ombani na ngweko* (N’Jemp), *tsarance* (Hausa), *metsha* (Xhosa, Tebu) along with *unkuncokolisa* and *uku-phathaphatha*, *kujuma* (Swasi), *kuchompa* (Ila), *lukh* (Wa-Sania). Other expressions include “petting of the pubic apron” (Otoro) and “placing of arms” (Lugbara). Formerly, South African boys and girls had to be instructed “not to play inside”, and only to have “panty” or “thigh” sex” (Ntlabati, Kelly and Mankayi, 2001:p9, 11, 18).

⁸⁴ Valentine, C. H. & Revson, J. E. (1979) Cultural Traditions, Social Change, and Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa, *J Modern Afr Studies* 17,3:453-72, at p460

⁸⁵ Lewis, W. C. (1965) Coital movements in the first year of life, *Int J Psychoanal* 46:372-4

⁸⁶ Friedrich et al. (1991): 1.1% (overall), 0.8% (male, 2-6), 0.4% (female, 2-6), 2.4% (male, 7-12), 1.1% (female, 7-12), *N*=880; Friedrich et al. (1998): 0.4% in male and 1.1 in female 2-5-y-olds, *N*=287; Lindblad et al. (1995): (games simulating adult sexual activity): 3.2% in preschoolers, 0.4% often/daily; Friedrich et al. (1998) did not include the item (CSBI-3); Schoentjes et al. (1999): 5.0% (all ages), 2.3% (2-5), 8.7% (6-9), 5.9% (10-12), *N*=917. Davies et al. (2000) reported that of behaviours interpreted as sexual, “the commonest behavior to be mentioned, by 31% of the staff, was a child simulating sexual intercourse with another child”, being “one child on top of the other”. Penile intromission was observed in “few” children, and led to a 100% reporting behaviour (to parents). For further observations, see Isaacs, S. (1933) *Social Development in Young Children*. 1945 ed. London : Routledge & Sons, p144, 145, 146

⁸⁷ Friedrich, W.N., Grambsch, P., Broughton, D., Kuiper, J., & Beilke, R.L. (1991) Normative sexual behavior in children, *Pediatrics* 88,3:456-64; Lindblad, F., Gustafsson, R., Larsson, I. & Lundin, B. (1995) Preschoolers’ sexual

although coitus among six- to eight-year-olds may not have been unlikely for some American subsamples, especially in selected environments⁸⁸. The low frequency of prepubertal intercourse is in tune with the rare explicit issuing of it in older German literature⁸⁹.

López et al. found that 8% of Spanish parents observed “imitating coitus” in the past year in their “children” (on 1 to 5 occasions), while 3% claimed such observing of “attempting coitus”. When the same question was offered to adolescents and university students, 14% claimed to have “imitated” before age 11, and 10% recalled “attempts” (around 5% claimed a frequencies of 6-20, and 2% claimed frequencies of more than 20 times). These respondents reported “a total of 42 different games [with a sexual content], most of them played out of the sight of adults”.

According to an imitation hypothesis of infantile coital or “coitoid” behaviour, its occurrence suggests a visual or, at least, some conceptual notion of human coital positioning or behaviour. In a Dutch study, Brilleslijper-Kater and Baartman (1997)⁹⁰ found that none of Dutch 2- to 4-year-olds and about a quarter of 5- and 6-year-olds proved able (or willing) to give a “meagre” description of sexual behaviours confronted with the depiction of cohabitating adults. Volbert (2000:p19)⁹¹, presenting results from a 1996 study, found that none of German 2 to 5-year-olds could give a description of coitus, while 4.3% of 6-year-olds could. 5% of Gebhard⁹²’s sample remembered having known about coitus before age 7. It turns out that, were coituslike behaviour to occur in Western European infants, it would proceed from a considerably amorphous concept of “adult” copulatory technique. It would be safe to say that prehistoric coital development includes *juvenile* rather than *infantile* coitus, while in infancy or childhood there may be genital approximation sec. This is suggested by

behavior at daycare centers: An epidemiological study, *Child Abuse & Negl* 19:569-77; Phipps-Yonas, S., Yonas, A., Turner, M., & Kauper, M. (1993) Sexuality in Early Childhood: The Observations and Opinions of Family Daycare Providers, *CURA Rep* 23,2:1-5; López, F., Campo, A. del & Guijo, V. (nd/1997?) *Sexualidad Prepuberal. Prepuberal Sexuality*. Report, Madrid; Schoentjes, E., Deboutte, D. & Friedrich, W. (1999) Child sexual behavior inventory: a Dutch-speaking normative sample, *Pediatrics* 104,4:885-93; Davies, S. L., Glaser, D. & Kossoff, R. (2000) Children’s sexual play and behavior in pre-school settings: staff’s perceptions, reports, and responses, *Child Abuse & Negl* 24,10:1329-43

⁸⁸ E.g., Hammond, B. E. & Ladner, J. A. (1969) Socialization into sexual behavior in a negro slum ghetto, in Broderick, C. B. & Bernard, J. (Eds.) *The Individual, Sex, and Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, p41-51, at p43-4. Quoted by Rainwater, L. (1970) *Behind Ghetto Walls: Black Families in a Federal Slum*. London: Allen. Pelican, 1973, p349; Yates, A. (1978) *Sex Without Shame*. New York: William Morrow, p93-9; Johnson, C. S. (1941) *Growing Up in the Black Belt*. Washington: American Council on Education; Berger (1977) Child-rearing research in communes: the extension of adult sexual behavior to young children, in Oremland, E. K. & Oremland, J. D. (Eds.) *The Sexual and Gender Development of Young Children: The Role of the Educator*. Cambridge, Mass : Ballinger, p159-63, at p159

⁸⁹ Committee of Lutheran Pastors, *Die Geschlechtliche-Sittliche Verhältnisse im Deutschen Reiche*. Bd I., p277 [cited by Ellis]; Stekel, W. (1895) Über Coitus im Kindesalter; eine hygienische Studie, *Wien Med Blätt* 18,16 (April 18th):247-9; Moll (1908 [1912:p82, cf. 199, 223]), *op.cit.*; Bloch (1909:p699-700); Schönfeld, W. (1924) Über Geschlechtsverkehr unter Kindern und durch diesen übertragene Geschlechtskrankheiten, ein Beitrag zur Zunahme erworbener Geschlechts-krankheiten bei Kindern; *Dtsch Med Wochenschr* 25, June 20:841-2; Bodek, G. (1924) Über Koitiversuche von Kindern, *Dtsch Med Wochenschr* 48, Nov.28:1651-2. Moll ([1912:p54]) describes the facultas [potentia] coeundi, that is, the Beischlaf- or Begattungsfähigkeit, of children in terms of prespermarchic secretions, whereas the concept usually refers to potentia erigendi.

⁹⁰ Brilleslijper-Kater, S. N. & Baartman, H. E. M. (1997) Over bloemetjes en bijtjes: wat weten kinderen van 2 tot en met 6 jaar over seksualiteit, *Tijdschr Seksuol* [Dutch] 21:65-73

⁹¹ Volbert, R. (2000) Sexual knowledge of preschool children, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12,1/2:5-26. Cf. Volbert, R. & Zanden, R. van der (1996) Sexual knowledge and behavior of children up to 12 years: What is age-appropriate? in Davies, G., Lloyd-Bostock, S., McMurren, M. & Wilson, C. (Eds.) *Psychology, Law, and Criminal Justice. International Developments in Research and Practice*. Berlin: De Gruyter, p198-215; Volbert, R. & Homburg, A. (1996) Was wissen 2-bis 6jährige Kinder über Sexualität? *Zeitschr f Entwicklungspsychol & Pädagog Psychol* 28:210-27

⁹² Gebhard, P. H. (1977) The acquisition of basic sex information, *J Sex Res* 13:148-69

observations by Best (1983)⁹³ for the U.S. who found the House play primarily occupied with kissing (p110), and “fucking” by genitogenital rubbing (p117, 121-3).

Concluding, coitus “simulation” in European and North American children is rare at all ages, as judged from testimonies by possible observers⁹⁴. To find children “on top” of each other, however, is probably not interpreted as sexually (or *coitally*) significant by most parents/reporters, although this presumption, as the extent in which the matter cross-ethnically biases coitarche statistics, awaits verification.

6.2.13 Applied Developmental Coitology: The Coital Doll

Coital doll symptomatology has become a diagnostic cult in the U.S., judging from a personal review of the literature⁹⁵; the same may be said of the allegedly “sexualised” drawing (*ibid.*). It is clear that the results from these experiments are very different from results obtained using comparable techniques (anatomical correctness) on “nonreferred” Pilagá (Henry and Henry, 1944)⁹⁶ and Australian aboriginal children (Róheim, 1974:p76-120)⁹⁷, and, probably, in many other non-Western societies (e.g, Fernandez, 1982:p245-5)⁹⁸. It should be noted that in the case of the Pilagá, the children themselves made the dolls genitally explicit, whereas in case of some Australian children, genitals were said to be the “most prominent part” of native dolls (Hernández, 1941:p132)⁹⁹. Tessmann noted coital puppet games in both the Fan and Bafia of Cameroon. Fernandez noted it among the Bwiti. Róheim (1941)¹⁰⁰ further noted polymorphic coital doll play on Normanby Island. Sexual allusions towards dolls were rare, however, in Puerto Rico, according to Landy (1959 [1965:p161])¹⁰¹.

These examples are to demonstrate that coitus enters life in coitocentric childhoods (established for all above cases except the Bwiti) in more forms than the obvious. In the Pilagá, Normanby Island and Australian cases, it was further observed how children improvise around and expand on stereotypical coital scenarios, creating and rehearsing a “coital realm”, a field of possibilities. This is part of reworking, organising, and rehearsing a central social symbol, rather than “adopting” a behaviour principle within a narrowly prototypical space. Again, however, one notes how sparse such observations are in localising “coital development” as a key issue in ethnic sexological discourses.

⁹³ Best, R. (1983) *We've All Got Scars*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

⁹⁴ Note that the CSBI recording is a retrospective measure, and that comparisons with prospective techniques are lacking.

⁹⁵ Preparatory material.

⁹⁶ Henry, J. & Henry, Z. (1944) *Doll Play of the Pilagá Indian Children*. New York: American Orthopsychiatric Association, Research Monographs No. 4. Reprinted in 1974, Random House

⁹⁷ Róheim G. (1974) *Children of the Desert*. New York: Basic Books. Vol. I

⁹⁸ Fernandez, J. W. (1982) *Bwiti, An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

⁹⁹ Hernández, Th. (1941) Children among the Drysdale river tribes, *Oceania* 12,2:122-33

¹⁰⁰ Róheim, G. (1941) Play Analysis with Normanby Island Children, *Am J Orthopsychia* 11:524-9. Reprinted in Muensterberger, W. (Ed., 1969) *Man and His Culture: Psychoanalytic Anthropology After “Totem and Taboo”*. London: Rapp & Whiting, p177-85. Cf. Schwartzman, H. B. (1978) *Transformations: The Anthropology of Children's Play*. New York & London: Plenum, p154-5

¹⁰¹ Landy, D. (1959) *Tropical Childhood*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965 ed.

6.3 Discussion

The ethnohistorical record includes data on a large number of societies where children start coital patterning far before puberty, which sensitises any absolutist or conventional biological theory of “coitarche”. Rather, coitus seems to be a cultural concept in which coitality (as opposed to *pre-*, *pseudo-* and *quasi-coital* antecedents) represents a variably centralised, politically guarded status symbol. If not actualised fully, the concept of coitocentrism transudates nonphysical areas of child life (dolls) and even anticoital curricula (pseudocoitus). Imitating children, *if knowledgeable*, operate within core (marriage) or extended (e.g., adultery) anticipating concepts of role divisions, within anticipated biological spaces (juices), and via an “anticipated” grasp of environmentalism and social observance (huts, play villages). If ignorant, genital expression remains amorphous, possibly enacted within nonanticipating ad hoc scenarios, and commonly lacking the typical allosexual, heterosexual¹⁰² and (particularly) “coital” focus seen in fairly liberal, nonsegregating parenting cultures.

Current clinical doctrines suggest that preadolescent intercourse far exceeds the boundaries of cultural probability; the child is to be examined for traumatising antecedents, and selected antecedents are to define the phenomenon as “symptomatic” and “prognostic”¹⁰³. This obviously represents a medicalisation of moral curricula. In most of the cases of childhood intercourse collected in the ethnographic atlas the practice is (rightly) assumed to be of the species “imitated sexuality”. In fact, intercourse probably always is *known* before it is actualised, making the latter event imitative and “rehearsive” *by definition*; the same, but to a lesser extent, may be applied to orgasmic masturbation (cf. §12.4.1). Intergenerational transmission of coital technology in Western society is problematic, and this problematisation seems to be a high priority issue. In fact, it mobilises an entire “industry” of discourses. The inherent delay is organised via the prevention of exposure to operationalising clues, and via the renegotiation of those clues that are considered a pedagogical obligation. The development of heteroerotic coitocentrism (a culturally emphasised status definition) is delayed so that cross-culturally, the internalisation of cultural values synchronises with differing phases of the psychoendocrinological (adrenarchic-gonadarchic) curriculum. The theoretical implications of this timing factor remain to be explored. On the other hand, human coital development is much more represented by an ideological curriculum than a pragmatic one; in Western society, some *idea* of coitus anticipates its enactment for years, and comes to represent a variably optional concomitant of the in effect autogenital preliminaries to doing “it”. Western culture relegates its sexual development, and confines it in a de pragmaticised hypotheticising curriculum that nosologises or otherwise counteracts tentative effectuation of anticipated status symbols. This charges coitus as a central yet potentially traumatogenic incident, whereas in a range of traditional sub-Saharan African cultures sentiments, possibilities and problems are at least *gradually operationalised* under the protecting guise of role-play, and at least *temporally and socially structured* within a curricularising puberty discourse. The central principle of

¹⁰² I will here postpone a discussion of “developmental homosexualities” covered in §§ 8.2.1 and 8.3.2

¹⁰³ Lamb and Cloakley (1993) proposed the following “normative” (nonabusive) typology for nonnative North American female undergraduates: playing doctor, exposure, experiments in stimulation, kissing games, fantasy sexual play, and “other”. Any “dry hump” would have to be categorised as type three or five play. See Lamb, S. & Cloakley, M. (1993) “Normal” childhood sexual play and games: differentiating play from abuse, *Child Abuse & Negl* 17:515-26

operationalised anticipation possibly explains intracultural differences in developmental attitudes to coitarche proper as well.

6.x Addendum: Anatomising Coitarche

Concluding, a biological analogy can be made between culturally opposing tendencies to approach coitarche. Elias Metschnikoff's¹⁰⁴ hypothesis on the hymen would legitimise a place for prepubertal onset of intromissive coitus. Cited by Bloch¹⁰⁵ on this point, Metschnikoff suggested that the hymen would be accustomed to the prepubertal penis, and would dilate gradually with prepubertal attempts, instead of the bloody and painful defloration normative in modern man. This "gradual defloration" was actually described for Paraguayan, native Tahitian, Muria and Hindu girls (Mantegazza, Jacobus X..., Elwin), but is likely in other cases. The theory clearly opposes Morris's¹⁰⁶ argument that the man-specific hymen acts as a brake on adolescent female promiscuity delaying sex until she is willing to accept the discomfort in a relationship that is therefore more likely to remain stable. But even this at least suggests experimentation, during "adolescence".

ⁱ The phenomenon is rarely seen outside Africa. **Amazulu** betrothed couples practised *uku-hlobonga* (also *ukusoma*), or frequent surreptitious, though unconsummated intercourse" (Unwin, p152), which is later replaced by *pinga*, full intercourse. Though technically unlawful, it is nevertheless universally connived at, "even by the girl's parents", but only so in properly affianced couples. Among the **Wa-Sania**, "[b]efore marriage the young men and girls carry on the practice of *lukh*, that is to say, the youths are allowed to inset the penis between the girl's legs and sleep with them in this fashion; but they are not allowed to penetrate the vagina. I believe that the same practice exists amongst other tribes in British East Africa" (Hobley, 1911:p31). Mönning (1967:p110-1) stated that the **Pedi**, "as do the Zulu and **Venda**", practice external intercourse, a matter denied by Harries (1929:p7). Among the **Bemba**, a girl is given to her husband many months before puberty, and "[...] forms of partial intercourse are practised before she is fully grown" (Richards, 1956:p154-5). The **Ila**-speaking adolescents probably practised *kuchompa* ("external" intercourse) at the harvest festivals, after which the girl may be rebuked by her elders. The Pre-Colonial **Kikuyu** were said to practice "incomplete sex play" known as *ngwiko* or *ngweko* after initiation at puberty, but only in cases of "lovers of long standing". (Leakey, 1931:p278; cf. Valsiner, 2000:p285-7) describes that the girl pulled her soft-front leather apron "back between her legs, and then the two V-shaped tails of her skirt were pulled forward form behind between the legs and fastened to the waist, thus keeping the front apron in position, and forming an effective shield". **Hausa** "youngsters" may have "inconclusive" (nonpenetrative) sexual interactions. The Hausa custom of *tsarance* (Holthouse, Baba of Karo, Salamone, Smith) or erotic group get-togethers before and around puberty was said to be predominantly noncoital. Authors, however, blur the terminological difference between *Tsarance*—"sleeping together, cuddling, etc., of unmarried youths and girls" and *Tsaranci*—sexual intercourse between them. Betrothed girls and boys (for boys between ages 10-16) of the **Dakarkaki** tribe (Nigeria) are "definitely encouraged" to practice an equivalent of the Hausa "*tsaranchi*", "cuddling", or sexual freedom stopping just short of penetration". In former South Africa (**Xhosa**, Tebu), "sex play without penetration" (intercrural,

¹⁰⁴ Metschnikoff, E. ([1910]) *Studien über die Natur des Menschen*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Von Veit & Co., p113

¹⁰⁵ Bloch, I. ([1928]) *The Sexual Life of Our Time*. New York: Allied Book Co., p12

¹⁰⁶ Morris, D. (1967) *The Naked Ape*. 1986 ill. Dutch ed. Utrecht/Aartselaar: Bruna & Zn., p81. Morris elsewhere argued that "no real", "no functional" sexual activity can be seen before puberty, "apart from a large number of so-called sexual games". Morris later acknowledged "symbolic love play", only in the broadest "instead of the limited sexual sense".

ukumetsha, *metsha*) was an established part of the relations between girls and boys, and the custom of regularly examining girls for virginity secured a measure of parental control. The latter custom has fallen into disuse with the arrival of Christianity (e.g., Ames and Daynes, 1974:p1962), however, as has the custom of including an additional beast among the marriage cattle in respect of a bride whose virginity was intact. "Intensive petting- referred to as *unkuncokolisa* (to excite sexually), *uku-phathaphatha* (the intensive form of the verb *ukuphatha*, to touch or feel), or by the English word "romance", used both as noun and verb- and with it sexual intercourse, are often part of a love-affair from an early age". For the **Tebu**, *metsha* "is performed by boys and girls at an early age and may serve as an early form of hetero-sexual adaptation. It certainly does not, at the prepubertal period, replace masturbation. Some observers and informants place the ages for the beginning of *metsha* somewhere about ten or eleven, if not earlier. In fact many native males state they started to *metsha* at such an early age that they could not remember". The attitude of parents toward *metsha* is dualistic: fathers pretend not to know, mothers warn their daughters against it. It takes place in a separate children's hut". In the seclusion hut/ bride's hut of the **Nyakyusa**, a "centre for sex play", "intercourse *inter crura*" is permitted, and no "husband" can claim damages if his betrothed wife lies with another young man there, unless penetration has taken place.

Intercrural intercourse was also known for the youth of the **Nandi** and **Thonga**, but its institutional status can be debated. "Swazi parents instruct [and encourage] their children in a kind of sexual activity between boy and girl without actual intercourse, known as *kujuma*. Full sexual penetration before marriage is considered shameful, all the more so if the girl is made pregnant" (Barker). As the Masai, **N'Jemp** warriors sleep in a communal hut, manyatta, and have restricted sexual intercourse, *ombani na ngweko*, or "platonic love and fondling", heavy petting. The practice "is something that develops naturally out of the permissive behaviour between the sexes in late childhood", and is considered " "the foundation stone of morality since it produces a race free from nervous and psychic maladjustments" " (Denis). The conventional petting in the **Nupe** girl's huts included squeezing the breasts, even when undeveloped, of the girl, and what the **Otoro** call "petting of the pubic apron". According to Nadel (1947), **Koalib** girls were betrothed at eight or nine years of age, and at twelve or thirteen the marriage was consummated. It was said that youths slept together without having intercourse. They remove their bangles and necklaces before sleeping, but do not remove their pubic bracelets. A fiancée was content with petting. This sleeping together and platonic petting of the betrothed lasted for several years until the bridegroom, without consulting either his or her parents, decided that his girl was sufficiently mature for consummation. **Lugbara** (Uganda) girls sleep at night in a special girls' hut under the care of an old widow and receive boys for whom they "place their arms", since intercourse is formally forbidden. Premarital courtship results in adolescent **Kipsigis** sleeping together every night in the *singroina*, or men's club. Boys and girls practice an external form of intercourse (Peristany). Among the **Ovimbundu** "[t]he nature of intercourse is carefully circumscribed, and the girl is warned by her mother not to let intromission take place" (McCulloch, p44).

The semicoital techniques found in Africa may appear analogous to the Euro-American phenomenon of "petting". In **Mexico**, "[d]uring early adolescence, 11 to 15 years of age, most adolescents begin to explore in a form of ritualized relationship called *noviazgo* [in which i]ntercourse is usually deferred to a later age" (Rubio).

7

Sex Training.

The Neglected Fourth Dimension in Erotagogical Ideologies

“Does a young crab have to be taught how to dig earth?”¹

Boy: O, sister-in-law, do please put my hand on your breasts (on the chest) O, sister-in-law (please) raise my hand.

Girl: O boy, I could put your hand on my breasts,
But should my bracelets ring by chance?
If my anklets ring by chance?
If by chance, your brother catches us, O boy!
If by chance, your brother catches us?
(What will happen then?)

Boy: It is not paddy, tied in a cloth, Or paddy stored in baskets, O dear; What will be the sign to know things from?²

Summary: The concept and practice of sexual *training*, as it is virtually unknown in Western erotic discourse, is discussed. Observations are reviewed on various instances of explicit and direct transmission of sexual techniques: coitus demonstrations, institutional intructrices, semi-formal age-stratified coital introductions, less flagrantly age-dismatched patterns, age-nonsegregated dormitory systems, active shaping of heterosexual identity/role, and enforced coitarche. Compromising previous schematisations, these processes advocate a bidirectional classification of sex education discourses, allowing for positive operationalisations.

¹ A Diwan quoted by Elwin (1968:p128)

² Santal song, as translated by Mukherjea (1962:p387-8).

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7.0 Introduction

This chapter challenges unilateral culturalist ramifications of efforts to transmit technical sexological knowledge. By no means pretending to offer a thorough cross-cultural or cross-historical challenge, it will be observed that sexual “education” is subject to a most variable degree of pedagogisation. Pedagogisation of sexual initiation (Foucault) is here interpreted to be operationalised along a negativist-positivist scale, and along a second activist-abstinence scale. Whereas European pedagogical discourses have evolved from broadly negativist to positivist orientations over the past three centuries, there is still a distinctly non-pragmatic or even covertly anti-interventionalist discourse in sexological teaching. The cover-up is provided by the decentralisation of “clarifying” sex matters, from coitus to negative or anti-negative contextualisation of coitarche. This circumlocution renders the early sexual/erotic realm ambiguous³ and problematic.

This chapter aims at (1) the identification of ethnocentrically biased terminology and categorisation efforts in understanding sexological processes ([§7.1](#)); (2) demonstrate how ethnographic material argues for a modification of these classifications ([§7.2](#)) thus redefining the space between sexual cultures, and challenging traditional ethnosexologist comparison.

7.1 Conceptualising Sexual Regulation

7.1.1 Previous Efforts

Ford and Beach’s classical trichotomisation of cultural attitudes regarding sexual behaviour socialisation does not accommodate the occurrence of “positive” approaches to the “problem”. Mere “permissiveness” does not adequately cover elements of “encouragement”, “stimulation”, “pressure”, “force”, “obligation”, etc. A “fourth” mode was listed by Currier (1981)⁴ as “supportive” alongside “repressive”, “restrictive”, and “permissive” curricula. The *Human Relations Area File* (1937) traditionally lists category 864 under the name *Sex Training*.

³ A psychoanalytic formulation of this situation was provided in Davies, J. M. (2001) Erotic overstimulation and the co-construction of sexual meanings in transference-countertransference experience, *Psychoanal Quart* 70,4:757-88

⁴ Currier, R. L. (1981) Juvenile sexuality in a global perspective, in Constantine, L. L. & Martinson, F. M. (Eds.) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown, p9-19. Reprinted in McDermott, L. J. (Ed., 1996) *Culture and Sexuality*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, ch. 1

Its fairly neutral description⁵ does not specifically address or identify positive elements. For the *Standard Cross-Cultural Sample*, phase-specific “sexual restraint” was conceptualised as “a measure of taboo or restrictions [etc.]” in a 1976 article⁶. Further, it takes a specific set of mind to, as was done in a later article (1984)⁷ (1) define “nonrestraint” as “restraint” subtracted from its hypothetical maximum, and then (2) continue to define “freedom” as *indulgence* added to “nonrestraint”. Older material focuses on “premarital freedom” which likewise restricts realities to the absence or presence of prohibitions.

7.1.2 Discussion

This negative definition of “training” as implied by most if not all major categorisation efforts is opposed by the frequent description of practices that are truly sexologically preparatory, regarding either the sexual apparatus (**chapters 12 and 13**), or sexual technology. A workable definition of this “sex training” proper (*erotagogy*) as opposed to “sexual” restriction, would be,

the customary pedagogical, preparatory curriculum concerning the practice of genital activity and interactions, and /or the genital physiology, as it pertains to acts considered erotic and/or procreative in nature.

Thus, it includes *active, contributive, shaping and stimulatory* interactions within any vertical dyad, in which there is a student and mentor role. The expression “training” is used occasionally in industrial literature up to the 1960s⁸, but this use is to be considered careless since the curricula described include only inhibitory practices. Equally, in cases where parents “made their [initiated] daughter sleep on a shelf above their own bed to make sure that she would not be molested”⁹, “training” would hardly be appropriate language. Some authors seem to have confused concepts of education and “training” altogether¹⁰. According one author in the 1950s, “[a] nice distinction may be made between two phases of sex education: 1) that of providing sex information, and 2) that of providing sex training. By providing sex information we mean teaching the biological facts concerning sex; by sex training, the development of habits and attitudes conducive to healthy living [...]. Sex training should be [...] the province of the home; providing sex information the province of

⁵ *Outline of Cultural Materials*, 4th revised, 1961; eHRAF (1997). “adult beliefs, standards, and aims concerning sex behavior in children and methods of sex training; incidence of specifically sexual behavior in infants and children [...]; rules for the control of such behavior [...]; training in sexual modesty; imparting of knowledge and beliefs about sex and reproduction; reactions to curiosity of children about sex; normal age for each aspect of sex training; reactions of children to sex training; etc.”.

⁶ Barry, H. III, Josephson, E. et al. (1976) Traits inculcated in childhood: cross-cultural codes 5, *Ethnology* 15:83-114

⁷ Barry, H. III & Schlegel, A. (1984) Measurements of adolescent sexual behavior in the standard sample of societies, *Ethnology* 23,4:315-29

⁸ Leslie, G. R. & Johnsen, K. P. (1963) Changed Perceptions of the Maternal Role, *Am Sociol Rev* 28,6:919-28; McCandless, B. R. (1967) *Children: Behavior and Development*. 2nd ed. London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p134-8

⁹ Oberg, K. (1937) *The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, p28. Cf. De Laguna, L. (1972) *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, p515B

¹⁰ E.g., Thurow, M. B. (1934) A Study of Selected Factors in Family Life as Described in Life History Material, *Social Forces* 12,4:562-9. Thus, “Sex training”, although not commonly found in these families, appeared to be related to “successful family relationships”. As the amount of “sex training” increased, there was a marked increase in “confidence in parents” and “satisfaction in family pattern” on the part of the student” (p564).

the school"¹¹. This compartmentalisation is fraud with the fact that education and "training" (in the sense of in- or prohibition) are intimately interconnected, unlike "instruction". Sex education more often than not counteroperationalises specific activities thereby enforcing curricular control; a large part is not "sexual" but medically, politically, ideologically, if not theologically significant.

Becker¹² distinguishes societies approximating some configuration of sex-promoting and sex-inhibiting definitions. In a 2x2 matrix this produces "sex-negative" (e.g., Manus), "sex-positive" (Mangaians), "sex-neutral" (Ik, East Africa), and "sex-ambivalent" (Americans) societies. A testing of Becker's hypothesis seems compromised by the fact that sexual attitudes are measured via an (inverted) negative definition only: there is no (SCCS) measure accommodating *antithetical* positions toward sexual behaviour. There was no attempt at statistical verification.

Post-industrial concepts of erotogenetics generally embrace the idea that sexual activity needs not be trained, not even practised¹³. Its agogical control is organised around the concepts of limitation (border setting) and delay. The concept of *initiation*, however, is frequently entertained when occurring between *consenting*, though nevertheless statutorily asymmetric, *adolescents*. The term apparently appeals to a substantial difference in experience, that is, either to the curricular precocity of the seductor/-trix, or the inexpertise (curricular retardation?) of the novice. *Instruction*, as may be, also embodies a selling pornographic idiom, in which the centrality of age stratification is thinly, or not at all, disguised. The technique employed here clearly is the caricatured asymmetry of knowledge, and not erotic potency of the initiand, while the central erotogenetic intent seems to include a voyeuristic interest for a sexual *practicum* which at first is unilateral but would end up mutual. Sometimes the initiand attracts the instructor, or the agogic script, by means of a courtship style inspired by the elements of ignorance and dyspraxia, sometimes a complete apraxia. As such, *paedomimic courtship* is an established attribute of female stereotyped pose and intonation. It has been observed that in some ethnographic cases of age-stratified marriage husbands organise matters to co-raise their wives when young, ensuring their control of her sexual upbringing¹⁴.

It has been argued that the lack of initiation rites is central to the understanding of the cultural "adolescent problem", but the reverse ideology has also been entertained. Commenting on initiations among "savage" people, Richmond (1935:p335)¹⁵ argues:

"In our own society also the boy frequently undergoes a sort of initiation, at the hands of the gang or older men and boys, who pass on to him their ideas of sex, often false and perverted, the product of their own "gutter education" [16]. What he should understand as normal and universal experiences take on sinister meanings and, instead of the wholesome acceptance of sex as that which is to give meaning and purpose to the greater part of his after life, he comes to regard it with a furtive and salacious interest which too often cuts him off from later appreciation and enjoyment of the aesthetic and emotional values which, in civilized people, are the normal outgrowth of the sex instinct".

¹¹ Frumkin, R. M. (1953) Who should provide sex education? *Ohio Parent Teacher* 32:15-7

¹² Becker, G. (1984) The Social Regulation of Sexuality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, *Curr Percept Soc Theory* 5:45-69

¹³ Aldis, O. (1975) *Play Fighting*. New York: Academic Press, p147-55, 246-7; Lancy, D. F. (1980) Play in Species Adaptation, *Ann Rev Anthropol* 9:471-95, at p485. Yamane (1999) refuted the "sexual-play for practice hypothesis" in rats on the basis of the argument that copulation would not require practice in older and dominant males.

¹⁴ E.g., Lalia-Ngolu, Mbaise Igbo, Senoi-Semang, Yakut, Wari'

¹⁵ Richmond, W. V. (1935) Sex Problems of Adolescence, *J Educ Sociol* 8,6:333-41

¹⁶ The street "child" (adolescent), whose sex education is by definition "gutter-wise", has been found to be in danger sexually everywhere: Bucharest, Ghana, Ethiopia, Tanzania, South Africa, Brazil, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Mexico.

Thus, the narrative went, they fall prey to unscrupulous homosexuals, recruiting them “in their impressionable stage”.

The concept of coital self-training is discussed elsewhere¹⁷. Here, I would like to provide a quick cross-cultural roundup of practices that aim to “train” sex in an unambiguously preparatory sense, and in a real or role-acted age-stratified setting.

7.1.3 Sex “Education” Discourses

The promotion of sexuality contrasts “the dispensing of sexual knowledge as a prophylactic for the unwelcomed consequences of freewheeling sexual behavior” as “the cornerstone of modern sexuality education”¹⁸. Sex “education” programmes are known to combine “a number of genres of understanding”¹⁹. Concepts of “educating sex” are themselves the prime signifiers of sexual cultures²⁰, of political positioning²¹, wider political discourses²², pedagogical performance²³, etc. Western society takes a “tolerance” crusade (§8.1.1), “education” variably being informed by ideas about “healthy”²⁴, atraumatic, and “unhurried” (§16.1.4) “developments”. At this level, sociologists have lobbied for acknowledging performative aspects of “education”²⁵, shaping rather than informing “sexualities”. For instance, adolescent bodies were portrayed as “unfinished”, in the process

¹⁷ See **chapter 6**.

¹⁸ Diorio, J. A. & Munro, J. A. (2000) Doing Harm in the Name of Protection: Menstruation as a Topic for Sex Education, *Gender & Educ* 12,3:347-65

¹⁹ Bhattacharyya, G. (2002) *Sexuality and Society: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge. See esp. **Chapter 6**

²⁰ E.g., Amuchastegui-Herrera, A. (2001) The hybrid construction of sexuality in Mexico and its impact on sex education, *Sex Educ* 1,3:259-77; Ajzenstadt, M. & Cavaglion, G. (2002) The sexual body of the young Jew as an arena of ideological struggle, 1821-1948, *Symbolic Interaction* 25,1:93-116; Couchard, F. (1987) La parole des mères, parole structurante pour les filles dans la culture musulmane, *Perspect Psychia* [France] 26,8, Pt 3:198-206

²¹ Irvine, J. M. (2000) Doing It with Words: Discourse and the Sex Education Culture Wars, *Critical Inq* 27,1: 58-76. Cf. Johnson, R. (1996) Sexual Dissonances: Or the ‘Impossibility’ of Sexuality Education, *Curriculum Stud* 4,2:163-89

²² Rivkin-Fish, M. (1999) Sexuality education in Russia: defining pleasure and danger for a fledgling democratic society, *Soc Sci Med* 49,6:801-14; Bullough, Vern L. & Ruan, F. (1990) Sex Education in Mainland China, *Health Educ* 21,2:16-9

²³ Walsh, A., Parker, El. & Cushing, A. (1999) “How am I gonna answer this one?”: A discourse analysis of fathers’ accounts of providing sexuality education for young sons, *Canad J Hum Sex* 8,2: 103-14

²⁴ Yates, A. (1987) *Sex without Shame: Encouraging Your Child’s Healthy Erotic Development*. New York: Morrow; De Freitas, Ch. et al. (1998) *Keys to Your Child’s Healthy Sexuality*. Barron’s Parenting Keys; Finan, S. (1997)

Promoting Healthy Sexuality: Guidelines for infancy through preschool, *Nurse Practitioner* 22,10:79-80,83-6,88, passim; Smith (1993) Pediatric sexuality: promoting healthy sexual development in children, *Nurse Practitioner* 18,8:37-8; 41-4; Wright (1997) Anticipatory guidance: developing a healthy sexuality, *Pediatr Ann*

26,2(Suppl.):S142-5; Fishel, E. (1992) Raising sexually healthy children, *Parents* 67, Sept.:110-6; Jamar (1991) Toward healthy childhood sexual development, *SIECUS Report* 19,6:1-23; Johnson, T. C. (1996) *Understanding Your Child’s Sexual Behavior: What’s Natural and Healthy*. Oakland, CA: New Harbinger; Levin (1969) Healthy sexual behavior, *Ped Clin N Am* 16,2:329-32; MacFarlane, K. & Cunningham, C. (1988) *Steps to Healthy Touching: A Treatment Workbook for Kids 5-12 Who Have Problems with Sexually Inappropriate Behavior*. Mount Dora, FL: Kidsrights; Rew (1989) Promoting healthy sexuality, in Foster, R. Hunsberger, M. & Anderson, J. (Eds.) *Family-Centered Nursing Care of Children*. Philadelphia: WB Saunders Co., p687-99; Finkelhor, D. (1994) [Sexual abuse and sexual health in children: New dilemmas for the pediatrician], *Schweiz Med Woch* 124 (51-52):2320-30

²⁵ Harrison, L. & Hillier, L. (1999) What Should Be the “Subject” of Sex Education? *Discourse* 20,2:279-88.

Analysing the content of school-based sexuality education and the role of sex-ed teachers, the paper argues that “an overemphasis on penetrative heterosexuality marginalises other experiences of sexuality”. It was posited that “sex education is employed as a means to contain adolescent sexuality by reinforcing hierarchical gender relations and normative heterosexuality by ignoring other lifestyles. Furthermore, safe sex campaigns that focus on cognitive and rational decision making neglect the complicated processes of choices regarding sexual behavior. There is also a particular neglect of female sexual pleasure”.

of “becoming sexual bodies”²⁶, rendering them “unformed, vulnerable, or even dangerous”²⁷. As for the thematic sphere, American sex education would stress “the dangers and hydraulics of human sexuality, not questions of pleasure”²⁸. This would be necessitated given the alleged “dissolution of sexual restraint” having led to “premature sexuality in children and youth, which poses not only the risks of pregnancy and disease but also serious emotional damage”²⁹. In a similar characterisation³⁰ it was argued that “[s]ex education is about character; in a sex education course issues of right and wrong should occupy center stage. In too many cases, however, sex education in American classrooms is a destructive experience” in terms of pregnancy and maltreatment. Without it, there is also destruction:

“The breakdown of the American family may be a contributing factor in causing premature sexual activity, along with the strong adolescent sex drive, the fear of loneliness and the media. An immediate consequence of premature sexual activity is the hurt stemming from a broken relationship. Following the break-up of a relationship, teenage girls can have problems with interpersonal commitment. Communication and trust may suffer in a sexually-based relationship and one's reputation may be harmed. Career and education plans, as well as health, can be altered when teenagers become sexually active. Teenagers who avoid sex can explore other avenues of involvement and can have the satisfaction of being in control”³¹.

On this basis, abstinence is “educated”. Within European settings, differences are found in the localisation of authority and curriculum³², but few differences were found in the behaviours defined as “sexual” and on pre-school staff and parental characteristics required to provide “appropriate” “sex” education. This is suggestive of a uniformity in the conceptualising of “educating” the “sexual” in the Western world, a concept which appears to quite at odds with selected African systems, as will be delineated next.

7.2 Training Sex: A Roundup of Practices

Stephens (1971:p407) found that “formal sex instruction” would precede puberty initiation in a number of societies. The issue indeed seems to revolve around the concepts of formality and instruction. It is frequently suggested that children “everywhere” derive their sexology from the street³³, a situation, however, nearly always considered inappropriate. Rather than

²⁶ Lupton, D. & Tulloch, J. (1998) The Adolescent “Unfinished Body”, Reflexivity and HIV/AIDS Risk, *Body & Society* 4,2:19-34

²⁷ Wagener, J. R. (1998) The Construction of the Body through Sex Education Discourse Practices, in Popkewitz, Th. S., & Brennan, M. (Eds.) *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge, and Power in Education*. New York: Teachers Coll Press, p144-69

²⁸ Sears, J. T. (1998) The impact of culture and ideology on the construction of gender and sexual identities: Developing a critically based sexuality curriculum, in Shapiro, H. S. & Purpel, D. E. (Eds.) *Critical Social Issues in American Education: Transformation in a Postmodern World*. 2nd ed. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, p213-29

²⁹ Lickona, Th. (1998) Sex Education for the Neglected Heart, *Reclaiming Children & Youth* 7,1:9-17; Lickona, Th. (1994) The Neglected Heart: The Emotional Dangers of Premature Sexual Involvement, *Am Educator* 18,2:34-39

³⁰ Bennett, W. J. (1987) *Sex and the Education of Our Children*. Washington, DC.: Family Research Council of America, Inc.

³¹ Kennedy, B. C. (1991) *Teenage Sexuality: What Are the Emotional Effects?* Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Association for Counseling and Development, Reno, NV, April 21-24

³² Menmuir, J. & Kakavoulis, A. (1999) Sexual development and education in early years: A study of attitudes of pre-school staff in Greece and Scotland, *Early Child Developm & Care* 149:27-45

³³ Fortes (1970:p223) writes that the African Tallensi “are not surprised at the comprehensive and accurate sexual knowledge of a six-year-old, though direct instruction in these matters is never given”.

encouraged, activities are shaped into a curriculum that is variably informed by elements such as kinship, age strata, gender, etc.

On Ponape, “children are given detailed sex instruction at the age of four or five years”. The chronology of verbal education, however, offers only indefinite clues to whether the practice is essentially a symptom of delay (control), or an exponent of role facilitation. In the following subchapters, the focus is placed on such cross-generational institutions not encountered in contemporary Western society, that are unambiguously facilitating or anticipating future sexual activity.

7.2.1 Anatomical Preparations: The Manufactured Sexual Apparatus³⁴

Thelopoiesis often occurs by parental or tribal initiative (South Africa, Kai, Timbira, Aranda, Tiwi). In other cases parental instigation, direct or indirect, is likely but girls practice it among themselves (Tzeltal, Chipita, Chaga, Batetela, Ashanti, Trobrianders); Burmese and Amboia parents employ antithelopoetic techniques for aesthetic reasons. Cosmetic or functional preparation of the cunnus in some way of another is practiced in a number of societies³⁵. This is taught or performed by the mother (Marquesan, Hawai’i, Nkundo, Luba, Hottentot, Zimbabwe [vaRemba], Mangaia, Ra’Ivavae), by men (Ponape), by older comrades (Betchuans, Shona, Baushi) or in puberty schools (Venda). In other cases of peer or self-inflicted preparation, the instigation of elderly is sometimes described. Chinese footbinding was invented to prepare the role of the female foot for its use as a culture-wide male fetish (DeMause)³⁶. Female³⁷ introcision (the enlargement of the vaginal opening by tearing or cutting the perineum) was practised among some of the aboriginal Australians (notably, *Pitta-Patta*, north-western Queensland) in order to facilitate the first experience of sexual intercourse (Head, 1978; Cook, 1979; Huelsman, 1976)³⁸. The custom was said to be exclusive for these people (Gregersen, 1983:p106); however, it was said to be practised in eastern Mexico, Brazil, and in North-Eastern Peru, among a division of the Pano Indians (Conibos)³⁹, while unconfirmed sources speak of its practice in Somalia. The widespread⁴⁰ custom of artificial (noncoital, precoital) defloration, together with some form of vaginal dilatation, is frequently attributed to a need for sparing the male, and perhaps the female, of the horror deflorationis, anatomically or socially speaking. Sometimes the practice would be self-inflicted⁴¹, but much to the same purpose. Old Arab physicians encouraged masturbation for

³⁴ Cf. **chapters 12 and 13.**

³⁵ Pacifics: Marquesas, Trukese, South Carolines, Marquesans, Hawai’ians, Ponapeans; Africa: Nyakyusa, Mangaia, Ra’Ivavae, Nama Hottentot, Betchuans, Luba, Nkundo, Ngoni, Zimba, Baganda, Bagishu, Suaheli, Shona, Burundi, Zande, VaRemba, Bahemba, Venda, Lenda, Bapende, Bemba, Kgatla, Thonga, Tetela, Lamba, Beti, “Bamouns”, Tikars, Mangbetu, Fan (Dahomey), Ila, “Grand Lacs” tribes, Chewa, Chaga, Makonde, Lozi, Baushi

³⁶ *Emotional Life of Nations*, Ch. 6. DeMause refers to Levy, H. S. (1966) *Chinese Footbinding: The History of a Curious Erotic Custom*. London: Neville Spearman. See also Levy, H. S. (1992) *The Lotus Lovers: The Complete History of the Curious Erotic Custom of Footbinding in China*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books

³⁷ Male “introcision” (*mika*, subincision) is never practiced before puberty.

³⁸ Cook, R. (1979) Damage to Physical Health from Circumcision (Infibulation) of Females. A Review of the Medical Literature. World Health Organization, Regional Office for the Eastern Mediterranean, Egypt; Huelsman, B. R. (1976) An anthropological view of clitoral and other female genital mutilations, in Lowry, T. P. & Lowry, T. S. (Eds.) *The Clitoris*. St. Louis, Mo.: Warren H. Green, p111-61

³⁹ Fact Sheet No.23, *Harmful Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children*. United Nations Centre for Human Rights at Geneva, Switzerland

⁴⁰ Sweden, Mexico, Brazil, Paraguay, Hindu India, ; Yanoama (Surára and Pakidái), Tucano, Totonác, Arawak, Tupi, Bororó, Cubeo, Chiwaro, Shipibo, Nubia, Makonde, Cewa, Akamba, Lozi, Hehe (discussed), Madagascar, Fingo, Wakka

⁴¹ Lalia-Ngolu, Bantu tribes

phallopoetic purposes⁴², advice also surfacing in medieval Europe (Falloppius, 1600:p336-7, as cited by DeMause, 1999)⁴³. New Guinean androtrophic cults generally include phallotrophic intents; this was also noted for the Malukula Big Nambas. Ploß mentions penile elongation in Paraguay (communicated by Mantegazza): “Wenn in Paraguay die Hebamme ein Kind männlichen Geschlechts empfängt, so zieht man mit ihren Händen sehr strak den Penis lang”. At circumcision, Ndembu novices are given tortoise (mbachi) meat to eat “to give them a strong penis” (Turner, 1968:p254)⁴⁴. In other cases⁴⁵ of self-directed phallopoetic potions and medicines, a direct or indirect parental suggestion cannot be ruled out. Another preparation is that of artificial preputial adhaesiolysis⁴⁶. Mantegazza relates that among the Pintadas Islands young men, “from childhood on”, were used to wear a metal or ivory snakehead in a hole in the phallus, a “stimulant” called *sagras*; Christianity would have ended the practice.

7.2.2 Physiological Preparations: The Manufactured Sexual Habitus⁴⁷

These include the concerns for erectile potency, spermatogenesis, menarche, etc. In this sense it is frequently observed that age stratified coitus is practised with the rationalisation of effectuating or accelerating the occurrence of menarche or other pubertal signifiers⁴⁸.

7.2.3 Behavioural Encouragements

Specific encouragement of childhood sex play is rarely documented⁴⁹. De Flacourt⁵⁰ (1658; as cited by Karsch-Haack, 1901[1983:p251]; Karsch-Haack, 1911:p178)⁵¹ on Madagascar: “[...]”

⁴² Edwardes, A. & Masters, R. E. L. (1961) *The Cradle of Erotica*. N.Y.: The Julian Press, p239-40

⁴³ Falloppius, G. (1600) De decoraturie trachtaties, cap. 9, *Opera Omnia*, Frankfurt, 1600, p336-7; *Soranus' Gynecology* (1956). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, p107

⁴⁴ Turner, V. (1968) *The Drums of Affliction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

⁴⁵ Riffian, Morocco, Ambo, Ndembu, Akan, Baushi, Batetela, Mongo, Baluba, Lamba, Warramunga

⁴⁶ Hawai'i [neonatal “blower”], Tongavera [performed by an older women at puberty, before ritual coitarche with her], Turkomans, Kurds, Uzbeks, Kazak-Kirghiz [maternal, infancy], but not Jews. Self-inflicted cases of preputial preparation are described for the Semi-Hamites, Crow, Luo, Zulu [autofrenulotomy], Samburu [autosubincision], Meru [female autocircumcision], Masai, and Tahitians.

⁴⁷ Cf. **chapters 12 and 13**.

⁴⁸ These include meno- , pubo- and thelopoetic concepts of coitarche, as well as the coital prerequisite for menstrual cyclus continuity. The menarche linkage is noted for the Trukese, Kaska, Australian Aborigines (Walbiri, Murngin, Anbarra, Tiwi), Lepcha, Chewa, Tahitians, Adjeheers, Sandwich Islanders, Azande, Bororó, Apinayé, Ramkokamerkra, Eastern and Western Timbira, Pau d'Arco, Onge Andamanese, New Guineans, Kisangani Wagenia, Tepoztecan, Nyamwezi, and found in medieval to 19th century Europe. Coitus is believed to be a primarily thelopoetic agent among the Tanzania Parakuyo, Masai, Trukese, Tiwi, and Bororó; the Karugu assume coitus to be secondarily thelopoetic. Generally promoting qualities for male puberty are attributed in Yemen. Magical coitogenic menarche is found in the mythology in Thailand, India, and Mexico, among the Matakó, Cubeo, Tukano and Kaliai (New Britain). In the Tukano, Ramkokamerkra, New Britain, and (provisionally) Timbira cases, the belief was observed to persist beyond contemporary applicability. A male parallel is reported for the Mangaia where nocturnal emissions are blamed on the visit of avaricious “ghost women” (Marshall).

⁴⁹ Tahitian girls of eleven springs at times engaged in sex relations publicly, “receiving instructions in matters of technique from older women coaching on the sidelines”. “Sideline” instruction would have been the case among the Australian natives, where onlookers “make lewd and suggestive comments” when confronted with children's coital experiments. Also, “children [...] are invited by a mother, older brother or sister, or some other person, to indulge in sexual intercourse with an adult or a child of the same age [...]” (Berndt & Berndt), while children [...] are encouraged to play with their mothers' breasts, and [...] are obviously stimulated sexually [...]” (Hippler). According to Gregersen, Cewa parents “specifically encourage childhood copulation when children are playing house”. According to Harris, Dakarkaki (Nigeria) betrothed girls and boys (for boys between ages 10-16), youth are “definitely encouraged” to practice an equivalent of the Hausa tsaranchi, “cuddling”, or sexual freedom stopping

schon kleine Knaben und kleine Mädchen trieben Liebespiele im Beisein ihrer Eltern, welche darüber lachten *und selbst dazu Anreiz gaben [...]* (ital.add.). As Margold surveys in 1926, “**Bakongo** parents encourage their girls and boys in their sex play long before puberty, “as it shows that they had proper desires, and later in life they would bear children”⁵², and **Ila** speaking natives regard their children’s very early sexual practices “as preparation and training for what is man’s and woman’s chief business in life”⁵³. Somewhat comparable, **Tukano** “[...] adults stimulate the youths during puberty in their erotic games and are proud of their precociousness even when this is not expressed in heterosexual acts”⁵⁴. Frazer⁵⁵ details a remarkable **Ari** (New Guinea) custom of coitally “initiating” children group-wise in a semi-institutional setting:

“When a boy is getting near puberty families meet and arrange—another family have a girl coming on, and they are approached and arrangement made for a combined feast. The maternal uncles decorate the children and they are given dance ornaments, and a dance is arranged. The boy is told during the dance to take the girl and have connection with her; the dance lasts all night, and whilst the people dance outside the boy “has” the girl in his parents’ house. [...] this connection has no effect on future marriage, and has nothing to do with it—it is merely initiation. The dance may last several days, and advantage is taken of it to initiate all children who can be. However long the dance lasts the two children only copulate once. This is called *Iarata*, and all boys initiated are called *Iarata*” (p470-1).

De Coccola and King (1986:p85) described the intergenerational transmission of **Eskimo** sexual mores taking place continuous from infancy:

“Normally little Eskimo girls are first shown by their parents how to submit sexually to those little boys to whom they have been promised and to whom they will be married at puberty or sooner. If the young females do not yield their bodies to the advances of their affianced, or if they prove unreceptive, the adults will urge them on with words of encouragement and by suggestive movements. Or else they will poke fun at the beginners and tease them, all the while roaring with laughter. Most children were introduced to such sexual games when they were still taking milk from their mothers’ breasts. Their parents and neighbors had manipulated their intimate parts as far back as they could remember. It was nothing new to them, and they seemed to enjoy these experiments. Visiting their young friends was

just short of penetration”. The same is said of the Swasi. Among the Lushai and other tribes of east Pakistan, Christianity would have ended “[...] the institution of bachelor houses, whereby sexual experimentation by adolescents was encouraged” (Sopher). Among the Meru, “Premarital sexual relations start quite early in life and apparently the society encourages them by reprimanding those who insist on being virgins. Such girls are mocked and penalized a goat at circumcision for being “too cowardly to have their hymens broken” (Njeru). Among the Bantu of Tanzania, doll play and playing marriage were encouraged as “fecundity-generating” activities. In Polynesia, and among the Marquesans, adult attitude toward childhood sex play was characterised as amusement, “if not one of active encouragement” (Linton, cf. Danielsson). As Suggs notes, “[a]t the age of a few weeks a course of medication is begun with a view to making them more satisfactory sexual partners later in life. Astringents, concocted from a number of herbs and bushes, are employed for this purpose, with daily dosages continuing to the age of about twelve”. In New Mexico Hammond saw coital play encouraged by adults of both sexes. Among the Aritama, unination games are laughed at by the adults, “and rather encouraged” until age four. In Jamaica, some parents “will deliberately encourage their children in premature sexual activities, even with each other”. Among the Yanomamo, “[a]s the girl is still young [premenarchal] and often afraid, [age-stratified] coitus may not occur for 2-6 weeks, until she has been instructed and encouraged by her mother”.

⁵⁰ De Flacourt, E. (1658) *Histoire de la Grand Isle Madagascar*. Paris : L’Amy

⁵¹ Karsch-Haack, F. (1911) *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Völker*. München: E. Reinhardt. Also by Bloch, I. ([1933]) *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practises of All Races and All Ages*. New York: Anthropological Press, p45-6

⁵² Weeks, J. H. (1914) *Among the Primitive Bakongo*. London: Secley [etc.], p172. Weeks stated: “The unbetrothed girls from an early age up to puberty had free ingress to these houses [adolescent bachlor’s clubs] at night, and their parents encouraged them to go, as it “showed they had proper desires, and later in life they would bear children” ”.

⁵³ Smith & Dale, II, p38

⁵⁴ Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. ([1971]) *Amazonian Cosmos*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p245

⁵⁵ Frazer, J. G. / Liston-Blyth, A. (compil.) (1953) *Notes on Native Customs in the Baniara District (N.E.D.), Papua, J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 53:467-71, at p468

another opportune occasion for the children to fondle one another, to excite their sexual desires, and to caricature the physical raptures of their parents with cries of "It's wonderful!"

Encouragement of females is at times part of a distinct cultural ambivalence. After menache, the **Tunisian** girl was not allowed outside the house "for anything but the most legitimate social reasons"; paradoxically, they are encouraged to dress up and "look attractive". This corresponds to behaviour of the father towards his three-year-old girl, who "encourages a sort of demanding flirtatious feminine behavior forbidden his wife" (Gram). The same paradox was observed among the **Chagga** (Raum).

7.2.4 Genital Stimulation: Prosexual and Anticipating Dimensions⁵⁶

Infants' genitalia are stimulated in a multitude of societies ($N > 70$), though specific encouragement of self-masturbation would be on the agenda among the **Katschtka**, **Japanese**, **Basuto** (variable), and **Cubeo** only (all highly doubtful cases). **Japanese** mothers would teach their sons how to masturbate, helping them to achieve first ejaculation in much the same manner as they earlier helped them with toilet training (Kitahara); **Sioux** fathers, too, would learn their sons to masturbate and encourage them to do so on a regular basis (Sarlin). In **Puerto Rico** (and Latin America in general) and among the Spanish **Gitano** the practice seems firmly entrenched in the active cultivation of machismo, and this element may be central in other places (Suriname, **Saramaka**).

In other cases, erectile functions need to be checked, and if aberrant, fixed. The elements of potency (e.g., **Senegal**, **Zaire** [Bakwa-Luntu, Bakongo], **Tanzania**, **Martinique**) and virility (e.g., **Puerto Rico**, **Turkey**; **Aritama**) seem to be genuine anticipating concerns. In some cases manipulations of the mother have been motivated by preparatory intents⁵⁷.

7.2.5 The Instructrix/-Tor: African Case

Industrial societies are reckoned for their (quasi-)institutionalised sex talks at pubescence, dogmatically parental, and homosocial. Variations on this theme (uncles, godfathers, chaplains, rabbis) are noted frequently, but today's role for the scholastic institution, and for library booklets, may seem unrivalled. Whether depersonalised sexological transfers have come to replace classical European Talks is open for study. Today's ethics centralise the longitudinal curricular approach, in which parents come to the essence in gradual (above all, "appropriate") steps before and during puberty, if at all. If anything, parental efforts lie in the range of delay and restriction, as their essential priority is, and no obscurity here is in place, to censor possibly instructional ("operationalising") sources (cf. **chapter 10**).

⁵⁶ Cf. **chapter 9**.

⁵⁷ Including thelopoesis (South African natives, Timbira), phallopoesis (Paraguay, Bimin-Kuskusmin), or antiphallopoesis (Menomini), preputial conditioning (Hawai'i, Turkomans, Kurds, Uzbeks, Kazak-Kirghiz, Baushi), cunnus preparation (Marquesan, Ra'Ivavae, Mangaia, Hawai'i, Zimbabwe [vaRemba], Luba, Nkundo, Hottentot), and artificial defloration (e.g., Wakka, Yanoama). However, preparatory and nonpreparatory intents may be both present.

The detail of African sex education is unparalleled in other continents⁵⁸. The technique of coitus is covered in detail in the sexual education curricula of a number of societies⁵⁹. Sometimes, coitus is graphically demonstrated, using models or animals⁶⁰. It includes such techniques as cunnilingus, orgasm timing, culturally prescribed coital positions, etc. African girlhood sex instruction may be provided by mothers⁶¹, older sisters⁶², an instructress⁶³ or “some older woman”⁶⁴, grandmothers⁶⁵, or aunts⁶⁶. In Matomba, 12-year-olds of both sexes were locked up in a hut to be “erotically indoctrinated” by priests. An alike custom is encountered in Polynesia (cited by Danielsson, [1965:p89]), that is, “courses in sexual refinements” given by priestesses and Kariois. Sexual “instruction” may also be a part of quasi-formal pubescenta-prepubescenta alliances as seen in Lesotho, Ghana and Nigeria and among the **Venda/Bemba**.

African woman-pubescenta initiation systems, known for their “practical and theoretical instruction in sexual life” (Róheim, 1929:p189⁶⁷), are often characterised by secrecy, resulting in the ethnologists’ apology of his/her ignorance on the practice. Outside of Africa, this pattern is less stereotypical. However, Krämer and Nevermann (1938)⁶⁸ remark on the **Marshallese**:

“Auf der Ratak-Gruppe nimmt eine alte Frau die mannbaren Mädchen mit sich in den Busch, um sie hier sechs Monate lang in einer Art Schule (*bogge*) in allen Künsten der Liebe zu unterweisen. Nach der Rückkehr empfangen die Mädchen zu Hause drei Monate lang Männer und verheiraten sich dann” (p194).

That most traditional African instruction has been technically explicit needs no reserve. In many cases, details of coital techniques are part of the agenda⁶⁹. Although perhaps unnecessary, Northern Zambia **Bemba** matrilineal instructions on how to please a future husband were said to be given “in such detail that many men who intend to marry a lady from another tribe set great store in her being taught by the Bemba grannies in the rural areas”. As Richards notes, running counter Christian teachings, the Bemba socialise sex and prepare the young of both sexes for the satisfaction of the sex impulse “as soon as possible” and “to an extent unknown in modern society”. A female journalist was quoted by Hinfelaar as complaining:

⁵⁸ Though traditional Japanese sex education emphasized training in the practical method of sexual intercourse, modern education makes little reference to the concrete sexual act but, rather, emphasises the “values” and “ideals” attached to “sexuality”. Takahashi, I. (1993) [Youth and Sex Education], *Kyoiku-shakaigaku Kenkyu* [*J Educ Sociol*; Japan] 53:31-46

⁵⁹ E.g., Bemba, Chewa, Yao, Nambyans, Basoko, Tetela, Sukuma, Bantu (Tanzania), Karugu, Makonde, Tswana

⁶⁰ Bantu (clay or wood model), Makonde (clay figurines), Valenge (dolls), Luguru (chickens), Thai (statues), Bena (sticks and stones), New Guinea (hypercorrect dolls)

⁶¹ Luba, Nkundo, Kamba, Dogon, Ewe, Amhara, Valenge, Mbuti, Schwalbe Fulani, Ivory Coast, Sukuma, Tetela

⁶² Xhosa

⁶³ Mbuti, Makonde, Ndembu, Nkoya, Zulu, Pedi, Tanzania

⁶⁴ Kuranko, Mambwe, Maka, Nambyans, Zulu, Mbuti, Yoruba, Chewa, Ovimbundu, Tiv

⁶⁵ Kamba, Bemba, Shona, Makonde, Hambukushu, Hehe, Nambyans, Gusii, Meru, Luguru and Zaramo. African boys may be instructed by grandfathers (Nambyans, Shona, Kaguru, Mongo, Baluba, Bahungana). In the nonmaternal cases the generational gap (e.g., Xhosa, Hehe, Gusii, Zulu, Luguru, Bena, Gogo; provisionally for Mongo, Baluba and Bahungana; also Majuro [Marshall Islands]) is a moral obligation.

⁶⁶ Zimbabwe, Shona, Keffi Yegomawa Fulani, Alur, Baganda, Karanga. Also Bengali (acc. Fruzzetti)

⁶⁷ Róheim lists the following works: Smith, E. W. & Dale, A. M. (1920) *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*. Vol. II, p25; Kidd, D. (1904) *The Essential Kaffir*, p200; Roscoe (1911) *The Baganda*, p80; Werner, A. (1906) *Natives of Central Africa*, p126; Weiss, M. (1910) *Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch Ost-Afrikas*, p299, 300

⁶⁸ Krämer, Au. & Nevermann, H. (1938) *Ralik-Ratak (Marshall-Inseln)*. Hamburg; Friedrichsen, De Gruyter & Co.

⁶⁹ E.g., Yao, Nambyans, Basoko, Tetela, Sukuma, etc.

“The rise in promiscuity which the nation is experiencing can be squarely attributed to the initiation ceremonies on which women spend much of their time teaching small girls how to become professional love-makers. Is this what initiation is all about, a tradition that turns daughters of the soil into prostitutes who later bring unnecessary problems like unplanned babies and diseases?”⁷⁰

This type of education is largely abandoned today⁷¹.

7.2.6 Age-Stratified Coital Initiation / Instruction of Boys

In a limited number of societies the first sexual experiences are adult-initiated, or take place in an adult context. A most extreme case of laxity in sexual behaviour curricularisation is noted by Jules Henry (1941 [1964:p17-9])⁷² for the Brazilian **Kaingángs**, a tendency also said to be characteristic of the Brazilian **Xokleng**, Brazilian **Tupinamba**, Colombian **Kagaba**, Venezuela **Warao**, and Bolivian **Siriono**. In the case of the Kaingángs, children would be so saturated by the sexual attentions of adults that they would not feel the urge to play amongst themselves.

In a selected number of cases boys are coitally initiated by elder women, commonly widowed (Batak, Tswana, Mangaia, Kogi, Cagaba, Ica, Ibo, Korea, Santal, Ambrim), pregnant (Nigeria: Rukuba, Irigwe), “barren” (Kikuyu), divorced (Kanuri, Zuni, Santal) and prostituting women (Asaba Ibo, Lugbara, Burma, Iran, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Nicaragua, Ecuador, India, Peru, Thailand, Morocco, Italy⁷³), or some related or unrelated “older” women (ancient Japan, Ra’Ivavae, Cashinahua, Tupinamba, Xokleng, Basongye, Tiv, Siriono, Kaingángs, Canela, G/wi, Lepcha, western Tonga, Marquesans [?], Tongareva Island [Polynesia], Hawai’i). Wylie (1965:p296-7)⁷⁴ speculated on its occurrence in France, while Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg (1992:p25)⁷⁵ hints at its traditional occurrence in Germany.

Prostitute contacts are frequently arranged or take place with paternal, parental or at least peer group blessing, providing for a “veritable initiation rite toward male maturity”⁷⁶. Stavans (1995:p52)⁷⁷ relates:

⁷⁰ Ms Lilian Wamulume, “Some traditions corrupt” in *Search News Magazine*, Vol. 2(1), Jan. 1992

⁷¹ E.g., Stewart, K. A. (2001) *Toward a Historical Perspective on Sexuality in Uganda: The Reproductive Lifeline Technique for Grandmothers and their Daughters* *Africa Today* 47,3/4:124-48, at p136

⁷² Henry, J. (1941 [1964]) *Jungle People: A Kaingang Tribe of the Highlands of Brazil*. New York: J. J. Augustin. See also Róheim, G. (1956) The individual, the group, and mankind, *Psychoanal Quart* 25:1-10, p6-7; Stephens (1963:p376-7)

⁷³ Parca ([1967:p37]) found that the 54% found in 41-50-year-olds was declining. 6% of male coitarches was with married women.

⁷⁴ Wylie, L. (1965) Youth in France and the United States, in Erikson, E. H. (Ed.) *The Challenge of Youth*. New York: Doubleday Anchor, p291-311. “A traditional means has evolved in France for the indoctrination of young people in the expression of their sexual feelings. The adolescent boy receives his experience and training from an older woman and then in turn initiates the girl- ideally, of course, his virgin wife- in the art he has learned. French literature and movies offer examples of this, but whether this literary expression mirrors actual behavior is a question which cannot be answered. Still, from what evidence we have, it does seem that the situation so frequently portrayed in the novels of Colette, for instance, bears some relation to actual practice”.

⁷⁵ Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, G. (1992) Interview, *Paidika* 2,4(8):21-6. Cf. *Op een Oude Fiets Moet je Het Leren*, p46-54, at p54. The author writes that this heterosexual “introduction to love” was “[...] granted in earlier times mostly to the sons of the rich. In their capacities as scions of the bourgeoisie, fathers and uncles took care that growing boys were well informed about and even introduced to heterosexual sex. They were especially instructed in how to protect themselves from venereal disease. In Germany there were women, called “Lebedamen”, well educated prostitutes, who specialized in such initiations”.

⁷⁶ Kagie, R. (1994) citing H. Lamur, *Vrij Nederland* [Dutch], Dec. 17, p31

⁷⁷ Stavans, I. (1995) The Latin Phallus, *Transition* 65:48-68

"The Hispanic family encourages a familiar double standard. Few societies prize female virginity with the conviction that we do. But while virginity is a prerequisite for a woman's safe arrival at the wedding canopy, men are encouraged to fool around, to test the waters, to partake of the pleasures of the flesh. [...] Like most of my friends, I lost my virginity to a prostitute at the age of 13. An older acquaintance was responsible for arranging the "date", when a small group of us would meet an experienced harlot at a whore house. It goes without saying that none of the girls in my class were similarly "tutored" [...]. Losing virginity was a dual mission: to ejaculate inside the hooker, and then, more importantly, to tell of the entire adventure afterwards".

The same was found by Espín⁷⁸ and others.

The experience, evidently outlawed in the US⁷⁹, may turn out awkward. Among the Nigerian **Rukuba**, one type of marriage consists of ritual marriage of males before initiation, sometimes before puberty. The boy spends a night with a married, pregnant woman, who instructs him in sexual behaviour, and whom he is to avoid sexually in the future (Muller, 1972:p293-4)⁸⁰:

"The ritual marriage teaches a boy what he can and cannot do although being so small at the time of the initiation, many Rukuba men later recall with laughter the one night spent with the pregnant woman. They insist on their bewilderment and inability to cope with the situation, the initiative resting with the woman who, apparently, means business however small the initiand might be".

In contrast to the Latin American variant, Condry et al. (1987)⁸¹ argued that heterosexual activity among Western boys with "older women" (≥5 years), at least in the histories of prison inmates, was not the rarity that some sexologists had previously proposed; in general, this type of contact would appear to be "an extension of the lower end of the age distribution for adult male-female sexual relationships". Contrary to "dominant discourses" (cf. Leahy), a far greater number of male respondents regarded the experience as "positive" rather than "negative". Rather than arranged initiations, such boy-woman interactions would have a "complicated gender structure"⁸², to say the least.

7.2.7 Age-Stratified Coital Initiation / Instruction of Girls

Classical age patterned coital initiation as observed for boys on several continents is only marginally paralleled for girls, as might be expected. Girls are initiated by an "older experienced man" in a few cases, where it may also be true for boys (Sierra Nevada: Cágaba,

⁷⁸ Espín, O.M. (1984) Cultural and historical influences on sexuality in Hispanic/Latin women: implications for psychotherapy, in Vance, C. S. (Ed.) *Pleasure and Danger*. Boston [etc.]: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p149-64, at p157: "Sexually, "machismo" is expressed through an emphasis on multiple, uncommitted sexual contacts which start in adolescence. [...] [M]any [Latin American] males celebrated their adolescence by visiting prostitutes. The money to pay for this sexual initiation was usually provided by fathers, uncles or older brothers. Adolescent females, however, were offered coming-out parties, the rituals of which emphasize their virginal qualities".

⁷⁹ Consider "Woman involved in alleged puberty initiation scheme pleads no contest to child sexual abuse", San Jose Mercury News, Calif. 1998, March 25. A female adult and her best friend, a 13-year-old boy's mother were accused of "concocting a twisted scheme to initiate the boy into puberty. The bizarre sexual arrangement came to light in June [1997] after the mother allegedly became jealous of her son's involvement with [that woman] and contacted a social worker, who informed police".

⁸⁰ Muller, J. C. (1972) Ritual marriage, symbolic fatherhood and initiation among the Rukuba, Plateau-Benue State, Nigeria, *Man* 7,2:283-95

⁸¹ Condry, S. R. et al. (1987) Parameters of Sexual Contact of Boys with Women, *Arch Sex Behav* 16,5:379-94

⁸² Nelson, A. & Oliver, P. (1998) Gender and the Construction of Consent in Child-Adult Sexual Contact: Beyond Gender Neutrality and Male Monopoly, *Gender & Society* 12, 5:554-77, at p560. Cf. Leahy (1991:p199-206; 1994)

Ica, Kogi; Polynesia: Tongareva Island, Easter Island). More than incidental generation-stratified patterns outside of wedlock are said to occur prepubertally for the Maya, traditional Haitians, Mombasa Swahili, Baraguyu, Ingalik, Masai, Nandi (debated) and Trukese (fellatio). Basongye girls of 13-15 are said to seek *badumiyani* [heterosexual friendships] among boys of their own age, and adults accept the notion that one of the purposes of these friendships is sexual acquaintance (Merriam). When the older partner is an older married adult, the thing is understood in terms of “instruction”⁸³.

7.2.8 Other “Initiations” and Recruitments: Age Stratified Pair-Bonding and Prostitution

Among the numerous cases of early betrothal and marriage, matters are arranged to take place over a considerable age gap, including arrangements between children and adolescents⁸⁴ or children and adults⁸⁵. In these cases, consummation generally awaits puberty, but regardless of its timing, the experience will be a matter of unilateral introduction. The issue of misuse becomes apparent in the fact that most cases where consummation would not await puberty such timing is much debated⁸⁶. In more or less distant past, children are known to have been “trained” for prostitution purposes (e.g., Indian *Devadasis*, Chinese *Sian-Kôn*, Indonesian *Sedattis*, central Asian *Bačas*). Fact is that these kinds of “socialisation”, as others in this article, are not adequately covered by traditional cross-cultural ratings. In some cases of age stratified marriage the child bride is unambiguously described as being trained into domestic, including sexual, service⁸⁷.

7.2.9 Adolescent-Preadolescent and Peer “Initiations”: Extending and Negotiating Categorialism

Western sexology has a long tradition of negotiating roles and narratives involved in the process of adolescent coitarche. Subjects, thus, may be “abused”, “seduced”, “allow themselves to be introduced”, introduce themselves, “participate” in their being seduced, etc. The library of academia addressing Nabokov’s 1955 bestseller provides a rich entry into Occidental representations of “seduction”. Legally, it appears that such antegrade or retrospective qualifications are primarily informed by the ages and age differences of the identified introductor and introducee. As reviewed elsewhere⁸⁸, changing American

⁸³ “Girls of the same age may also have a *badumiyani* who is an older married man, and one of his primary obligations in this role is to instruct the girl in matters pertaining to marriage. Such instruction may be in sexual intercourse as well as in other matters, and sex relations may continue after the girls has married; in either case, the affair is carried on in secret. Similarly, teen-aged boy may have an older married woman as his *badumiyani*”.

⁸⁴ E.g., Hausa, G/wi, !Kung, Igala, Gusii, Tetela; New Guineans, Warao

⁸⁵ E.g., girls: Konkomba, Kokomba, Hausa, Bangwa, Maasai; Dagor Mongols (rare), Australian Aborigines; India, Jews, Arabs, Persians, Huli (pubescents with adults), Klamath, Polar Eskimo (pubescents with adults), New Britain, Trukese, Bororó, Warao, Yanomamo; boys: Igala, Tanzania; both sexes: Kazach

⁸⁶ Tuareg, Luvale, Pokomo, Kunandaburi (Australia), India: Veda (debated; legally issued in 1846, 1891, and 1925); Adjeh (debated); Wolof (debated); Hausa (debated)

⁸⁷ Example: The Yolngu practised prenatal betrothal (Money and Erhardt, 1973 / 1996:p142), and, together with eventual siblings, join the husband at menarche, at age 12 or 13. “Should a girl be taken prepubertally by her older promise man (in lieu of a bride price), then sex with her would be confined to his training her vagina in digital masturbation (“finger-dala”), until after the age of menarche. Only then would penile intromission begin”.

⁸⁸ Preparatory literature reviews by the author.

recognition of Introducers has led to a colonisation of the adolescent realm and, more recently, the childhood edge. “Adolescent”-to-“preadolescent” “initiations” are seen as opportunistic⁸⁹, and an area that would have been “neglected” by early abuse phenomenologists and theorists.

Authors utilising an absolute age difference for some interpretation of the concept of subadult-to-subadult “abuse” vary: from 2 years (Weber et al., 1992⁹⁰; Cavanagh Johnson), and 3 year (for adolescents; Sgroi, Bunk and Wabrek, 1988; Corwin, 1988), to 5 years (Miller et al., 1987⁹¹; De Jong, 1989⁹²; Lamb and Cloakley, 1993; Boelrijk, 1997). The age boundaries to which this factor should pertain are frequently not communicated. Roughly speaking, age difference is only culturally relevant in the context of the youngest persons’ age/life phase. This suggests that age/phase difference is an important theme for curricularisation ideologies: the control of “initiation” via “seduction” (“protection”). The wide literary use of the concept of seduction, however, is not suggestive of a uniformity comparable to that of the clinical realm.

Some degree of difference in age or sophistication is inevitable, but the “natural range” may be small⁹³. Anticipating the cultural (or perhaps more precisely, clinical) developments, Martinson (1973:p19-20, 41-9, 96-101; 1974:p78-82; cf. 1994:ch. 6)⁹⁴ provided a wealth of phase-unmatched cases, concluding:

“All of the [mentioned] cases involving a young child in a sexual encounter with a preadolescent or adolescent could be lumped under an emotionally-laden label--child molestation. But when we take a close look at the encounters we find that the content of the interaction is infinitely varied from case to case. To say that a preadolescent or adolescent is molesting a younger child is far too simple and categorical a way to deal with many of the experiences involved” (1973:p49).

Martinson: “Receiving “sex education” through direct encounters with those who are older is a common experience for adolescent girls, and to some extent for adolescent boys”. The Kronhausens⁹⁵ related that boys after learning to masturbate later reject their initiators (p78-9) accusing them of obscenity and vulgarity. This implies a renegotiation of concepts such as initiation and seduction.

The ethnographic record offers many examples of more or less regular subadult age stratification in initiation-like interactions⁹⁶. Anecdotal material⁹⁷ suggests that

⁸⁹ E.g., Kourany, R. F., Martin, J. E. & Armstrong, S. H. (1979) Sexual experimentation by adolescents while babysitting, *Adolescence* 14(54):283-8

⁹⁰ Weber, F. T., Gearing, J., Davis, A. & Conlon, M. (1992) Prepubertal initiation of sexual experiences and older first partner predict promiscuous sexual behavior of delinquent adolescent males--unrecognized child abuse? *J Adolesc Health* 13,7:600-5

⁹¹ Miller, B. A., Downs, W. R. et al. (1987) The role of childhood sexual abuse in the development of alcoholism in women, *Violence Vict* 2,3:157-72

⁹² De Jong, A. R. (1989) Sexual interactions among siblings and cousins: experimentation or exploitation? *Child Abuse & Negl* 13,2:271-9

⁹³ The ages of the female partners of the preadolescent boys who participated in sexual encounters in the Ramsey (1943) study were in 80 percent of the cases within one year of the same age as that of the boy; in 11 percent of the cases the girls were two or more years older; and for the remaining 9 percent the partners were two or more years younger. Kinsey et al. (1948) found that, although no specific data were gathered, boys are “mostly” initiated by a slightly older female or male. Haugaard and Tilly (1988) found a partner’s age surplus of 0.69 year ($SD=1.7$) in girls and 0.29 ($SD=1.9$) in boys. These data may be biased by the fact that only experiences are used “rated as most meaningful” by the subjects. The required age of the subject was 12 and below, the age of the partner 15 and below.

⁹⁴ Martinson, F. M. (1973) *Infant and Child Sexuality: A Sociological Perspective*. St. Peter, MN: Book Mark.; Martinson, F. M. (1974) *The Quality of Adolescent Sexual Experiences*. St. Peter, MN: The Book Mark, p78-82;

Martinson, F. M. (1994) *The Sexual Life of Children*. Westport, Conn: Bergin & Garvey

⁹⁵ Kronhausen, Ph. & Kronhausen, E. (1960) *Sex Histories of American College Men*. New York: Ballantine

⁹⁶ Examples include the Finnish, Bosofo, Maya, Mohave, Ingalik, Crow, Bood Indians, Nyakyusa, Haiti, Apache, Lesotho, Ghana, Nigeria, Mombasa, Tanzania, Pangwe, Marinbata, Bakalta, Pedi, Seniang, IKung, Puerto Rico, urbanised Xhosa, India, Chinese

approximately equal-aged children may assume vertical role-playing, enacting a veritable initiation scenario; the peers play “teacher-pupil” rather than marriage⁹⁸. The “doctor” game, held to be universal, also suggests a temporary unequal power relation, few but anecdotal data being available on the exact narrative (e.g., changing roles).

7.2.10 The Dormitory: Initiatory Environments

Bachelors’ (single sex) or adolescent heterosexual dormitory systems have been prevalent in parts of Asia, Africa and Oceania. Margold (1926)⁹⁹ mentions a variety of means for organising sexual practices and courtship, where the thing may be a ceremonial and group affair, and taking place in some form of bachelor and “play” houses¹⁰⁰ (p652-5). The time of entering these and alike environmental changes to invariably age-mixed settings is almost invariably prepubertal¹⁰¹.

In 1893, Peal¹⁰² notes that “In all the races exhibiting this peculiar social custom [morongs, communal barracks for the young and unmarried] juvenile chastity is not valued, and we may say with truth that “morals begin with marriage. [...] The disregard of “juvenile chastity”, which now-a-days we look upon with absolute horror, was in them not only allowed, but actually organised, and on a barrack system”. Elwin (1968:p127-8), on the Murian Ghotul, relates that “from a very early age the young chelik and motiari are trained in sexual technique, both by example and by actual instruction”; parents “encourage” the practices. Ghotul-like institutions are reported everywhere in traditional Asia and Africa, and occasionally elsewhere. The differences may not be great, perhaps apart from the age at which it was entered. The main difference with the ghotul system of the Hill Maria (Grigsonm), for instance, appeared to have been that the girls of the Hill Maria went home to their parents each evening, while the girls of the Muria slept with the boys in boy/girl dormitories. The *O’lag* of the Bontoc Igorot (northern Luzon, now called the Philippines) probably fulfilled the same purpose (Jenks). Thus, “[...] the *olag* is nightly filled with little girls whose moral training is had there”. The institutional *practica* in erotic affiliation in the dormitory setting are commonly a social obligation.

⁹⁷ Martinson (1973:p36): “[...] she was the instructor and I was the pupil”; (*ibid.*, p40): “My friend, a boy age five, was giving me (boy four years of age) a lesson in human anatomy (that is, sexual anatomy) [...]”. Observations on age-stratified contacts (e.g., Leahy, 1991:p28-9) describe participants as being construed or actively construing themselves as “initiators”.

⁹⁸ Little is known about the relationship between age stratification and erotic age orientation development. One might hypothesise that a roughly equivalent initial plasticity is typical of low-direction socialisation societies of age/phase dynamics and gender dynamics, the actualisation of opportunities depending on the balance between vicarious taboo and internalisation of such morale.

⁹⁹ Margold, Ch. W. (1926) The Need of a Sociological Approach to Problems of Sex Conduct: III. The Invariable Presence of Social Control in Man’s Sexual Conduct, *Am J Sociol* 31, 5:634-56

¹⁰⁰ Noted for the Yukaghir, Wedan, Wamira, Gelaria, Wagawaga, Yakuts, Monbuttu, Bakongo, Trobairnders, Kachins (Burma), Tuhoe Maori

¹⁰¹ Information was collected for the Batak, Kiman, Marind Anim, Ifugao, Sagada Igorots, Bontoc Igorots, Polynesia, Japan, Muria, Hill Maria, Maragoli, Luo, Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Iteso, Bakongo, Alur, Swazi, Mandari, Lugbara, Mbuti, Otoro and Heiben Nuba, Hopi, Lushai and other tribes of east Pakistan.

¹⁰² Peal, S. E. (1893) On the “Morong”, as Possibly a Relic of Pre-Marriage Communism, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 22:244-261, at p244, 253-4

7.2.11 Cultivating Sexual Identity: Genetics of Sexual/Gendered Persona

Machismo is often attributed a regional specificity (Latin America, Mexico, Spain). “Macho scripting” takes place from infancy, when so-called “superior, masculine” affects become favoured over “inferior, feminine” ones through socialisation processes¹⁰³. The macho seems to be shaped by means of a distinct direct approach, both to the genital and to the heterosexual persona. A Nambikwara male relates:

“When I was maybe six years old, in groups of men, my father would say, “You have to fuck that one there [...] that one there is a woman [...] you have to fuck women [...] fuck cunt [...] you have to make her suck [...] you have to fuck her ass!” And the others, they would add on [...]. They would give lectures. “Take off the bra first.” “And when you’re sucking her nipple, you take her hand and put it on your cock”. “But you’ve got to have a hard-on, to show her that you’re a macho”.

Socialization in Puerto Rico (Baumgartner, 1994 [p182-90])¹⁰⁴ is “gendered” from birth. “Two or three year old toddlers are asked about their “girl-friends” and are made aware of their sexuality through jokes and observations on the desirability of girls, which will seem out of context for an outside observer who does not understand the “macho” personality being enforced. Machismo develops in boys at the encouragement of their mothers as well as fathers and friends¹⁰⁵. Gender difference is exemplified by the gender preference for males, selective stimulation of the male genital in infancy, and the alike genital joking. Parents would pull a two-year-old’s penis, and inquire for its function. The answer would be, “For the women!”. Thus the parents try to instil a *macho* concept, along with the double standard, from early age¹⁰⁶. Fernández-Marina¹⁰⁷ found that a Puerto Rican father frequently, “wishing to show off his son as a macho completo (complete he-man), will play with the infant’s penis” (p82). Padilla (1958:p186)¹⁰⁸ states that “[...] adults and older brothers and sisters are likely to tease and play with his [infant boy’s] genitals, kissing them and remarking on their size, commenting that he is a *machito* (real little male) or a *machote* (real he-man). A baby girl less than a year old may be slapped on the hands if she touches her genitals, but a boy can play with his until he is four or five”. According to Price (1933:p12)¹⁰⁹, genital teasing in the Saramaka (Suriname) included the mocking of the child’s genital and performatory inadequacy.

“Little children are constantly reminded in a playful way about their sex, most often by adults of their grandparents’ generation, but also by others. Men tease girls from infancy on by grabbing at their “breasts” and genitals, and women often pull playfully at a little boy’s penis, interrogating him about whether he really knows how to use it and whether he thinks it is big enough to satisfy them. A favorite way of engaging a two- or three-year-old boy is to ask after his pregnant wife or, for a girl, to inquire whether her recent labor pains were severe, and children are expected to provide appropriate answers”.

¹⁰³ Mosher, D. L. & Tomkins, S. S. (1988) Scripting the Macho Man: Hypermasculine Socialization and Enculturation, *J Sex Res* 25,1:60-84

¹⁰⁴ Baumgartner, J. M. (1994) *Challenged Manliness: A Social and Symbolic Perspective on Sexuality and Divorce in Puerto Rico*. Diss., University of Michigan

¹⁰⁵ Bejin, A. & Guadilla, N. G. (1984) Sept theses erronées sur le machisme latino-Américain, *Cah Int Sociol* 31, 76:21-8

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Stycos, J. M. (1952) Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico, *Am Sociol Rev* 17,5:572-80, at p574

¹⁰⁷ Fernández-Marina, R. (1961) The Puerto Rican syndrome: its dynamics and cultural determinants, *Psychiatry* 24:79-82

¹⁰⁸ Padilla, E. (1958) *Up from Puerto Rico*. New York: Columbia University Press

¹⁰⁹ Price, S. (1933) *Co-Wives and Calabashes*. 2nd edition, with a preface by the author, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Also, “[t]oddlers are frequently teased about sex and encouraged to develop their verbal wit in this direction [...]”.

Mexican, and more generally Latin American, boys prove their masculinity by sexual initiation with a prostitute.

These observations describe a gender informed “double-standard” from early infancy, with an early aggressive emphasis on phallic prowess. Predominantly, there is an early explicit reference to heterosexual genital accomplishment, coupled with the apparent genital stimulation. The male identity is actively enforced including mock elements of teasing, challenging, demands, and rewarding of stereotyped attitudes (see further **chapter 9**).

The *machismo* telos present in Latin American infant-rearing contrasts with sexological dimensions in the operationalisation of gender of European children. The manual and verbally quasi-aggressive modes of addressing functionality and status are entirely absent, leaving a relative gender-equal / genderless space, at least a performatively neutral (undefined). “Erotic gender”, thus, becomes a identity construct based on positioning within a hypothetical behavioural space, contrasting the Puerto Rican boy’s identity being shaped by anticipated and actualised performances.

7.2.12 Enforced Experiences: The “Fifth” Mode of Socialisation

The possible consequences of early arranged or forced marriages are well discussed¹¹⁰. The ethical reflection which it attracts tends to politicise the fact that these regulations are part of a positively definable system of curriculum assignment. No cross-cultural examination of sexual attitudes addresses the issue of sexual activity as a social obligation. Levine (1965)¹¹¹ marks for the Ethiopian Amhara:

“The experience of the wedding night cannot be very pleasant for the bride. For the first time in her life she is far from the familiar setting of her parental home. She has had little or no sexual instruction, other than the knowledge that sexual matters are “rude” and that she is supposed to resist her husband’s advances as fiercely as possible. The groom, on the other hand, has been taught to regard the nuptial night as a battle in which the bride must be forcibly overcome. If somewhat anxious himself, he at least has the moral, and sometimes the physical, support of his two or three *mize*. If he is unable to accomplish the defloration, he may call in the first *mize*—usually a married relative or friend with some experience—who will perform the task. When at last the bride has been conquered, the *mize* take the bloodstained cloth as proof of the girl’s virginity. Their triumphant chant—*ber ambar sabara-lewo*, “he has broken the silver bracelet for you” (for the bride’s parents)—is the signal for further rejoicing and revelry among the wedding guests. On the morrow groom and friends discuss the conquest with masculine glee, and the bride remains embarrassed and cowed”.

For the Hausa it was said that, “[a]lthough it is said that full cohabitation between the husband and the minor should not take place until the girl has reached puberty, it does not happen in practice and quite often children under thirteen years of age and scarcely

¹¹⁰ E.g., Ebigo, P. O. (1979) [Arranged marriages of under-age girls and their psychic consequences], *Zeitschr f Psychosom Med & Psychoanal* 25,4:376-81

¹¹¹ Levine, D. N. (1965) *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

developed are subjected to intercourse with their husbands long before they attain maturity” (Uzedike, 1990:p88)¹¹². This intercourse may be forced, and aided with a so-called *gishiri* cut. Callaway (1987:p35)¹¹³ speaks of “forced sexual cohabitation at puberty regardless of mental and emotional development”. Formerly, a Tiv boy had his first experiences with a women who would have secretly “initiated him into the secrets and techniques of sexual relations” after circumcision at puberty; the occasion would be a secret between the boy and his mother, *who pressures to boy into it*. For the !Kung, Shostak notes:

“Although sexual knowledge is each !Kung woman’s legacy from the sexual play in childhood, most young girls see a world of difference between playing with boys their own age and having sex with their husbands- grown men. A girl’s first experience of adult sex is, therefore, often traumatic. Sexual relations may be postponed for years, but once a girl show clear signs of sexual development she is generally pressured to accept her husband’s sexual advances” (p147-8).

Introcision (the enlargement of the vaginal opening by tearing or cutting the perineum) was practised among some of the aboriginal Australians (Aranda) in order to facilitate the first experience of sexual intercourse, which may have been immediate, forceful and with multiple partners (Favazza, 1987:p159)¹¹⁴. “Though not common, there have been instances of prepuberty coitus among the Yanomama”, and girls are told “forcefully” to submit to her husband’s sexual wishes. Many initiations, too, include prescribed sexual activity. Among Buenos Aires 18-24 year males sexual activities were

“initiated at increasingly earlier ages. Most of the interviewed youth defined their first experiences as disappointing. Asked why, they always responded that it was so because of a lack of romance. Most boys had been initiated in whorehouses, under the pressure of the fathers who would arrange the visit, and this happened without a previous intimate talk that could soothe the anxiety of the teenager by discussing what he may expect to happen and how to protect himself from diseases, mainly AIDS, about which the teenager had already heard at school. Such experiences, they said, left bitter memories, which for some disappeared when they fell in love and discovered the ingredient they were longing for: romance. The boys all agreed that the experience at the whorehouse was felt as an obligation to fulfil in order to affirm their virility”.

Thus, it seems to require a disregarding of facts to discuss the range of sexual curricula terms of restriction or the absence of restriction only.

7.3 Conclusions

Cultural organisation of sexological continuity includes the shaping of trajectories on the basis of curricular ideologies, that is, the evaluation of individual pathways by comparison with an imagined ideal one. Some cases better taken *cum grano salo*, aforementioned examples will suffice to conclude that, in contrast to and in conflict with the contemporary Euro-American experience, there is indeed a mode of sexual behaviour socialisation (curricular shaping) based on unambiguously promoting principles. The agenda includes

¹¹² Uzedike, Eu. (1990) Child abuse and neglect in Nigeria- sociological aspects, *Int J Law & Fam* 4:83-96

¹¹³ Callaway, B. J. (1987) *Muslim Hausa Women in Nigeria: Tradition and Change*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press

¹¹⁴ Favazza, A. R. (1987) *Bodies Under Siege: Self-Mutilation in Culture and Psychiatry*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press

anticipation or active shaping of sexual-erotic identity, sexual apparatus and functions, adequate partnership (coital submission and claim), sexual orientation and factual pairbonding. The operationalisation of these “training” modes more often than not requires the direct employment of age-structured interactions competing with near universal kinship and life phase (unigenerational) barriers. Furthermore, arguments can be made that few *first* (or even subsequent) interactions truly depart from a symmetric basis, and that all technology and morality included in man’s sexological curriculum derives from authorities, unlevelled colleagues. The transmission of these elements, however, commonly follows schemas that are indirect communications intended to delay the acquisition of, or that re-operationalise knowledge. These issues jeopardise complete, well-timed, status-associated and pragmatic anticipation of preferred future sexual trajectories, and allows such trajectories both chronological and thematic divergence. Along with a cultural erosion of sexual divergence, this may translate into a high probability of identification and complementation variability, as many theorists have suggested. This is a kind of “freedom” or “permissiveness”, yes, but only within culturally defined definitions and limits.

7.4 Impressions for a Poststructuralist Perspective

Societies differ in their valuation and localisation of both (ictal) events and (key) agents or personae in ‘developing’ sexual behaviour trajectories. Contemporary Western erotic and sexual behaviour development represents a problematic pedagogical concept since it commonly lacks a moral discourse unambiguously governing it to “be developed” through interactions and by the hands of educators. Rather, the discursive position of pedagogues is identified by concepts of controlling and shaping the collateral preconditions for *imaginary* and conceptual initiations. These interactions are motivated by an apparent need for preventing physical initiations to be factually (conceptually and morally) initiating, such factual initiations being interpreted as traumatic to developing or established identities. These practices are to ensure the transferral of acquainting the individual with sexual interaction (potential trauma) from the hazardous physical sphere to the supposedly self-regulating (self-satisfying, self-inhibiting) and self-educating “auto-erotic” sphere. This self-sexual background is to provide the positive operationalisation of factual interactions within a depragmatised discourse of sex. Such depragmatisation may partly be associated with the involution of needs for offspring, and the outgrowth of a need for (indeed actively) shaping of (unambiguously pragmatic) academic identities. “Sexual” behaviour is not operationalised by its capacity to shape or contribute to sexual identities (or in fact *represent* identity), but rather by its utility to confirm or prove the existence of such identities. By contrast, where such need is manifest, sexuality is placed within a highly pragmatic discourse, and occasions for unambiguous (physical) initiations are monitored, arranged, or even enforced, girls’ sexual/reproductive roles being stressed, at the expense of hypothetical alternative roles.

8

Preadult Sexualities.

Ethnohistorical Materials for a Discourse Analysis

“Soll ich von meiner Landessitte lassen?”¹

“I’m quite sure sexual preference is not determined by nail polish or pantyhose, at least not before puberty”²

Abstract: This chapter explores discourses associated with what are identified as “typical” or “non-typical” 3 sexual developmental pathways. It is suggested that the occurrence of these pathways is a function of curricular opportunities and restrictions, and, tentatively, that cultural tolerance levels tend to take these mechanisms into consideration in their attitudes. That is, tolerance for (curricular) atypical patterns is a trade-off for abstinent parenthood. Pedagogue’s positioning follows discourses which for the purpose of this article could be trichotomised as legitimising tolerant, restrictive and stimulative attitudes. A mechanism is suggested that, on *individual* and *subcultural* curricular levels alike, operationalisations of (e.g., partner-identified) sexual behaviour categories represent an economy of possibilities and probabilities, that loses hierarchical definition if and when cultural environments take nonoperationalizing positions. While cultural patterns may be typified by an identical set of possibilities and probabilities, any “possible” or “probable” act may still be subject to a specific explanation: frustration, practice, indifference, hesitance, etc. This is suggested by a parallel presentation of historical and ethnological examples.

¹ Among the **Bafia**, Tessmann notes a stage of passive homosexuality with older brothers, at age 5 or 6 onwards. Tessmann judged this second “stage” of psychosexual development as a “Landessitte” (three other tribes are named in this respect), and is not denied by the subjects in question: “Soll ich von meiner Landessitte lassen?”.

² O’Mara, P. (1998) The tenderness of boys, *Mothering* Jan/Febr 86:6

³ For purposes of theoretical clarity, any nonheteroerotic pattern is here identified as “atypical”, as judged from the (random) position that cultures universally assume heterosexual developments of individuals, while any “atypical” pattern universally represents a problem within this expectancy.

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8.0 Introduction

Foucault described the growing nineteenth century preoccupation with childhood sexuality as the “pedagogization of children’s sex”, a process in which “parents, families, educators, doctors, and eventually psychologists would have to take charge, in a continuous way”. This was an integral part of the politics of biopower that, in Foucault’s view, characterised new forms of power in the modern era. Biopower involved, on the one hand, the marking out and disciplining of individuals to conform to particular social exigencies (i.e., the process of normalisation); and, on the other hand, the management or regulation of the life processes of populations as a whole.

The following paragraphs list various pedagogical positions regarding preadult sexual behaviour. These were categorised in areas that encompass heterosexual (“typical”) and nonheterosexual (“atypical”) behaviours.

8.1 Mapping Preadult Sexualities: Discursive Pedagogisms

Drawing from the ethnographic record, an operational classification can be made for curricular discourses addressing the *tolerance*, *restriction* or *stimulation* of sexual behaviour before puberty. These discursive entries, as derived from rather fragmentary communications, illustrate the *curricular contextualisation* of sexual behaviour in diverse pedagogical (e.g., “developmental”) spaces: the moral, the medical, the supernatural, the sexual, the socioeconomic, the hierarchical, the historical, and the generational. Departing from and expanding on Foucaultian principles, it seems that parents utilise a given set of contextual ramifications or discourses that are to justify a given level and direction of intervention. These discourses add up to specific sexological spaces, having their fundamentals in “developmental” theories or axiomata. These “developmental” theories (contexts, discourses) are then applied to children to redirect occurring trajectorial tendencies to (contextualised) curricula, a process here addressed as “curricularisation”.

8.1.1 Tolerance Discourses: Dequalification, Decategorisation and Depedagogisation

This set of explanations dismisses and disqualifies prepubertal sexuality as a fully relevant sexual/erotic category. This was discussed in §5.4.2 under the title of “pseudolicense”. The child is “excused” from social censure, an amnesty informed by the postulate that his transgressions are not “really” transgressive, which in turn is a function of wider social views on curricular competence. Discursive elements include (with parenthetical examples footnoted):

- (a) dismissal on the basis of fertility criteria⁴ (Africa [Nuer⁵, Dogon⁶, Bantu⁷]; also Melanesia);
- (b) dismissal from magical rebuttal (passive: Kikuyu⁸);
- (c) denial of conditional requirements:
 - (i) sophistication derived intention (Baja⁹, Bubi¹⁰, Gogo¹¹) (cf. §6.1.4);
 - (ii) physical competence (Australia¹²);
 - (iii) biopsychological motivation (Australia¹³, Kwoma¹⁴);
- (d) dismissal on the basis of moral responsibility criteria (Kaguru¹⁵);
- (e) decontextualisation (Pangwe¹⁶), also including
 - (i) degenderisation (Bemba¹⁷, Ijo boys¹⁸, Paiela¹⁹), and
 - (ii) de-erotisation (Garos²⁰);
- (f) biopsychological inevitability (Baiga²¹, Muria²²);

⁴ Rachewiltz was to note that “[...] in Africa, before puberty, especially before circumcision, the individual is sexually insignificant; he, or she, is incapable of fecundation, and consequently without effect either magically or socially. This explains children’s freedom together, and the liberty an adult is allowed with a pre-adolescent child, or a woman with an uncircumcised boy. Many of the girls conceal their first menstruation, so as to enjoy their liberty a little longer”.

⁵ “What harm can they do? No babies will result!” (MacDermott).

⁶ “Sexual intercourse is tried out even in childhood. People say that this really does not matter because, of course, there can be no offspring” (Parin et al.).

⁷ “Bantu children, even before puberty, indulge in play at sexual intercourse; but this is either connived at or looked upon with amusement and toleration by adults, because it can have no social consequences” (Krige).

⁸ Kikuyu girls got rid of their “initiation dirt” by intercourse with immature and uninitiated boys (a heinous offence on the part of an initiated girl except for this one purpose), who, not having reached the stage when sex was “socially important”, “would not suffer from the taint” (Lambert).

⁹ The Baja tend to regard children as innocent (ignorant), probably much contrary to facts (Tessmann).

¹⁰ African Bubi regarded the child as innocent until age 7 (Tessmann).

¹¹ Among the Gogo, sexual play among children is condoned as “simply the result of childish ignorance” (Rigby).

¹² “He’s too young to have an erection”, or “Why, that child has only a small vagina, she won’t be ready yet for a long time”.

¹³ The Ooldea aboriginals believe that the ‘di:dji’pulka (age three or four to pubarche) has no sexual desires (Berndt and Berndt).

¹⁴ “A girl’s menarche in itself removes her from the status of child and puts her into a class of “sexy” persons, children of either sex being considered both uninterested in sex and uninteresting sexually” (Williamson).

¹⁵ Among the Kaguru (Tanzania), children are “morally limited beings, and as such are excluded from full social, moral affairs; they are not “innocent”, but rather “incomplete social beings”. Moral responsibility is tied to adult knowledge (*usungu*) and cleverness ordinarily concealed (*kufisa*) that is transmitted during initiation, and also informally through storytelling heard before initiation (“Sexuality truly is the single most important factor lying behind most Karugu stories”).

¹⁶ Among the Pangwe, children’s coitus is not “taken seriously” for they are uninitiated: “Kinder [...] sind Uneingeweihte, Gute, weil sie den Geschlechtsverkehr nicht kennen und, wenn sie ihn vorzeitig kennen gelernt haben, nicht wissen, daß es Sünde ist, was sie tun, es ja auch nicht wissen können, weil sie eben nicht eingeweiht sind in die tiefen Zusammenhänge von Geschlechtsverkehr, Leben und Tod” (Tessmann). Even teenagers up to their twenties respond to the question of their having had coitus with a stereotyped apology: “ich bin ein Kind, d. h. unschuldig, ich weiß nichts vom Geschlechtsverkehr; er sicherte sich so das milde Urteil, mit dem wir “Dummjungenstreiche” abtun”. To put this in perspective, coital imitations start at age 5, and with 8-9 years this family play is “schon nichts weiter als ein zielbewußter Geschlechtsverkehr” still known as child’s play.

¹⁷ Traditionally, Bemba children were regarded as cold, that is as sexually neutral, “almost genderless” (Richards).

¹⁸ Ijo parents (Nigeria) say they regard five- to eight-year-old children as “relatively sexless”. Yet boys play with their penises in public with impunity while girls would be severely chastised if they touch their own genitals (Leis).

¹⁹ Adolescents *by definition* neither copulate nor sexually reproduce. They are considered chaste and sterile, in fact not really male or female, until they are married and become parents (Biersack).

²⁰ The Garos regard their children’s bestial experiments as “nonsexual imitation” and joke about it (Sinha).

²¹ Baiga parents laugh tolerantly in the face of their children erotic games, arguing, “Sometimes we say, “Why do it now? Wait a little”. But the children grow excited, so what should they do?” (Elwin).

- (g) essentialist naturalisation (U.S.²³);
- (h) liberalism based on generational continuity (Santals²⁴).

Discourses contain the power to impose the principles of the construction of reality, thus placing limits on what is available for people to think with. As becomes apparent from the Pangwe case, discursive positions can be “complemented” or claimed by children in a quest for retaining the privilege of childhood pseudolice.

8.1.2 Restriction Discourses: Conflicting Interests and Medicalisation

This set of explanations identifies sexual behaviour as conflicting with concurrent developmental curricula. The medical discourses (ai, aiii) have characterised European history up until the later half of the 20th century.

- (a) anticipation of adverse consequences (see **chapter 11**), including
 - (i) nosological,
 - (ii) magical, and
 - (iii) developmental (“Sambia”²⁵) consequences;
- (b) pathophysiological symptomatologising (*paradoxia sexualis*, →§2.3);
- (c) social status requirement (Bangwa)²⁶;
- (d) social status implications (Hopi)²⁷.

Thus, the restriction of sexual behaviour was a process of curing or preventing diseases, or ensuring “normal” developmental and growth processes; removing or alleviating symptoms; enforcing a social hierarchy; enforcing an economic curriculum.

8.1.3 Stimulation Discourses

²² Among the Muria Gonds, parents “encourage all the sexual activities” that take place in the dormitories entered from age two. The sexual drive is recognised in early life (“however small you may be, as long as flesh becomes wood, you try to beat her with it”), although it is minimalised: “Real happiness only comes when you are both mature. Of course the kids do it, but without the falling of water there’s little pleasure. It is like eating a raw fruit. There is no sweetness in it. It is like rice without salt” [...]. To try to have a girl before she is mature is as hard as for a pig to dig up roots. Sometimes he manages it; it gets the root up and enjoys it. But it prefers its ordinary foods” (Elwin).

²³ “[...] natural curiosity [...] trust the child’s own sense of what kinds of sexual behavior are safe, healthy, appropriate [...] normal events in the maturation process [...] natural curiosity [...] everybody goes through that, I would assume [...] natural curiosity [...] normal [...] normal [...]”. Berges, E. T. et al. [The Study Group of New York] (1983) *Children & Sex. The Parents Speak*. New York: Facts on File, p95-9

²⁴ The Santal elders “are amused and tolerant of the sexual adventures of their children. They appear to object to any attempt to correct them. They take the line that such adventures did them little harm and that in any case youth is a time for freedom and experiment” (Archer).

²⁵ “Boys would be polluted and their growth blocked by sexual play with girls [...]” (Herdt). Cf. *Atlas Volume*, paragr. *Papua Semen Transactions*

²⁶ The Bangwa (Cameroon) place a taboo on pre-nubile, or pre-adult, sexual intercourse, the criterion for this lying in the concepts of “social” instead of “sexual” puberty, so that a youth of twenty may be regarded as a “child”, id est, *unfit* for sexual intercourse (Brain).

²⁷ Both Hopi boys and girls are told that “[...] if they start acting as grown-ups in sexual matters, their parents will cease to support them; i.e., sexual maturity and economic responsibility go together” (Dennis).

In this set of explanations, sexual behaviour is cultivated to fit into a prosexual curriculum. As argued in **chapter 11**, these discourses are alien to and incompatible with Occidental sexual discourses, while typical for the traditional sub-Saharan African scene.

- (a) proof of heterosexual competence: orientation, potency, fertility (Bakongo²⁸, Tutsi²⁹, Burundi³⁰);
- (b) poetic / developmental concerns (magical and health; see **chapter 11**), either
 - (i) compelling and necessary (“Sambia” etc.), or
 - (ii) facultative and contributing (Gebusi³¹);
- (c) idiosyncratic synchronisation according to complementation arguments (with marriage, see §7.2.12);
- (d) educational concerns (Ila³²).

Thus, stimulating early sexual contacts has served to remove uncertainties pertaining to future *facultas coeundi (erigendi) et generandi*; enforce an essential self-educational curriculum; ensure or contribute to growth processes; and facilitate a social complementation agenda.

8.2 The Problem of Atypical Developmental Sexualities

The ratios of auto- and allosexual, as well as of hetero- and homosexual behaviours are frequently suggested to be associated with socialisation strategies; but these archaic two dimensions of the developmental “erotic” experience have received little ethnographic consideration as such. The mentioned correlation appeals to the ideology that the child, especially the adolescent boy, attempts to compensate for an environmentally frustrated heterosexual curriculum by simulating coitus manually, or by means of homosexual or zoosexual initiatives (cf. Morris)³³. Gallup and Suarez (1983)³⁴ argued that “[m]any instances of homosexuality are derived from the fact that heterosexual frustration is practically inevitable; consequently, individual differences in the magnitude and extent of heterosexual frustration, along with differences in frustration tolerance, constitute the primary aetiology of homosexuality”. Theorists, however, commonly neglect developmental issues, even when discussing developmental issues. Anthropologically informed classifications of homosexuality such as that by Murray (2000) and by Greenberg (1988) can only partially be applied to subadult subcultures. This leaves the cross-cultural interpretation of developmental (opposed to, according to culturally stereotyped principles, identity-

²⁸ As noted back in 1926, Bakongo parents “encouraged” their girls and boys in their sex play long before puberty, “as it shows that they had proper desires, and later in life they would bear children” (Weeks, Margold).

²⁹ “Parents will take pleasure in seeing their son engage in sexual games with young girls, for that proves that he is normal, and that he will be potent”.

³⁰ Masturbation is “almost obligatory”: “a girl who does not masturbate becomes everybody’s laughing-stock, and acquires the reputation of not being able to marry and procreate (Vincent).

³¹ In contrast to the “Sambia”, Gebusi did not say or imply that men *had* to be inseminated to reach adulthood; “this was simply an erotic act that could help them in this regard” (Knauff).

³² Ila-speaking natives regard their children’s very early sexual practices “as preparation and training for what is man’s and woman’s chief business in life” (Smith and Dale, Margold).

³³ Morris, D. (1967) *The Naked Ape*. 1986 ill. Dutch ed. Utrecht/Aartselaar: Bruna & Zn., p93

³⁴ Gallup, G. G. & Suarez, S. D. (1983) Homosexuality as a by-product of selection for optimal heterosexual strategies, *Perspect Biol & Med* 26,2:315-22’. Cf. Ellis, L. (1996) Theories of homosexuality, in Savin-Williams, R. C. & Cohen, K. M. (Eds.) *The Lives of Lesbians, Gays, and Bisexuals: Children to Adults*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, p11-34

mediated) homosexualities. Using Carr's (1999:p7-8)³⁵ ideologies, these phenomena as such pose a problem to the essentialist monosexual's idea of static temporality. Thus, essentialist monosexual cultures will define any nonheterosexual preheterosexual activity as a frustrated category of heterosexuality.

In the following sections, fragmentary data from a literature search are brought together to map a cross-cultural baseline for nonheterosexual preheterosexualities. In this discussion, "pre-adult" connotes premarital status; atypicality connotes any nonheterosexuality.

8.2.1 Preadult Same-Sex Patterning

According to first-half 20th century psychologists, the core identity conflict of adolescence, as Shimkin (1947:p305)³⁶ marked for the male Shoshone, would consist of "a constant battle between social, homosexual society and private heterosexual intimacy". This "phase" ideology has been substituted by the (largely ethnocentric) recognition of the "homosexual adolescent" (along with the "prehomosexual child"), and the dismissal of homo- versus heterosexual "play" behaviour as cultural explananda.

To discuss the occurrence of nonheterosexual encounters in terms of behaviour-specific differential socialisation strategies appears fruitless. Statements on a differential parental attitude on hetero- vs homosexual behaviour are rare (e.g., **Alorese**). Whiting and Child (1953)³⁷ found specific indications on "homosexual" play socialisation only in an unidentified small amount of societies. The SCCS measure of "attitude toward homosexuality" of Broude and Greene (1976)³⁸ was not specified for life phase (cf. the "frequency" measure). Informants may be biased in their reports on its occurrence³⁹. And such studies as done by Whitham et al.⁴⁰ do not address either object choice specific socialisation or nonprehomosexual curricula.

Further, it appears that cultures *emphasising* male heterosexual development within a dual standard mode are notoriously confronted with phase-bound homosexuality, typically within a combined phase identified and age stratified format (**Mexico** acc. Carrier; **Morocco** acc. Eppink).

The ethnographic record provides a large number of examples of nonincidental homosexual behaviour among and between adolescents and preadolescents⁴¹. A most regular explanation

³⁵ Carr, C. L. (1999) Cognitive scripting and sexual identification: essentialism, anarchism, and constructionism, *Symbolic Interaction* 22,1:1-24

³⁶ Shimkin, D. B. (1947) *Childhood and Development among the Wind River Shoshone*. Berkeley, CA [etc.]: University of California Press

³⁷ Whiting, J. & Child, I. (1953) *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

³⁸ Broude, G. J. & Greene, S. J. (1976) Cross-cultural codes on twenty sexual attitudes and practices, *Ethnology* 5,4:409-29

³⁹ Hamilton, (1981) *Nature and Nurture: Aboriginal Child-Rearing in North-Central Arnhem Land*. Canberra: Humanities Press. The author suggests that "[a]dults deny the occurrence of homosexual play among the boys [ages 5-9] although they admit to heterosexual play between children before they can "understand" ".

⁴⁰ Whitam, F. L. & Mathy, R. M. (1986) *Male Homosexuality in Four Societies*. New York [etc.]: Praeger; Whitam, F. L. (1980) The prehomosexual male child in three societies: The United States, Guatemala, Brazil, *Arch Sex Behav* 9:87-99

⁴¹ E.g., Tschama, Marquesans (as opposed to earlier days), Marind anim (also mentor system), Tanzania, Ruanda and Burundi, Tutsi, Wawihé, Kaffa, !Kung, Pangwe, Bafia, Masai, Nyakyusa, Kurds, Tikopia, Dahomey, Kaska,

offered for such contacts lies within the area of heterosocial restrictions. Tessmann (1930)⁴², for instance, gathered data on premarital intercourse prohibitions and early homosexuality in 49 Peruan Indian tribes. His (nonquantitative) data would suggest that the common prohibition and punishment of premenarchal coitus is usually associated with early homosexual behaviour or, less common, masturbation⁴³.

Pre-adult same-sex erotic alliances are described as occurring with a considerable frequency, though their phase specificity and substitutive function remain untested cross-culturally. Descriptive material exploring prehomosexual⁴⁴ or nonprehomosexual⁴⁵ same-sex sexual behaviour is rarely geared toward an understanding of construed and negotiated identities. There indeed seems to exist “bachelor’s”, “boarding school”⁴⁶ and “boy scout” homosexualities in a range of societies. The timing of “patterned” homosexual contacts seems variable: childhood (New Guinea, !Kung, Pangwe), pre-adolescence (Ruanda, Burundi, Nyakyusa, Lau Fiji), adolescence (Iraq, Kurds, Tutsi, Tikopia, Dahomey, Kaska, Yanomamö) and more or less obviously institution-related (Marind Anim, East Bay, Mbuti). In some cases, contacts may not appear to be strictly confined to such nominal periods (Wawihé, Masaai, Kogi, Batak) or institutional curricularisation. Methodological limitations compromise the understanding of these subcultural developmental homosexualities.

8.2.2 Preadult Age Structuring

A meta-analysis of 17 cultures that incorporated homosexual “mentorship” affiliation found that being ‘mentored’ usually occurs in a military setting and serves as a precursor to heterosexual marriage (Crapo, 1995)⁴⁷. In addition to the male adult-adolescent stratified pattern, there seems to be a less well documented parallel of same-sex adolescent-preadolescent, and even preadolescent-younger preadolescent patterning⁴⁸. An age-graded

Lebanon, “Antler”, Lau Fiji, “East Bay”, Tahiti, Mbuti, Samoa, Trumai, Cayapá, Yanomamö, Yaruros, Kogi, Kgatla, Iraq, Morocco, Batak, Ngonde, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Nimar Bahalis, Samburu, Selk’nam

⁴² Tessmann, G. (1930) *Die Indianer Nordost-Perus*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter & Co.

⁴³ Societies with no such prohibition (Koto, p201; Bora, p278; Kandoschi, p291; Yagua, p470; and less clear, Mayoruna, p375) reveal minimal homosexual play. An exception to this rule would be the Muinane (p336), in whom both occurs, and the Auischiri (p483) as well as the Okáina (p557), for both of whom neither practice is seen.

⁴⁴ E.g., Jay, K. & Young, A. (1977/9) *The Gay Report*. New York: Summit Books. Esp. p41-51, 83-104; Williams, T. (1984) *Jongens en Wat met Hen aan de Hand Is: Een Onderzoek naar Homo-Erotiek in de Vriendschappen tussen Jongens* [Dutch]. Amsterdam: [Ped. Acad.] Karthuizer; Fellows, W. (1996) *Farm Boys: Lives of Gay Men From the Rural Midwest*. Madison, WI.: University of Wisconsin Press; Hart, J. (1995) *My First Time: Gay Men Describe Their First Same-Sex Experience*. Boston: Alyson; Savin-Williams, R. C. (1993) *Sex and Sexual Identity among Gay and Bisexual Gay Male Youths*. Unpublished manuscript; Savin-Williams, R. C. (1997) “...And Then I Became Gay”. *Young Men’s Stories*. New York: Routledge; Croghan, J. G. (2001) *Mirrors of manhood: The formation of gay identity*, DAI-B 62(1-B):574. Based on a 1993 dissertation, Pacifica Graduate Institute. For childhood experiences and discussions, see p305 et seq. 358 et seq.

⁴⁵ Martinson (1973) *op.cit.*, p38-41, 71-4, 93-6; Martinson, F. M. (1994) *The Sexual Life of Children*. Westport, Conn: Bergin & Garvey, ch.4; Hite, Sh. (1981) *The Hite Report on Male Sexuality*. New York: Knopf. 1982 Dutch transl., p62-9, 510-2; Hite, Sh. (1994) *The Hite Report on the Family: Growing Up under Patriarchy*. London: Bloomsbury. 1994 Dutch transl., p360-4

⁴⁶ The Dutch gay library *Homodok* (Amsterdam) currently lists 134 entities under the thesaurus term “kostschool” (D., “boarding school”).

⁴⁷ Crapo, R. H. (1995) Factors in the Cross-Cultural Patterning of Male Homosexuality: A Reappraisal of the Literature, *Cross-Cultural Res* 29,2:178-202. Also cited by Martz, E. E. (Spring, 2000) *Transgenerational Intimacy-Developmental Friend or Foe?* Research article, Cornell University. Munroe et al. (1969) earlier found nine such mentor systems. See Munroe, R. L., Whiting, J. & Hally, D. (1969) Institutionalized male transvestitism and sex distinction, *Am Anthropol* 7:87-91

⁴⁸ Reviewed in full in preliminary drafts.

pattern was noted in some cases of nonincidental (“structured”? “institutional”?) homosexual subcultures⁴⁹, and is a regularly encountered phenomenon in incidental contacts: “In homosexual encounters, a young child, usually a boy, is not infrequently propositioned by an older boy [...]” (Martinson⁵⁰). Langfeldt⁵¹ somehow arrives at the generalisation that “[p]robably in all cultures the older boy mounts the younger, and the younger seems to accept the unilateral role pattern”. In nineteenth-century English boarding schools, small boys had to carry out tasks for larger boys, and sexual services were frequently included among these tasks (Bullough and Bullough, 1978; 1979)⁵². Green and Masson (2002:p154-5)⁵³, in observing instances of “normalized/ritualised” initiation ceremonies of a genital nature in residential settings, mentioned girls “utilizing sexual age-related power over younger ones”. Hickson⁵⁴ suggests that reforming headmasters had a hidden agenda: the desire to manage the sexuality of adolescent boys and prevent any manifestation of homosexuality. In late 19th century South-African boarding “initiation into the “under-life” of the reformatory could be through homosexual rape, while younger boys were soon drafted into service, sexual and otherwise, for older boys”. Among the Tenetehara “[...] several small boys were seen in sex play using a smaller boy of about five years of age “as the girl”. This was considered ridiculous and funny but not abnormal”. Ceremonial and initiation-associated use of “homosexuality” is also noted in selected cases within preadult settings⁵⁵. The *female* adolescent-preadolescent equivalent is not inexistent⁵⁶, though mentioned remarkably less frequent. This girlhood variety stereotypically takes on a vertical orientation (mummies and babies, mother-daughter, mentrix-protégée), inspired either on a genuine or entirely role-enacted age difference; also, homosexual age disparate “crushes” (*vide infra*) are more reported for girls than for boys.

Collecting data on informal heterosexual age patterning in a number of societies few conclusions can be drawn due to the expected compromised quality of data. In a number of cases there is explicit mentioning of subadult-subadult age disparate patterning⁵⁷, but these isolated observations cannot be regarded as representative. Surprisingly, data on Western

⁴⁹ Mexico, Brazil, Morocco, Angola, Zaire, Tanzania, India (acc. Dube); Bafia, Wahiwe, Nyakyusa, Yolngu, Kogi

⁵⁰ Martinson, F. (1973) *Infant and Child Sexuality: A Sociological Perspective*. Saint Peter MN: The Book Mark, p40

⁵¹ Langfeldt, Th. (1981) Processes in sexual development, in Constantine, L. & Martinson, F. (Eds.) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p37-44, at p40

⁵² Bullough, V. & Bullough, B. (Sept. 1978) *Nineteenth Century English Homosexual Teachers: The Up Front and Back Stage Performance*. Paper presented at Seventy-Third Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (San Francisco, California, September 4-8, 1978); Bullough, V. & Bullough, B. (1979) Homosexuality in Nineteenth Century English Public Schools, *Int Rev Modern Sociol* 9,2:261-9

⁵³ Green, L. & Masson, H. (2002) Adolescents Who Sexually Abuse and Residential Accommodation: Issues of Risk and Vulnerability, *Br J Social Work* 32,2:149-68

⁵⁴ Hickson, A. (1995) *The Poisoned Bowl: Sex, Repression and the Public School System*. London: Constable

⁵⁵ Walker, D. R. (1945) The Need of Sex Education in Negro Schools, *J Negro Educ* 14,2:174-81, at p178; Rajani, R. & Kudrati, M. (1996) The varieties of sexual experience of the street children of Mwanza, Tanzania, in Zeidenstein, S. & Moore, K. (Eds.) *Learning about Sexuality: A Practical Beginning*. New York: International Women's Health Coalition, p301-23. Based on the authors' (1994) *The Variety of Sexual Experience of Street Children in Mwanza and their Implications on Sex Education/HIV Prevention Programs*. Mwanza: Kuleana Center for Children's Rights. Cf. Lockhart, C. (2002) Kunyenga, “real sex”, and survival: Assessing the risk of HIV infection among urban street boys in Tanzania, *Med Anthropol Quart* 16,3:294-311

⁵⁶ Lau Fiji, Ghana, Nigeria, Angola, Lesotho, Nimar Bahalis, “Antler”, Venda, Bemba (?); and provisionally for girls practising macronymphia *mutually*: “Grand Lacs” peoples, Baushi, Bemba, Burundi, Dahomey, Kgatla, Shona, and probably a number of other tribes.

⁵⁷ U.S., Finnish, Bosofo, Akha, Nyakyusa, Marinbata, Bakalta, Pedi, Seniang, !Kung, Blood Indians Apache, Crow, Mohave, Ingalik, Maya, Puerto Rico, Haiti, India, Akha/Meau

samples are incidental⁵⁸, a fact probably influenced by the contemporary focus on abuse definitions rather than normative phenomena.

Anecdotal material⁵⁹ suggests that these contacts have been common, and that approximately equal-aged children may assume vertical role-playing, enacting veritable initiation or seduction scenarios. The peers play “teacher-pupil” rather than marriage.

Concluding, little is known about the relationship between age disparate contacts and erotic age orientation development. One might hypothesise that a roughly equivalent initial plasticity is typical in low-operationalising (non-legitimising) socialisation societies for both age/phase dynamics and gender dynamics, the actualisation of opportunities depending on the balance between vicarious communications on taboo issues and negotiated internalisation of such morale.

8.2.2.1 Peripubescent Teleiophilia⁶⁰

Leaving the discussion of data in support of this statement to another occasion (see §III.8), peripubescent crushes (particularly in girlhood) are generally known to be age stratified. Broderick conceptualised the crush as a “super-safe” rehearsal, in contrast to the classroom sweetheart. Karniol (2001)⁶¹ provided support for the contention that “feminine” male media stars idolised by adolescent Israeli girls provide a “safe” target of romantic love in the period of time before girls start dating and become sexually active, and to practice “feeling norms” on safe love-objects.

One may hypothesise that the female peri-pubescent crush phenomenon is a culturally specific transitional reality that bridges the desire for dyadic affiliation with the ambitions and anxieties of growing up. The crush is a mental experiment either de-eroticised by the reality of distance, or potentially and safely erotic by virtue of its impossibility. It may represent a suspension at an intermediate stage between attraction and attachment, when using an analogy of the development of a marital bond⁶².

8.2.3 Herders' Vice: Preadult Species Patterning

In selected communities, *animal copulation* has been part of imitative and imaginative play.

This takes the forms of imitating animal-style copulation⁶³ or frank zooerastic efforts⁶⁴.

Isolated on out-posts, herding boys may be more intimate with cattle than with the opposite

⁵⁸ E.g., Ramsey, G. V. (1943) The sexual development of boys, *Am J Psychol* 56:217-33; Haugaard, J. & Tilly, Ch. (1988) Characteristics predicting children's responses to sexual encounters with other children, *Child Abuse & Negl* 12,2:209-18

⁵⁹ E.g., Martinson (1973); Kronhausen & Kronhausen (1960)

⁶⁰ *Teleios*, Gr., adult. One may argue whether the term should focus on the physical (*teleios*) or the social category (“*horaiophilia*”).

⁶¹ Karniol, R. (2001) Adolescent Females' Idolization of Male Media Stars as a Transition into Sexuality, *Sex Roles* 44,1-2:61-77

⁶² Love, P. & Jan, T. (1999) Creating passion and intimacy, in Carlson, J. & Sperry, L. (Eds.) *The Intimate Couple*. Philadelphia, PA: Brunner/Mazel, Inc., p55-65

⁶³ Goajiro, Amhara, Xhosa, Sweden, Baiga, Navajo, communal California /U.S. (Yates; Ribal, p75)

⁶⁴ Garos, Hopi, Indonesia, Tiwi, Madagascar, Kikuyu, Tswana, Riffian, Masai, Galla, Kaffa, Tebu, Brazil, Paraguay, Morocco

sex. Nomad and Nuer herdboys are seen to drink milk straight from camel's udders⁶⁵, and young boys are seen performing cunnilingus on cattle to stimulate mating⁶⁶.

Watching animals is seen as an important means of the acquisition of coital technology in rural areas as a rule⁶⁷, where it may provide the sole concept of coitus (§10.2.4), a theme traceable throughout Western literature pertaining to the (invariably problematic) "sexology of the rural". Judging from a review of these early animal contacts in western literature⁶⁸, important factors include opportunity, frustration, but also arousal. In most ethnographic cases, authors are sure about the practice being the result of rigid gender segregation in "critical" psychosexual periods.

8.3 Cultural Positions toward Curricular Atypical Sexualities

8.3.1 Developmental Non-Allosexuality

8.3.1.1 Historical Spectrum

The curricularised conceptualisation of masturbation has been a neglected issue in the wealth of historical interpretations⁶⁹. Preliminary research suggests that 19th century authors gradually extended condemnation of ejaculatory to orgasmic masturbation, thus from adolescent male to female and child/infant masturbation.⁷⁰ In the 20th century a phase-specific depathologisation was noted. By the beginning of the 20th century it was generally known that "[i]n man at the age of puberty the sexual emotion awakes powerfully, while active social life opens before the young man with all its exigencies"⁷¹. Freud (1912)⁷² described three phases of masturbation, and pathologised persistence into adulthood⁷³.

⁶⁵ Pavitt, N. (1997) *Turkana: Kenya's Nomads of the Jade Sea*. London: Harvill, p147; Akalu, A. (1985) *Beyond Morals?* Lund: Gleerup, p46

⁶⁶ Nomachi, A. K. (phot., 1989) *The Nile*. Hong Kong: Odyssey. 1990 Dutch translation, *Langs de Oevers van de Nijl*, p45

⁶⁷ To name some of the societies for which this is explicitly suggested: Amhara, Toucouleur (Senegal), Xhosa, Tebu, Gusii, Tanala, Shona, Tibet, rural Japan, Taiwan Hokkien, Akha, rural France, Highland Scots, Inis Beag [Ireland], Denmark, Bonerate, Zuni, Western Apache, Hopi, Siuai, Easter Island, Aitutaki, Paraguay, Yahgan, Puerto Rico, Yanoama, Selk'nam (Fireland Island)

⁶⁸ References collected in a preparatory paper entitled *Protoparaphilia: Negotiating the Lower Age Extremes of the Paraphilia Construct*.

⁶⁹ E.g., Schetsche, M. & Schmidt, R. B. (1996) Ein "dunkler Drang aus dem Leibe": Deutungen kindlicher Onanie seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, *Zeitschr f Sexualforsch* 9,1:1-22

⁷⁰ Reviewed in preliminary draft.

⁷¹ Marro, A. (1899) Influence of the puberal development upon the moral charcter of children of both sexes, *Am J Sociol* 5,2:193-219, at p214

⁷² Freud, S. (1912) Beiträge zur Onanie-Diskussion: Zur Einleitung und Schlußwort [XIV.]. Die Onanie. Vierzehn Beiträge zu einer Diskussion der "Wiener Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung" (Diskussionen der Wiener psychoanalytischen Vereinigung, Heft 2), Wiesbaden: 1912; G.W., Bd. 8, p332-45

⁷³ Cf. Szasz, Th. (1970) *The Manufacture of Madness*. New York [etc.]: Harper & Row. 1972 Dutch transl., p233-4

Kraepelin (8th ed, 1915:1917)⁷⁴ also stated that healthy children give up masturbation when attaining greater maturity [größerer Reife], while it tends to last in psychopaths. Stanley Hall and Havelock Ellis mentioned masturbation in the light of adolescent immaturity, a theme extending well into the 1960s. Freudian curricularisation of masturbation was followed by most psychoanalysts well into the second half of the 20th century, though with a variable degree of freedom and alterations⁷⁵. Suggestive of an ideology that justifies at least curricular masturbation is available through such expressions of “vorzeitige Masturbation” (Kronfeld, 1922:p239⁷⁶; cf. Estape & Correa, 1931)⁷⁷ and erectio praecox (Stier).

Thus masturbation was provided with various *curricular* meanings: a symptom and cause of illness; inevitable play⁷⁸, surely marginally sexual⁷⁹; valuable or obligate learning; beneficial frustration management, etc. Today, the phenomenon is decurricularised as a function of its being almost entirely depathologised.

The shifting attitude to atypical sexualities was largely caused by an influx of pedagogical approaches. To Kläsi, the expression in masturbation or attempts at coitus was not considered symptomatic in itself of *Frühreife* or psychopathy. Being caused by external influences, it would be the sign of vivid curiosity, an inquiring mind or a special capacity for fantasy. In fact, sexual love had everything to do with multiple-faceted character development. By the early 1930s the reign of biological aetiology of things early was largely replaced by the idea of rearing children away from the bad (early) and into the opposite (see for example Wexberg, 1932)⁸⁰. For Moses (1922)⁸¹, the case of managing (not: labelling) child sex criminals was one located within *Sexualpädagogik* and *-heilpädagogik*, and for Stahl (1930)⁸² most Earliness was a moral-pedagogical issue, in both cause and management. Numeric data, too, legitimised expressions that might fall subject to criticism without. Meirowsky⁸³, on the basis of numeric material, agreed with Hermann Cohn, who was said to be the first⁸⁴ to point out the frequency of masturbation in German Grammar schools, on the normality of early sexuality generally considered too-early.

⁷⁴ Kraepelin, E. von (1915) *Psychiatrie*. 8th ed. Leipzig : Barth

⁷⁵ E.g., Premisela, B. (1940) *Sexuologie in de Praktijk*. Amsterdam: Strengtholt, p212

⁷⁶ Kronfeld, A. (1922) Die Sexualität des Kindes, in Weil, A. (Ed.) *Sexualreform und Sexualwissenschaft*. Stuttgart: Püttmann, p237-46

⁷⁷ Estape & Correa (1931) A case of precocious masturbation, *Arch Ped Uruguay* 2:482

⁷⁸ Bauer (1923), for instance, did not regard masturbation as paradoxical, more as *natural play* through *natural curiosity*, to be influenced by education: when it occurred, external causes [oxyuriasis] were to be held responsible and developments [including the ethnological] were never “complete”. More to the point however, we read: “Im allgemeinen verläuft die erste Kindheit des Weibes asexuell, das heißt, frei von allen sexuellen Begierden und Wünschen, frei von jedem Verlangen nach dem gegenteiligen Geschlecht”. So the child behaves neither paradoxical nor sexual: it’s just being *curious*.

⁷⁹ Prof. Dr. Albert Niemann (1920) does not agree, as so many, with the sexual nature of early masturbation (and “Akme”): the “onanie-ähnliche” activities are a “ganz asexueller Akt”. Excessive or compulsive masturbation-like manipulations [!] are no sexual anomalies, yet neurological ones.

⁸⁰ Wexberg, E. (1932) *Sorgenkinder*. Leipzig: Hirzel

⁸¹ Moses (1922) Konstitution und Erlebnis in der Sexualpsychologie und -pathologie des Kindesalters, *Ztschr f Sexualwiss* 8,10: 305-19

⁸² Stahl, H. (1930) Sexuelle Frühreife, in Eszterházy, A. (Ed.) *Das Lasterhafte Weib: Bekenntnisse und Bilddokumente zu den Steigerungen und Aberrationen im Weiblichen Triebleben. Psychologie und Pathologie der Sexuellen Ab- und Irrwege des Weibes*. Vienna & Leipzig Verlag für Kulturforschung, p27-36

⁸³ Meirowsky, E. (1912) *Geschlechtsleben der Jugend, Schule und Elternhaus*. 2nd ed. Leipzig, p2-16

⁸⁴ See also Marro (*Caratteri dei Delinquenti*) quoted by Havelock Ellis, who pointed out that early masturbation was rampant among criminals.

8.3.1.2 *Ethnographic Spectrum*

An unambiguous statement that nonheterosexual practices are phase-bound substitutes is sometimes documented ethnographically⁸⁵, but more often masturbation is seen as idiobiologically phase-bound, after which the practice is thought to be “forgotten” (Alorese), lead to “difficulty” because of interference with heterosexual interests (Bala), or to be “given up” for unspecified reasons (India, Comanche), for reasons of heterosexual development (Tenetehara) or for arguments idiosyncratically addressing curricular themes (Kikuyu). Thus, there is a definite concept of why it should be discontinued (rather than why it should occur), which may or may not directly identify native teleological models.

8.3.2 *Developmental Non-Heterosexualities*

The social constructionist perspective holds that “the process of identity formation is a continual, two-way interactive process between the individual and the social environment, and that the meanings the individual gives to these factors influence the development of self-constructs and identity”⁸⁶. Exploring cross-cultural materials, it becomes clear that historians (e.g., Bullough and Bullough) and ethnographers (e.g., Herdt) have advocated relativist positions in discussing the concept of “sexual identity” as based on “sexual orientation”. This becomes acutely problematic when discussing developmental sexualities, given the methodological limitations on studying both “sexual identities” and “sexual orientations” with preadolescents. Herdt⁸⁷ recently argued for a biocultural theory in which cultures may “thwart the emergence of developmental subjectivities of sexual attraction in late childhood”, as would be universally mediated by adrenarche, “through the use of beliefs, taboos, rituals, and social gender roles”.

8.3.2.1 *Historical Spectrum*

Rofes⁸⁸ demonstrated how “contemporary constructions of homosexuality have become entwined with modern conceptions of childhood”. Both have traditionally been formulated in curricular terms: this relates to the pervasive social phenomenon of conjoining the sexually aberrant and sexually prenormal on the centercourt of ethical chronology. As it appears, early 20th century developmental psychologists specifically depathologised early “homosexuality” under the rationale of its representing a temporary phase (Spurlock, 2002)⁸⁹.

⁸⁵ Homosexuality: e.g., Azande (age stratified), Trobrianders, Samoans; masturbation: e.g., Tikopia, Ghana, Cashinahua

⁸⁶ Horowitz, J. L. & Newcomb, M. D. (2001) A multidimensional approach to homosexual identity, *J Homosex* 42,2:1-19

⁸⁷ Cf. preparatory chapter.

⁸⁸ Rofes, E. (1998) Innocence, perversion, and Heather's two mommies, *J Gay, Lesbian & Bisexual Identity* 3,1:3-26

⁸⁹ Spurlock, J. C. (2002) From reassurance to irrelevance: Adolescent psychology and homosexuality in America, *Hist Psychol* 5,1:38-51

Plant⁹⁰ thus formulated: “Realizing that the ages from 15 to 21 represent, perhaps particularly in boys, the greatest access of sexual hunger and that our cultural development rarely allows for that time a satisfaction that is “legal” or “moral”, it seems trite that there must be a vast number of these disturbing compensatory activities which are not of the slightest prognostic importance”. Transient sex relations and homosexual experiences in adolescence we discussed in positive terms of “a social and cultural function in promoting self-confidence and emancipation from parents, and artistic, scientific, and cultural sublimations”⁹¹. It could be argued in 1947, that

“[t]he development of affections in the growing boy is traced to show that the prepubertal homosexual phase is essential to the maturing of the adult personality in that it makes possible the shift from the dependent heterosexual affection for the mother to the protective heterosexual love for the mate. Perhaps the commonest cause of fixation at the level of homosexual friendships is the artificial prolongation beyond puberty of the homosexual group of earlier years (e.g., boarding schools)”⁹².

The substitution analogy with masturbation is seen in the concept of *Nothomosexualität*. In general, homosexual charges against children appeared very infrequently in the juvenile court⁹³.

During the early 20th century, thus, the attribution of homosexual symptoms in preadult life within a pathognomic framework was reconsidered and sociologised to include cultural and situational arguments on drive frustration. Bab (1903)⁹⁴ argued that the encouragement of delayed marriage and women’s liberation were a logical antecedent of homosexual male cultures. Homosexuality still continued to represent a symptom of the individual rather than cultural situation, but one analogous or alternative to definite neuroticism⁹⁵. Anna Freud⁹⁶ suggested: “In *preadolescence* and in *adolescence* [...] homosexual episodes are known to occur more or less regularly and to exist side by side with heterosexual ones without being in themselves reliable prognostic factors”, although “regressive”, “narcissistic”, and “schizoid” in nature. The transitory, perhaps “bisexual”⁹⁷, adolescent condition was to be distinguished from the permanent⁹⁸, yet still to be managed with care⁹⁹. Above all, while homosexuality in an adult was a manifestation of “psychic perversion”, in an adolescent it would be “an episode arising from temporary environmental influences”¹⁰⁰, perhaps “triggered off [...] at the particular time in the particular cultural setting”¹⁰¹; at the most, “a peculiarity of youth”¹⁰²,

⁹⁰ Plant, J. S. (1929) Some practical aspects of the sexual adjustments of children, *JAMA* 93,25:1939-41, at p1940

⁹¹ Vorwahl, H. (1931) Die Sexualität der Jugend, *Vierteljahrschr Jugendk* 1:182-9

⁹² Stanley-Jones, D. (1947) Sexual inversion; an ethical study, *Lancet* 252:366-9

⁹³ Hennessey, M. A. R. (1941) Homosexual charges against children, *J Crim Psychopathol* 2:524-32

⁹⁴ Bab, E. (1903) Frauenbewegung und männliche Kultur, *Der Eigene*, p393-407. Translated as (1991) The Women’s Movement and Male Culture, *J Homosex* 22,1-2:135-44

⁹⁵ Ward, J. L. (1958) Homosexual behavior of the institutionalized delinquent, *Psychia Quart Suppl* 32:301-14; Naiedman, E. (1950) Le scoutisme neutre féminin et quelques problèmes de l’adolescence, *Enfance* 3:471-7. The author discusses several “life-styles” resulting from the conflict between awakening libidinous tendencies and this pre-pubertal self-imposed “sex neutrality”: (1) passionate homosexual friendship; (2) asceticism; (3) religiosity; and (4) neuroticism.

⁹⁶ Freud, A. (1965) *Normality and Pathology in Childhood*. 1973 ed. Middlesex: Penguin, p160

⁹⁷ Wilson, P. (1981) *The Man They Called A Monster*. North Ryde: Cassell Australia, Ch.6

⁹⁸ E.g., Sprince, M. P. (1964) A contribution to the study of homosexuality in adolescence, *J Child Psychol* 5,2:103-7

⁹⁹ Niles, W. J. (1986) Managing episodic homosexual behavior of adolescents in residential settings, *Child Care Quart* 15,1:15-26

¹⁰⁰ Klieneberger, O. (1931) Kriminalpsychopathologie Jugendlicher, *Jugendwohl* 20

¹⁰¹ Harrison, S. I. & Klapman, H. J. (1966) Relationships between social forces and homosexual behavior observed in a children’s psychiatric hospital, *Am J Acad Child Psychia* 5,1:105-10

that does not “[...] persist when rightly guided by experience and education in the widest sense of these words”¹⁰³.

Tolerance for atypical sexualities developed parallel to a cultural shift from negative to non-operationalisation, which in turn paralleled shifting socio-economic situations. That is to say, a *specific* tolerant (or even expectant, or normalising) attitude versus atypicality was associated with a preference for general noninterference, and only because the atypical category did not *in itself* imply a potential interference with the age graded system.

This mechanism is further legitimised by the parallel macro- and microhistorical development of cultural homophobia and objection to paedophilia, possibly being based on a corrected cultural misdirection of seduction anxieties; that is, the main objection to paedophilia is parental homophobia, and the main objection to homosexuality has been its alleged inherent paedo-erotic properties (recruitment theory). Still otherwise put, *growing tolerance* for homosexuality is factually a *loss of interest* for the phenomenon.

8.3.2.2 Ethnographic Spectrum

Filtering out ethnographers’ interpretations of phase-identified same-sex experiences, few observations are available for justifying a detailed comparative sociology. Few authors have reviewed these phenomena¹⁰⁴.

At times premarital homoeroticism takes on an atmosphere of playfulness, such as among the Barasana (Hugh-Jones) and Nambicwara (Lévi-Strauss); that is, it is tolerated *as such* (cf. Johansson, Murray). Pretty much the same pattern has been documented for the Trumai, Cayapá, Tukano, Yaruros (suspected), urban Bahia, Selk’nam and Kogi. Thus, “homoeroticism” may be tolerated (in any phase) by a reciprocal interplay of (a) its ambiguous, pseudo-, semi- or quasi-erotic appearance¹⁰⁵, emphasising unstructuredness or randomness (play) and nonerotic motives or incentives (game); and of (b) its de-eroticised interpretation / definition by elders. This process requires a congruent or negotiated agenda (de-labelling) of defining and defined party. Reiss (1961)¹⁰⁶, for instance, discusses adolescent male prostitutes protecting themselves and being protected from self-definitions either as prostitutes or as homosexuals by the joint avoidance of such labels (cf. Brongersma, 1987 [I]:163-71; Leahy,

¹⁰² Stärcke, J. ([1936]) *De Sexuele Opvoeding onzer Jeugd*. 7th ed. Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek. 1st ed. 1913. “[...] meestal heeft men hier alleen te doen met een eigenaardigheid van de ontwikkelingsjaren [...]” (p42). “[...] this usually pertains to a peculiarity of the developmental years”]

¹⁰³ Hollander, B. (1922) *The Psychology of Misconduct, Vice, and Crime*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, p141

¹⁰⁴ Werner (1998) describes this under the heading of a “fourth type” according to “who has sex with whom in same-sex relationships” tentatively labeled “the adolescent-sex system”, and consisting of “[...] homosexual relationships between adolescents but which disappear after marriage. This system is found in many oceanic societies (Lau, Manus, Wogeo, Ifugao, Marquesans, Tikopia), in some African societies (Ngonde, Hottentot, Shona, Mongo), and in some South American societies (Nambikwara, Yanomamo, Araucanians)”. See Werner, D. (1998) *Sobre a evolução e variação cultural na homossexualidade masculina*, in Pedro, J. M. & Grossi, M. P. (Eds.) *Masculino, Feminino Plural*. Florianópolis: ed. Mulheres, p99-129. Cf. Werner, D. (2000) *Homosexuality and Hierarchy*. Poster for the International Behavioral Development Symposium Biological Basis of Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, and Gender-typical Behavior. Minot State University, May 25-27

¹⁰⁵ Among the **Cubeo**, similarly as among the **Kgatla** (Botswana), public and “mildly homoerotic” play of young boys is judged to represent “only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community”.

¹⁰⁶ Reiss, A. J. Jr. (1961) The social integration of queers and peers, *Social Problems* 9:102-20

1991:p41-5)¹⁰⁷. The same may be observed for the occurrence of curricular same-sex behaviours in homophobic curricular subcultures. Under “antihomosexual”, constructionist theories require a predefinitional appraisal, or a redefinition toward nonstigmatised meanings¹⁰⁸.

African sexual morality, if anything, traditionally focused on procreation rather than sexual identity or orientation (Murray & Roscoe, 1998); thus, heterosexual marriage and homosexual behaviour are not mutually exclusive (e.g., Guadio, 1995)¹⁰⁹. Curricular age-matched homosexuality indeed used to be a frequent phenomenon. For the **Tutsi**, homosexuality among the young warriors is a refined practice. The adults make fun of these practices but they certainly condone them. As noted: “Parents will take pleasure in seeing their son engage in sexual games with young girls, for that proves that he is normal, and that he will be potent”. This attitude may lead to curricular preference of or tolerance for nonheterosexual allosexual above nonallosexual practices¹¹⁰. The occupation is one of heterosexuality-informed definitions of masculinity¹¹¹, a matter avoided by cultural frustration theories¹¹². Among the **Nyaskyusa** the older men dismiss homosexuality with the tolerant word “adolescence”: “it is never continued after marriage, and all except the feeble-minded get married sooner or later”. Indeed, *later*, because the older men are polygynists so that the younger age group cannot marry (Wilson). The same is noted for the (also polygynous) **Ngonde** (Wilson) and **Dahomey** (Herskovitz). This tendency to “*tolerate the alternative*” may generally be noted for societies practising sexual segregation (e.g., **Samburu**)¹¹³. As **Dogon** elderly speculate: “It would be very good if that [early homosexuality] were to exist among the Dogon. Young people would not be distracted from their work by thoughts of amorous adventures with girls; they could satisfy their sexual needs with their work mates and then return to work”.

The occurrence of curricular homosexuality is related to the awareness of its possibility. Selected cases suggest that an early heterosexual focus renders adolescent concepts of same-sex behaviours as alien, as *out of the range of possibilities*:

¹⁰⁷ Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde: Seks en Erotiek Tussen Jongens en Mannen*. Vol. 1. Amsterdam: SUA; Leahy, T. (1991) *Negotiating Stigma: Approaches to Intergenerational Sex*. PhD thesis presented to the University of New South Wales. Online ed., Books-Reborn. Leahy discusses how homosexual implications are negotiated within male group and intergenerational contexts.

¹⁰⁸ “[...] due to the social distance between the sexes, men also seek sexual fulfilment in relations with other men. Indian culture is highly homosocial and displays of affection, body contact and the sharing of beds between men is socially acceptable (Khan, 1994). This creates opportunities for sexual contact, though sexual behaviour in this context is rarely seen as real sex, but as play. Much of this same-sex sexual activity begins during adolescence between school friends and within family environments and is non-penetrative. Young men who cultivate such relationships do not consider themselves to be ‘homosexual’ but conceive their behaviour in terms of sexual desire, opportunity and pleasure. They may go on to develop relationships which involve penetrative sex. Again, however, such encounters have limited relevance to the construction of their personal identities. Given the constant expectation that a man will eventually marry and produce sons, he can enter into same-sex sexual relations without challenging his masculine sense of self”. Asthana, Sh. & Oostvogels, R. (2001) The social construction of male ‘homosexuality’ in India: implications for HIV transmission and prevention, *Soc Sci & Med* 52,5:707-21

¹⁰⁹ Guadio, R. P. (1995) Unreal Women and the Men Who Love Them: Gay Gender Roles in Hausa Society *Socialist Rev* 25,2:121-36

¹¹⁰ Among the **Wawihé** (Angola) described by Falk (1925) solitary masturbation is regarded as suspicious, while homosexual acts occur in both sexes from age 7 to 18.

¹¹¹ In Kenya: “Certain types of same-sex activity were tolerated in tribal tradition, but only as childish behaviors unworthy of an initiate. In tribes where initiation involves long periods of separation from female contact along with powerful emphasis on male group bonding (**Maasai**), situational homosexuality is not uncommon. When limited to mutual self-pleasuring, it is regarded as merely unmanly”.

¹¹² Azande (age stratified); also Trobrianders, Samoans

¹¹³ Among the **Samburu**, heterosexual play is punished severely, and the sexes are separated early. Homosexual practices are an every-day occurrence at the cattle posts, and are regarded as normal (Spencer).

Among the **Garos** (India), masturbation¹¹⁴ and homosexuality were said to be unknown, while “children are not known to indulge in heterosexual intercourse or sexual play till they are physically grown up”; that is, “[t]here is no taboo against [conjugal] sexual act with girls who have yet to attain puberty” (Goswami and Majumdar). Specifically, adolescents would amusedly argue it would be “impracticable”. Similarly, **Mentawai** (Indonesia) adolescents regard the concept “not as immoral, but as absurd”¹¹⁵.

Concluding, definitions concerning the nature, status and inherent “optional quality” of behaviours positively operationalise or illegitimise given categories of erotic communication. More interestingly, such definitions are borne out of an interplay of agendas, and definitions may influence the form of expression.

8.3.3 Variant, Atypical and Paraphilic Sexual Identity Trajectories: Academic Bias

Most studies inform on first same sex “attraction”, first same sex “erotic fantasy”, first same sex sexual experience, first “homosexual awareness” (“realisation”), first “self-labeling” as “homosexual”, first “disclosure”, and first gay / lesbian “relationship”. In the case of homosexuality, more or less comparable monocultural studies have been performed for North American, European (German, Dutch, Spanish), and South African samples. Studies that thus compare “homosexuality”- to “heterosexuality”-bound trajectories are few. It is clear that some milestones challenge such comparison (disclosure), and may effectively demonstrate sociological mechanisms (awareness, self-labeling). Particularly demonstrative of the influence of heteronormative peer pressure, Sandfort and Van Zessen (1991)¹¹⁶ found that 47 percent of the 12- to 13-year-olds reported not knowing the meaning of “homosexuality” and “bisexuality”; 6 percent of 18- to 19-year-olds were ignorant on this subject. Slightly less than 1 percent of boys and girls defined themselves as exclusively or predominantly “homosexual”; 1.3 percent of boys and 0.8 percent of girls defined themselves as “bisexual”¹¹⁷; 8 percent of boys and 15 percent of girls reported fantasies “of a homosexual nature”. Such fantasies produced uncertainty on self-definition in only a minority; the youngest age group is most often uncertain on the subject of self-definition (60 percent of 12- to 13-year-olds did not know how to self-label within the given pseudo-trichotomy).

Few suitable cross-cultural studies are available for what would be “paraphilic” trajectories. From ethnography, we learn next to nothing about the trajectorial peculiarities of psychiatrised “sexual orientation”-like categories of behaviour patterns. Thing is, these facts provide a methodological problem within any given clinical tradition, and prove to be rare.

¹¹⁴ This was, as the authors point out, contested by Sinha (1966:p42)

¹¹⁵ “Vor allem die Spiele der Jungen untereinander erhalten früh eine erotische Komponente. Sie beobachten die Neckereien der Männer beim gemeinsamen Baden und werden von ihren etwas älteren Gefährten zu sexuellen Handlungen angeleitet. Mit der beginnenden Pubertät kommt es zu emotionellen Beziehungen, die auch Freunde aus der Nachbarschaft betreffen können und dann oft selbst nach der Heirat noch andauern. Manchmal münden sie in Freundschaftsbündnissen (*siripo*), die die betreffenden *uma* als ganze einander annähern. Zärtlichkeit zwischen Gleichgeschlechtlichen gilt bei Jungen und Mädchen als normal und wird auch in aller Öffentlichkeit zur Schau gestellt. Von ausschließlicher Homosexualität hatten die Sakuddei jedoch nie etwas gehört. Sie fanden die Vorstellung nicht unmoralisch, aber absurd. Nur Mann und Frau zusammen können erzeugen, was man zum Leben braucht” (Schefold, 1988).

¹¹⁶ Sandfort, Th. G. M., & Zessen, G. van (1991) *Seks en AIDS in Nederland*, The Hague [Holland]: SDU

¹¹⁷ In a random sample of young adults, considerably higher levels of bisexuality were found.

In an attempt to trace the “cultural chronologies”, with a focus on what can be summarised by *the onset problem*, of a dozen of so-addressed “paraphilias” (Moser¹¹⁸ challenged the classic concept of paraphilia as a unitary, discrete, and distinct entity) in 19th through 20th century European/American literature¹¹⁹, one is struck with the degree of avoidance involved in the watershed moral-academic performance. I will elaborate on this issue in an **addendum** to the current chapter.

8.4 *Cultures, Curricular Subcultures and Curricularised Individuals*

Constructionist explanations for theories of (curricular, curriculum identified) atypical sexualities can be offered for three levels: (curricularising) cultures, (curricular) subcultures and (curricularised) individuals. By no means pretending to offer a substantial entry toward an integration of level-specific theories, a legitimate hypothesis reads that within these levels, uniform principles are operable providing meaning, substance, and identity to these phenomena. Further data are required to examine whether they might contribute to the exploration of similarities between adult homosexual and age-stratified sexual cultures and the preadult experience of other alternatives to coitocentric heterosexuality. These similarities are operationalised by the perspective that preadult age strata commonly form sexual subcultures that may hypothetically respond along the same lines to phase-bound frustration within their heterosexist subeconomies. Leaving the matter for future exploration, it would be worthwhile to examine cultural constructions of curricular homosexuality *within the context of* constructions that address homosexuality outside a curriculum-identified meaning.

8.5 *Concluding Arguments*

A range of studies have examined “prehomosexual same-sex” development within a milestone paradigm [see **separate bibliography** on the subject]; this is not paralleled with insights on the development of erotic age orientation, and for patterns later to be designated paraphilic (e.g., zooerasty). This limited study suggests that allosexual options (homosexuality age disparate contacts, animal contacts) represent cross-culturally stereotypical alternatives for blocked heterosexual pathways, particularly for males, and *in all phases of the operationalised sexual curriculum*. The parallelism between sexual subcultures and individuals in this respect seems to be considered legitimate only for those categories that are culturally disapproved. Furthermore, nonheterosexual noncoital contacts before and even in puberty are presently normalised culturally where formerly this was not done. This seems to be related to a curricularising principle that holds that heterosexual coitus needs to

¹¹⁸ Moser, Ch. (2001) Paraphilia: A critique of a confused concept, in Kleinplatz, Peggy, J. (Ed.) *New directions in sex therapy: Innovations and alternatives* (p91-108). Philadelphia, PA, US: Brunner-Routledge. See also Goleman, D. (1991) New view of fantasy: Much is found perverse, *New York Times*. May 7; 140 (48, 593):B3, B7; Lothane, Z. (1992) The human dilemma: Heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, holosexual? *Issues in Ego Psychol* 15,1:18-32; Simon, W. (1994) Deviance as history: The future of perversion, *Arch Sex Behav* 23,1:1-20

¹¹⁹ *Proto-Paraphilia*. Author's preliminary surveying.

be delayed for medical, social curricular and/or remnant moral reasons, even in times of relative permissiveness. It is also clear that cultural tolerance of nonheterosexual allosexual categories are remarkably unspecific for life phases, and that categories may function within a balanced antiparallelism suggestive of a limited “amount” of such tolerance invested in any or all candidate categories. It may also be a function of culture’s given appraisal of curricularisation efforts, increasingly blocking such categories that jeopardise given curricula (age disparate contacts) as opposed to those that do not (zoerasty), or do not unambiguously (homosexuality).

Bibliography: Prehomosexual Homosexualities

Compiler's note: Ontological narrative addressing "sexual orientations" are among the essential ingredients of understanding these niches of the human experiences as trajectories or curricula. The following works embody the historically recent exploration of "homosexual firsts", a range of psychic and social performances considered essential in Western type "homosexual" trajectories. The works mainly explore themes from an essentialised chronological perspective, with a heavy emphasis on numerics; some are descriptive accounts. Particularly interesting issues implicit in these works include the academic and personal "chronologising" of homoeroticism, in terms of "homoerotarche", the concept of "homosexual" behavioural sexarche, and associated "stages" or "phases". The current bibliography is biased to provoke the exposure of these "productions" or "performances of development" by selecting for applications to pre-teenage, in particular the localisation and cultural understanding of "beginnings". A parallel bibliography for "heteroerotic" beginnings, but particularly also off-axial (noncentralising gender) and "paraphilic" ("pathological") "orientations" would both prove smaller, and, as for content, merely pseudoparallel.

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9

The Doing of Genitalia.

Baby's Genitals and the Grand Scheme of Things Sexual ¹

"You little cunt which some day is to be used"²

" "What can you expect from a child anyhow when its mother approves of such ideas?" "³

Summary: This chapter explores cultural determinants of nonpreparatory nonhygienic nonmedical genital handling. It was observed that these interactions represent early operationalisations of heterosexual identity, and the intergenerational anticipation and certification of sexual values and functions. Its absence from public discourse in industrial societies is linked to the relative nonintervening attitude toward sexual and reproductive ontogenesis as associated with the absence of direct intergenerational interest with these issues.

¹ This chapter was later rewritten for this paper: Janssen, D. F. (2003) Enculturation Curricula, Abuse Categorisation and the Globalist/Culturalist Project: The Genital Reference, *Issues in Child Abuse Accusations* 13 [http://www.ipt-forensics.com/journal/volume13/j13_1_2.htm]

² Greenlandic infant petting song. See Kleivan, I. (1976) Status and role of men and women as reflected in West Greenlandic petting songs to infants, *Folk* 18:5-22, at p12

³ Ward, E. (1936) The parent-child relationship among the Yoruba, *Anthropol Quart* 9,1/4:56-63, at p60

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9.0 Introduction

As Gottlieb (2000:p126)⁴ argues, “[...] the bodies of babies are significant markers pointing to critical cultural values [...]”. Attitudes, policies and agendas identifying infants’ bodies and body parts are valuable indices of parenting cultures. Exploring the specific issue of intergenerational patterns of “genital reference” and avoidance, this chapter questions the exceptionality of the Western-European / American rule. In favour of the current format, a complete treatise and **bibliography**⁵ of the matter are condensed to a chapter highlighting clues for a functional analysis.

9.1 Human “Genital Parenting”: Phenomenological Delineation

Nonpreparatory nonhygienic nonmedical transgenerational genital handling is noted for a large number of societies⁶. This upsets the argument of De Vos⁷, who seems to be unaware of this cross-cultural frequency, that

“[a] mother who attempts genital stimulation of her son for her own satisfaction would have to be extremely aberrant and sexually disturbed, since the sexual satisfaction to be obtained from an infant or a small child would in no way be comparable to that obtained from an adult male. It is therefore unusual for a small child to experience the mother’s active sexuality directed toward him for her own genital gratification” (p170).

If we are to follow this typically personalised image through, other factors would have to fill the gap, as will be integrated below in a general descriptive overview of the particular cases.

Mostly, only one ethnographer notes the practice; the Puerto Rico case, however, was mentioned by at least ten independent researchers. For over 70 societies, apart from the probable historical universality in Europe (Van Ussel, Duerr, DeMause, Kahr, Ariès, Haeberle, De la Marche, Brongersma, Dasberg; *vide infra*), generational / parental genital handling of the infant is observed to occur serving an almangam of motives: pacification,

⁴ Gottlieb, A. (2000) Where have all the babies gone? Toward an anthropology of infants (and their caretakers), *Anthropol Quart* 73,3:121-32

⁵ See also **Vol. III**: Thematic Bibliographies section. In the **Atlas**, see separate sections in Europe, Australia, Middle East, New Guinea

⁶ Kazak, Yakut, Hopi, Siriono, Alorese, Modjokuto, Ontong Java, Balinese, Borneo, Suye Mura, Navaho, Kaingang, Cubeo, Yanomamö/Waika (Surára and Pakidái), Kalahari Bushmen, New Guineans (Daribi, Bimin-Kuskusmin, Gimi, Dani, Iatmul, Mountain Arapesh, Huli), Rungus Dusun, Trukese, Tonga, Banoi (Thailand), Vietnamese, India (e.g., Garos), Rājput, Ghanese, Mixtec, Ruanda, Burundi, Swahili, Mossi, Australia (Yolngu, Alknarintja), Katschtka, Wogeo, Toradja, Tobelorese, Trumai, Kogi, Martinique, Turks, Arab, Moroccans, Marquesans, Iban, Malaysia, Pilagá, Ssimaku, Mangaia, Puerto Rico, Aruba (Netherlands Antilles), Gitano, Japanese / Okinawans, Inuit, Qipi, Utku, Tzeltal, Northern Tungus, Ordos Mongols, pagan Chinese, Machus, Birarāen, Aitutaki, Togan, Basuto, Siwa, Nya Hön, Lodha (West-Bengal), Kpelle, Cayapa, Fan (Dahomey), !Kung, Southern Italy, Isneg, Aritama, Philippines (Negritos of N. Luzon, Agta)

⁷ De Vos, G. A. (1975) Affective Dissonance and Primary Socialization: Implications for a Theory of Incest Avoidance, *Ethos* 3,2:165-82

gratification, self-gratification, teasing, greeting, facilitation of gender identity/role facilitation (machismo), and demonstrations of gender specific parental pride. The Middle-Eastern and Latin-American cases are most recognised, and the practice may until recently have been universal world-wide. For a number of societies⁸, genital manipulation seems best covered by the concept of “teasing”, or perhaps “greeting” (Telugu). In Puerto Rico (and Latin America in general) and among the Spanish Gitano the practice seems firmly entrenched in the cultivation of machismo, and this element may be central in other places (e.g., Suriname). The elements of potency (e.g., Senegal, Zaire [Bakwa-Luntu, Bakongo], Tanzania, Martinique) and virility (e.g., Puerto Rico, Turkey, Aritama) often seem to be genuine anticipating concerns. Other rationales are sporadic, including the carrying of babies on the back to monitor premicturational erections, a Tanzanian and Turkish practice, and the “[...] blowing or stroking to induce urination” found among the Nootka and Ingalik (Voget, 1961:p99)⁹. A frequent variant of the manual technique is the oral/labial¹⁰, and even feet may be used (Ssimaku). Infant orgasm is never reported, but tumescence scores high on the agenda.

Cults of baby’s genital organ are commonly noted for boys and girls, but in some cases definitely¹¹ or possibly¹² not for both. Male but not female stimulation is seen in, among other societies, the Lodha (West-Bengal), the Iatmul of Middle Sepik, and the Kpelle. The practise is variably noted for both parents, or either parent, but rarely a definite attitudinal difference is documented (Kogi).

In some cases the practice would be explicitly tabooed, though one might argue that taboo probably followed excess (e.g., Mangaia); the 19th century European case may be an adequate example of this. Arndt (1954:p111)¹³ notes for the Ngadha: “Die Wärterin soll das Kind nicht an die Geschlechtsteilen berühren, damit es nicht krank wird [...]”. A Yoruba mother who would kiss her infant below the umbilicus, would be committing incest (Staewen and Schönberg, 1970:p222)¹⁴. The (public nature of the) practice of genital handling may be subject to considerable variation in microgeographic terms (Dani, Tzeltal, Ghana). Masturbation of boys themselves is prohibited in some societies practising materno-infantile stimulation (!Ko, Puerto Rico [debated], Trukese), while in other cases, the mother would encourage or “teach” self-masturbation (Katschtka, Japanese, Cubeo, Basuto, Kogi). The timing of discontinuation is unfortunately rarely addressed (Philippines), debated (Puerto Rico) and commonly vague (Hopi, etc.). The legitimisation of the practice remains obscure in most cases (the Balinese, for instance, stress the innocence of the child). In some cases manipulations of the mother are motivated by preparatory intents such as thelopoesis (South African natives, Timbira), prophallopoesis (Paraguay, Bimin-Kuskusmin), or antiphallopoesis (Menomini), preputial conditioning (Hawai’i, Egypt, Turkomans, Kurds,

⁸ Navajo, India, Saramaka, Cubeo, Phillipines, Hopi, Italy, Tanzania, Truk, Tikopia, Borneo

⁹ Voget, F. W. (1961) Sex life of the American Indians, in Ellis, A. & Abarbanel, A. (Eds.) *The Encyclopaedia of Sexual Behavior, Volume 1*. London: W. Heinemann, p90-109

¹⁰ !Kung, New Guinea (e.g., Gimi), Ponapeans, Aritama, Cayapa, Puerto Rico, Muslims, Turks, Aitutaki, Trukese, Telugu, Central Australian Aborigines, Rungus Dusun, Negritos, Gitano

¹¹ Puerto Rico, Lodha, Iatmul, Kpelle, Cayapa

¹² E.g., Mossi, Nya Hön, Japanese/ Okinawans, New Guinea, Balinese (?), Toradja, Iban, Sarawak, Mixtec, Ssimaku, Lebanese, Moroccans, Rājpūt, Eskimo

¹³ Arndt, P. (1954) *Gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse der Ngadha*. Mödling: Verlag Miss. Dr. St. Gabriel

¹⁴ Staewen, C. & Schönberg, F. (1970) *Kulturwandel und Angstentwicklung bei den Yoruba Westafrikas*. München: Weltforum Verlag

Uzbeks, Kazak-Kirghiz), cunnus preparation (Marquesan, Ra'Ivavae, Mangaia, Hawai'i, Zimbabwe [vaRemba], Luba, Nkundo, Hottentot), and artificial defloration (e.g., Wakka, Yanoama). However, preparatory and nonpreparatory intents may be both present. Davenport (1992)¹⁵ points out that "[...] genital stimulation as a means of pacifying a child may be regarded as nonsexual [...]", which is probably true of most cases, except those aiming to radicalise gender differences, to facilitate (future) sexual activity, and to cultivate a specific heterosexual identity through genital socialisation. Practices have recently fallen victim to adverse interpretations (e.g., Aruba- Dutch Antilles)¹⁶. This may illustrate the globalisation of sexual attitudes to "white" example.

9.2 Culture and Infant's Genitals

A cross-check with SCCS "sexual restraint" measures (early childhood, $N=21$) suggests that cultures for which the practice is noted are situated in the low or mid-range. Speaking with Becker's¹⁷ formulations, it seems that a number of these cultures are to be classified among the "sex-positive" ones which would generally define sexual activities in operational and prescriptive terms; in others, the emphasis has to be put on a pro-fertility concern. In still other societies, it seems to anticipate a sexual culture characterised by a rigid double standard principle. In most cases, however, the ethnographer is comfortable with the explanation that it pleases the baby, or its use as a sedative or hypnotic.

Given the low frequency of cultures that may "teach masturbation" ($N=5$) by the practice, and the seemingly paradoxical co-existence of discouraging while practising ($N=3$) suggests that direct behaviour modification intents are rare. On the other hand, intents that clearly suggest an attitudinal shaping, for instance, an introduction to heterosexual agenda, may also be rare. However, this may reflect ethnographers' hesitation to address or explore the issue.

Thus, a detailed cultural analysis of the practice is rare. Among the exceptions exists a recent article by Rydstrom ([2002:p4-5])¹⁸ noting for local Vietnamese:

"The fact that a son is bound up with significant symbolic meaning, is inseparable from a local recognition of a boy's body in biological terms, that is to say, his genitals (i.e. the Phallus). In Thinh Tri, the body of a little boy is generally a matter of common interest and concern. For example, a little boy is usually fondly called a thang cu, which means 'penis boy' (lit. male penis). The genitals of small Thinh Tri boys receive a great deal of attention by being commented on, joked about, or even grasped. The local ways in which boys' genitals are paid attention to are in sharp contrast to the fact that girls' genitals do not receive any special attention¹⁹. The widespread concern in Thinh Tri with respect to boys' genitals

¹⁵ Davenport, W. H. (1992) Adult-child sexual relations in cross-cultural perspective, in O'Donohue, W. & Geer, J. H. (Eds.) *The Sexual Abuse of Children: Theory and Research. Vol. I*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Hillsdale, New Jersey, p73-80

¹⁶ Piternella, 2002, *personal communication*

¹⁷ Becker, G. (1984) The Social Regulation of Sexuality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, *Curr Perspect Soc Theory* 5:45-69

¹⁸ Rydstrom, H. (2002) Sexed bodies, gendered bodies: children and the body in Vietnam, *Women's Studies Int Forum* 886,1:1-14 [uncorrected proof]

¹⁹ Girls could be referred to as a con/cai him (lit. child/ female vulva; i.e. vulva girl), but I never registered an occurrence of this term. In my observations, a little girl's genitals are only commented on

is related to the symbolism of blood, which does not mean the same with regard to females and males. Despite blood being acknowledged as a 'vital life force' (khi huyet) of both the female and male body, it is basically perceived of as a female energy. Its complementary male vital life force is 'semen' (khi), which is said to be the substance of male energy. This energy is thought to guarantee the continuation of the blood of a male's patrilineage. [...] Due to such assumptions about blood, a boy's genitals—and by extension, his body—are always already inscribed with the collected morality (dao duc), honor (danh du), and 'obligations' (nghia) of his past generations. Boys' bodies have accumulated body capital while girls' bodies have not [...]. Because a Thinh Tri boy's body holds inborn morality, honor, and reputation due to his relation to his patrilineage, his body i.e. the Phallus) condenses the preconditions for practicing good male morality. His body symbolizes the future good morality, honor, and reputation of his patrilineage and the performance of certain patrilineal rituals".

Hence,

"[...] a child's body is construed as a powerful socio-symbolic and material sign that reflects local life in terms of hierarchies, positions, and power. Local understandings of female and male bodies crystallize the fact that a child's body simultaneously is wrought socially (i.e. in terms of 'gender') and biologically (i.e. in terms of 'sex'). In this way, both the notions of sex and gender have a history, which is constructed discursively. In other words, both notions address the same question, which is namely, how female and male bodies are rendered meaningful in time and space".

9.2.1 Verbal References

Matters become more directly apparent in accompanying verbal reinforcements, directed to the baby/toddler or to audience. Only a selection of descriptions provide such accompanying commentaries:

The **Vietnamese** case being mentioned; **Ordos Mongols**: "[...] [parents, etc.] commonly touch the child's genitals and caress them, saying at the same time: "Give me this" [...]" ; **Okinawans**: "Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say. "What is that, what is that?" ; **Balinese**: "With the slight titillation go the repeated words: "Handsome, handsome, handsome", an adjective applied only to males. The little girl's vulva is patted gently, with the accompanying feminine adjective "Pretty, pretty, pretty" ; **Borneo**: "Mothers often hold infant boys aloft in the course of singing magical growth songs, blowing softly on the penis, while noting aloud sexual powers to come at maturity"; **Sarawak**: "Not infrequently, when brother's or sister's young child visits Ego, the latter will "make glad over him" (begaga ka ia) with the words, Jaum aku, ulun aku ("My captive, my slave")" [accompanying genital fondling]; **Aritama**: "Adults make joking remarks about the future virility of the baby, about the size of his penis, and about his reactions to such caresses"; **Martinique**: "Men fondle the penises of little boys, remarking publicly on their size and potential, impressing on the children expectations of their masculinity"; **Puerto Rico**: "[...] adults and older brothers and sisters are likely to tease and play with his [infant boy's] genitals, kissing them and remarking on their size, commenting that he is a *machito* (real little male) or a *machote* (real he-man)" ; "[...] parents and friends may play with the boy's genitals until he is around seven years old"; "parents would pull a two-year-old's penis, and inquire for its function. The answer would be, "For the women!" ; "A two-year-old boy will be asked, "What is it for?" while an adult pulls at his penis; and sometimes the child will answer, "For women". Such a child is called malo (bad) or even malcria'o (badly brought up), but actually the terms are used with some measure of approval"; "As soon as they started talking, they asked them questions about their penis, for whom it was and for what it was needed. They answered it was for the chacha or the girl friend, or to play a trick on the girl friend. [...] If they had an erection, they were praised and the parents would celebrate it by telling them they had joined the masculine race". A **Swahili** boy may be "told by his

with respect to hygienic matters. Besides such comments, I have not recorded any talk about girls' genitals; they do not appear to be a matter of conversation in daily family life. [orig. footnote]

mother to show his aunt his tobacco, and he lifts his clothes and shows her his penis. She tweaks the penis and sniffs and sneezes and says: "O, very strong tobacco." Then she says, "Hide your tobacco". **Morocco:** "[...] affectionate genital contact some women extend when they greet or communicate with an infant"; "Little sisters, aunts, maids, and mothers often attract the little boy's attention to his *htwta* and try to teach him to pronounce the word, which is quite a task given the guttural initial letter h. One of the common games played by adult females with a male child is to get him to understand the connection between *sidi* (master) and the *htwta*. *Hada sidhum* ("This is their master"), say the women, pointing to the child's penis. The kissing of the child's penis is a normal gesture for a female relative who has not seen him since his birth. *Tbarkallah 'ala-r-Rajal* ("God protect the man"), she may whisper"; **Turkey:** "[...] grandparents and parents fondled their genitals and repeated: "You are male, you are male" ". Olson-Prather noted that a teenage neighbour girl of the elite class expressed verbal but not physical admiration; "In **Egypt** the mother may attempt to prepare her son gradually for the circumcision operation by "caressing his organ and playfully endeavoring to separate the foreskin from the glans. While doing this she would hum words to the effect that what she is doing will help to make him become a man amongst men"; **Eskimo** children would copy the practice "to caricature the physical raptures of their parents with cries of "It's wonderful!" ".

Summarising, the practice may be used to facilitate the establishment of the infant recognising and labelling an essential anatomical feature. The penis is identified as a functional tool (instrumentalised), its application located in the future heterosexual object. Size may be related to functionality. An appeal is made to the male infant's pride, he is flattered, and mock expectations are expressed, specific replies expected. Mead²⁰ notes how such attention may gender the performed body:

"In those societies where children's sex membership is recognized by adults, in which men treat the little girls with flirtatious attention and women tease and challenge the small boys, the little girls respond by movements of the entire body, which undulates, and postures in delicious indulgence of feminine response. The small boy struts, sometimes with emphasis on his penis, more often carrying hatchet, knife, stick, pole, in upward positions as he marches, parries, performs. His behavior, however symbolic, is to the extent that it is male a concentrated phallic exaggeration, while his sister's is more diffuse and involves the whole body".

Roughly, the Latin American variety seems to centralise sexual capacity and curriculum, as building blocks for male identity, while the Middle Eastern variety stresses male-over-female supremacy, effected by anatomical categorisation. The African variant is coloured by a preoccupation with fertility and sexual complementarity. The European case will be briefly addressed *infra*.

9.2.2 Interpreting the Historical Case

Most commentators on the European case globally stress the historical question of sex as "problem" (e.g., Van Ussel) while others (DeMause) use its occurrence to chronicle the "nightmare" of the incestuous pedagogical past²¹; however, a satisfying functional analysis

²⁰ Mead, M. (1928 [1949]) *Male and Female*. New York: Dell, p104-5

²¹ DeMause, L. (1974) *Psychol Abstracts* 1:503-75 / *Hist Childh Quart* 1:503-75 / DeMause, L. (1974a) The evolution of childhood, in DeMause, L. (Ed.) *The History of Childhood*. New York: Psychohistory Press, p1-73, esp. p43-51; DeMause, L. (1982) *Foundations of Psychohistory*. New York: Creative Roots, Inc., p45, DeMause, L. (1998) The History of Child Abuse, *J Psychohist* 25,3:216-36. DeMause (1988) concludes that "[l]ittle Louis grew up with quite severe sexual problems resulting from his having

has not been offered. Ariès (1960 [1973:p101])²² states that “the practice of playing with children’s privy parts formed part of a widespread tradition”. This could be so because or despite the idea that “the child under the age of puberty was believed to be unaware of or indifferent to sex. Thus gestures and allusions had no meaning for him; they became purely gratuitous and lost their sexual significance” (p103)²³. The reverse of Ariès’ generalisation (*L’Enfant*, p102, 105), informed by the overly cited case of young Louis XIII, is that the “exaggerated interest shown in his phallic development and the premature stimulation to which he was subjected are more than accounted for by the fact that his potential sexual performance was literally a question of state” (Marvick, 1974a²⁴:p351-2; cf. Duerr, [1988, I:p207-9]). Orest Ranum, in a comment to similar explanations by Marvick (1974b; cf. Marvick, 1974c:p262-3)²⁵ argues that the descriptions of early sexual arousal and methods of social control used to rear children illuminate the entire French society in which “social

experienced incest, and his adult love life consisted mainly of unhappy homosexual affairs with young men”. See DeMause, L. (1988) On Writing Childhood History, *J Psychohist* 16,2. Cf. Kahr, B. (1991) The History of Sexuality: From Ancient Polymorphous Perversity to Modern Genital Love, *J Psychohist* 26,4:764-78

²² Ariès, Ph. (1962) *Centuries of Childhood*. Translated, London: Cape

²³ “There is an engraving of 1511 depicting a holy family: St Anne’s behaviour strikes us as extremely odd - she is pushing the child’s thighs apart as if she wanted to get at its privy parts and tickle them. It would be a mistake to see this as a piece of ribaldry. The practice of playing with children’s privy parts formed part of a widespread tradition, which is still operative in Moslem circles. These have remained aloof not only from scientific progress but also from the great moral reformation, at first Christian, later secular, which disciplined eighteenth-century and particularly nineteenth-century society in England and France. Thus in Moslem society we find features which strike us as peculiar but which the worthy Heroard would not have found so surprising. Witness this passage from a novel entitled *The Statue of Salt*. The author is a Tunisian Jew, Albert Memmi, and his book is a curious document on traditional Tunisian society and the mentality of the young people who are semi-Westernized. The hero of the novel is describing a scene in the tram taking him to school in Tunis: ‘In front of me were a Moslem and his son, a tiny little boy with a miniature tarboosh and henna on his hands; on my left a Djerban grocer on his way to market, with a basket between his legs and a pencil behind his ear. The Djerban, affected by the warmth and peace inside the tram, stirred in his seat. He smiled at the child, who smiled back with his eyes and looked at his father. The father, grateful and flattered, reassured him and smiled at the Djerban. “How old are you!” the grocer asked the child. “Two and a half,” replied the father. “Has the cat got your tongue!” the grocer asked the child. “No,” replied the father, “he hasn’t been circumcised yet, but he will be soon.” “Ah!” said the grocer. He had found something to talk about to the child. “Will you sell me your little anima?” “No!” said the child angrily. He obviously knew what the grocer meant, and the same offer had already been made to him. I too [the Jewish child] was familiar with this scene. I had taken part in it in my time, provoked by other people, with the same feelings of shame and desire, revulsion and inquisitive complicity. The child’s eyes shone with the pleasure of incipient virility [a modern feeling, attributed to the child by the educated Memmi who is aware of recent discoveries as to early sexual awakening in children; in former times people believed that before puberty children had no sexual feelings] and also revulsion at this monstrous provocation. He looked at his father. His father smiled: it was a permissible game [our italics]. Our neighbours watched the traditional scene with complaisant approval. I’ll give you ten francs for it,” said the Djerban. “No,” said the child. “Come now, sell me your little...” the Djerban went on. “No! No!” I’ll give you fifty francs for it.” “No!” “I’ll go as high as I can: a thousand francs!” “No!” The Djerban assumed an expression of greediness. “And I’ll throw in a bag of sweets as well!” “No! No!” “You still say no! That’s your last word!” the Djerban shouted, pretending to be angry. “You still say no!” he repeated. “No!” Thereupon the grown-up threw himself upon the child, a terrible expression on his face, his hand brutally rummaging inside the child’s fly. The child tried to fight him off with his fists. The father roared with laughter, the Djerban was convulsed with amusement, while our neighbours smiled broadly”.

²⁴ Marvick, E. W. (1974a) The Character of Louis XIII: The Role of His Physician, *J Interdisc His* 4,3:347-74

²⁵ Marvick, E. W. (1974b) Childhood History and Decisions of State: The Case of Louis XIII, *Hist Childh Quart* 2,2:135-80. Comments and replies at p181-99; Marvick, E. W. (1974c) Nature versus nurture: patterns and trends in seventeenth-century French child-rearing, in DeMause, L. (Ed.) *The History of Childhood*. New York: Psychohistory Press, p259-301

control rested overtly on paternity and physical force”, that is, justice, sexuality, politics, etc, had meanings to the 17th century mind very different from our [American] own”.

9.3 Teasers

The sex-positive (operationalising) principle can be demonstrated most clearly in the case of the intergenerational “sexual teasing” found in some way or another in many societies²⁶, yet is rarely explored in a systematic fashion²⁷. Rarely studied, children may ubiquitous be “teased” both by superior generations and peer subcultures²⁸ in response to their early heterosexual aspirations. This drives the aspirations underground²⁹, but more essentially provides a *curricularised meaning* to nascent heterosexual initiatives. As Martinson notes, peer teasing on sexual issues “[...] recognizes the phenomenon without clearly designating its meaning or importance”. What should generally be understood by intergenerational “sexual” teasing does not imply a response to misconduct but to obviously absurd insinuations or allegations of sexual impotence and heterosexual inadequacy, of infidelity and to mock proposals. The teasing is not generally restricted to the gender of either counterpart, but this may be a cultural trait. The adult makes an overtly impossible demand or appeal to the child’s sexual knowledge, virtues, alleged history or pride³⁰. Although some forms of “teasing” have been designated abusive (rough, inconsiderate), the typical practice seems to be intended to actively cultivate a well-articulated performance-based anticipation of the boy’s sexual [behavioural] curriculum, which process somehow represents a protagonist of his callousness to withstand attacks on his sense of maleness, eventually leading to his mastering the situational absurdity. In a dialogue form, he is encouraged to

²⁶ For observations, see Navajo, India, Tikopia, Saramaka, Cubeo, Philippines, Siamese, Hopi, Balinese, Tanzania, Ruanda, Borneo (Dayak, Dusun), Puerto Rico, Barren Land Eskimo (also Utku), Italy, Shirishana Yanomamo

²⁷ Genital teasing is also noted in the Philippines (Sibley, 1970; cf. Vanoverbergh!), who found ten types of teasing children that could be classified as “broadly sexual in nature”. The practice of genital fondling was observed to be a common form of teasing. 28 children 4 years of age or older were reported to have been teased this way at least up to the age of four. Of these 28, ranging in age from age 5 to 16 at the time of the interviews, 18 still receive this treatment; the other ten were reported by their mothers as being too old for this. See Sibley, B. J. (1970) Teasing of Children in a Rural Philippine Village, *Philippine Sociol Rev* 18,1:27-31

²⁸ Martinson, F. M. (1973) *Infant and Child Sexuality: A Sociological Perspective*. St. Peter, MN: The Book Mark, p76+refs; Martinson, F. M. (1994) *The Sexual Life of Children*. Westport, Conn: Bergin & Garvey

²⁹ E.g., Moll, A. (1908) *Das Sexualleben des Kindes*. Leipzig: Vogel. 1912 transl. Macmillan, p276

³⁰ **Australians:** Adults pretend erotic advances at babies jokingly calling them husband and wife, and commenting on the size of their penis. **Navajo:** “A two-year-old boy’s uncle will begin to make remarks about the size of his nephews’s penis and tease him about the various girls he has had. He might call his niece “little mother” and ask her to take care of him, by giving him some milk. The aunt might tease her nephew by saying, “I want to sleep with you” or “I know you’ve been seeing someone else while I was away” ”; **Saramaka:** “Men tease girls from infancy on by grabbing at their “breasts” and genitals, and women often pull playfully at a little boy’s penis, interrogating him about whether he really knows how to use it and whether he thinks it is big enough to satisfy them. A favorite way of engaging a two- or three-year-old boy is to ask after his pregnant wife or, for a girl, to inquire whether her recent labor pains were severe, and children are expected to provide appropriate answers”; **Hopi:** “After I was four or five nearly all my grandfathers, father’s sisters’ and clan sisters’ husbands, played very rough jokes on me, snatched at my penis, and threatened to castrate me, charging that I had been caught making love to their wives, who were my aunts. All these women took my part, called me their sweet-heart, fondled my penis, and pretended to want it badly. They would say, “Throw it to me”, reach out their hands as if catching it, and smack their lips”; .

develop a way of dealing verbally with these jocularities that also characterise preadolescent peer groups, where the practice may be less obviously age- or power-stratified. He learns to boast, to counter or “get even”, and to establish a personal narrative, a style of “talking sex” or “doing sex” and get out unharmed, even in the obviously unfair intergenerational encounter.

Among the Borneo Dayak, little attention is paid to children’s distinguishing sexual characteristics save that those of the boys are very occasionally made the subject of teasing. At puberty, the boys become entitled to impose a fine upon anyone who even speaks jokingly of this genitals.

9.4 Discussion

Parental genital avoidance in industrial societies starts even with neonatal grooming³¹. Judging from a cursory inventory, the topic of genitalia is usually (still not invariably) avoided in Western baby massage books. According to contemporary American legislation, nonhygienic nonmedical approaches of the genitalia can probably be construed as “abusive”, as “delayed” weaning may cause adverse social interpretations (Christian and Deardorff, 2000)³². Mothers have been known to seemingly unconsciously behave “seductively” toward their children on a normative basis (Sroufe and Ward, 1980; Sroufe et al., 1985)³³. The application of stereotyped Western entries of understanding this behaviour (“female paedophilia”), however, seems obviously problematic.

Within a psychodynamic set of mind, the direct stimulation of infant genitalia represents a problem for Oedipal resolution. It would also impact incest dynamics (Fox, De Vos)³⁴. Native theories are very few in number on this point. This issue, however, was referred to by Poole on the Bimin-Kuskusmin, where it seems to be believed that continued stimulation will damage the child’s *finiik*, spirit or life force.

Regarding intergenerational genital avoidance, more multiform patterns exist in other societies. A most extreme case of laxity in sexual behaviour curricularisation is noted by Jules Henry (1941 [1964:p17-9])³⁵ for the Brazilian Kaingángs, a tendency also said to be characteristic of the Brazilian Xokleng and Tupinamba, Colombian Kagaba, Venezuela Warao, and Bolivian Siriono. In the case of the Kaingángs, children would be so saturated by the sexual attentions of adults that they would not feel the urge to play around amongst themselves.

³¹ Yates, who proclaims that “[t]he baby’s whole body is a sexual organ”, comments on the neonatal grooming process in parents, where genitals are avoided. Yates emphatically argued for “erotic” bonding in the neonatal period of life, but seemed hesitant to explicitly encourage mothers to masturbate. Yates, A. (1978) *Sex Without Shame*. New York: William Morrow, p151-8.

³² Christian, S. E. & Deardorff, J. (2000) Mother Who Breastfeeds 6-Year-Old Faces Custody Fight From Illinois, *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 10

³³ Sroufe, L. A. & Ward, M. J. (1980) Seductive behavior of mothers of toddlers: occurrence, correlates, and family origins, *Child Developm* 51:1222-9; Sroufe, L. A. et al. (1985) Generational boundary dissolution between mothers and their preschool children: A relationship systems approach, *Child Developm* 56,2:317-25

³⁴ Fox, J. R. (1962) Sibling incest, *J Sociol* 13:128-50; De Vos (1975), *op.cit.*

³⁵ Henry, J. (1941 [1964]) *Jungle People: A Kaingang Tribe of the Highlands of Brazil*. New York: J. J. Augustin

9.5 Conclusion

Concluding, next to the modification of hand-to-genital behaviours, the most outstanding element in infant stage “sexual” socialisation is that of purposeful reference to the organ, either verbally or tactically. The practice is suggested to exemplify culture’s variable approaches to and operationalisations of heterosexual identity, and the intergenerational transmission and anticipation of sexual values and functions. Crucially, the practice demonstrates how these issues are being addressed early in life, in a direct and provoking manner, and with an apparent intent to cultivate specific ideal values.

9.x Appendices

9.x.1 Ethological Considerations: The Primate Case

Feierman (1990)³⁶ explored the possibilities of framing “sexual” behaviours within the cross-species concept of paedophilia. These include comforting and contact behaviour, feeding, grooming, protecting, and teaching. Not every scholar would be willing to follow this association. Genital parenting behaviour, however, seems to be a relatively common phenomenon. Among stump-tailed macaques, mothers comfort frightened, grin-lipsmacking babies by manipulating the external genitalia³⁷. Maple et al. (1978)³⁸ reporting on the mother-infant interaction system in a captive-born, mother-reared infant orangutan during the first six months of life, notes: “Of particular interest are the sexual behaviours directed by the mother toward the infant and the regular stimulation of the infant’s genitals”. Beaver (2000)³⁹ returned to this

“[...] “sexual care” behavior observed between the mother and her infant. Maple recorded regular stimulation of male infants’ genitalia and thrusting behavior directed toward the infant by the mother. He proposed that these behaviors were necessary for the regular sexual development of infants and Maple proposed that “the lack of early genital stimulation may [...] contribute to the sexual lethargy which is too often characteristic of captive great apes” (1980:159)[⁴⁰]. This study did not record any thrusting behavior between mother and infant but oral manipulation of the infants’ genitalia was observed for ten instances between the dominant female and her male infant beginning at two months of age. Maple did not observe mothers orally stimulating female infants (1980); however, this study recorded four occurrences when the subordinate female placed her tongue inside the vagina of her female infant beginning at the age of one month and thirteen days. Therefore the frequency of genitalia stimulation was actually higher in the female infant averaging over two times per month while the male infant was stimulated for an average of one time per month”.

A report by Ogawa (1995a,b)⁴¹ on the Tibetan macaques argues that infants are used by adult males to “bridge”, including genital manipulation, fellatio, and mounting. Atypical of male primates, “males start greeting infants and manipulating their genitals while infants are still on their mother’s ventrum [...]”⁴². The licking of infantile genitalia in some mammalian species is necessary for stimulation of urinary functions; the duration of this is species typical.

³⁶ Feierman, J. R. (1990) A Biosocial Overview of Adult Human Sexual Behavior with Children and Adolescents, in Feierman, J. R. (Ed.) *Pedophilia: Biosocial Dimensions*. New York: Springer-Verlag, p8-68

³⁷ Jones, N. G. & Trollope, J. (1968) Social behaviour of stump-tailed macaques in captivity, *Primates* 9,4:365-94

³⁸ Maple, T., Wilson, M. E., Zucker, E. L. & Wilson, S. F. (1978) Notes on the development of a mother-reared orang-utan: The first six months, *Primates* 19,3:593-602

³⁹ Beaver, G. M. (2000) *The Effects of the Social Habitat Implemented by Zoos on the Behavior of the Naturally Semi-Solitary Orangutan (Pongo pygmaeus pygmaeus)*. Research project, University of South Florida, Anthropology Department

⁴⁰ Maple, T. (1980) *Orangutan Behavior*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company

⁴¹ Ogawa, H. (1995a) Bridging behavior and other affiliative interactions among male Tibetan macaques (*Macaca thibetana*), *Int J Primatol* 16,5:707-29; Ogawa, H. (1995b) Recognition of social relationships in bridging behavior among Tibetan macaques (*Macaca thibetana*), *Am J Primatol* 35,4:305-10

⁴² Maestriperi, D. (1998) The evolution of male-infant interactions in the tribe Papionini (Primates: Cercopithecidae), *Folia Primatol* 69,5:247-51

In a hand raised potto, stimulation was necessary for two months, then the juvenile ceased to respond (Walker, 1968)⁴³.

An evolutionary link was hypothesised by DeMause (1989)⁴⁴:

“Early hominid evolution may have favored incestuous mothers for at least three reasons: [1] the loss of body hair, [2] the assumption of bipedal posture and [3] the increase in infantile dependency. These developments, which occurred for other evolutionary reasons, meant that the ability of the infant to bond to the mother was decreased, since it could no longer hold on by itself to her hair nor ride on her back. This in turn meant that those mothers who consistently hung on to their infants (which other primates don't regularly do) were favored, giving a selective advantage to those who used their infants for sensual satisfaction. This may also explain the adaptive value of continuous sexual arousal in the human female -- still a puzzle to biologists -- a unique trait that may have less importance to the question of increased impregnation by the male than it does to the use of erotic pleasure for cementing mother-infant symbiosis. The same may be true of the evolutionary development of the larger, more erogenous female breast, which would have been selected because with it infants would more often be cathected as erotic objects (hunting/gathering mothers often become quite aroused sexually while nursing their infants, caressing their penises and vaginas)⁴⁵. In any case, the result of this early biological evolution is that, as in the example of the seductive girls given above, children who can be used sexually are most likely to survive, because they are more likely to be clung to by their non-hairy, upright mothers and fathers. The importance of erotic bonding thus gives both incestuous parents and children a major selective advantage in hominid evolution. Furthermore, because of the lengthening of childhood dependency in humans compared to other primates, the mechanism of expulsion prior to sexual maturity cannot be used to avoid incest, as it is with other primates. Primate grooming may have evolved into the erotic use of children in early hominids as their body hair was lost. All of these seven factors -- loss of hair, development of erect posture, substitution of erotic clinging for grooming, development of continuous sexual arousal in the female, development of the more erotic breast, greater infantile helplessness and the inability to use expulsion because of lengthening dependency-point in the same evolutionary direction: the increase in selection of erotic bonding of parents and children”.

The carelessness of terms (incest, erotic bonding, erotic use, sexual use) reflects DeMause's obsessive quest for proving that the ethnohistory of mankind has been pervasively “incestuous”, i.e., abusive of children, which would thus structuralise parenting cultures.

9.x.2 The Cultural Infantile Body: Beyond Genitalia

Using HRAF sources, Prescott examined some 400 societies and concluded that those societies that lavish affectionate touch on their infants and children, and also are tolerant or encouraging of adolescent sexual-affectional behaviours, were the least violent societies on earth⁴⁶. These and other data have led a multitude of authors to elaborate on the infantile origin of human intimacy (e.g., Martinson, 1973:p4-6, 9-19, 20-4). These psychoculturalists alternatively utilise psychoanalytic building blocks for their narrative, or create narratives

⁴³ Walker, A. (1968) A note on handrearing a potto, *Int Zoo Yearbook* 8:110-1

⁴⁴ DeMause, L. (1989) The Role of Adaptation and Selection in Psychohistorical Evolution, *J Psychohist* 16,4:355-71; Cf. *The Emotional Life of Nations*, ch.7

⁴⁵ See for instance Hippler (1978:p235)

⁴⁶ Prescott, J. W. & Wallace, D. H. (1975) Body Pleasure and the Origins of Violence. *Bull Atomic Scientists* 11:10-20. See also Hatfield, R. W. (1994) Touch and sexuality, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland, p581-7

that appear to serve pacifist or theologist apologies for or celebrations of traditional family systems, the Mother, or some other cultural idealist perspective. These theses cannot be substantiated, of course. The sexological implications, though frequently speculated upon, are obscure.

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10

"Primal Knowledge".

Physiology and Traumatology

"In the Morning in front of the elders, the parrot
Starts mimicking the sounds
Of last night's love-play.
Embarrassed, she claps her hands,
"Dance! Dance!" she orders the children
The chatter of the parrot is lost in the jingle of her bangles"¹

Abstract: This chapter explores the generational stratification of sexological technology. This is demonstrated for (parental) coitus as a narrative and as an image. Within the concept of performed sexualites, the prevention of knowledge acquisition thought to *operationalise* (make practicable, render operational) by proxy given, or any, sexual behaviour categories is identified as a fundamental principle. This information gradient establishes the age stratification it is thought to be necessitated by, in terms of motivational development. Apart from a poststructuralist approach (sex-knowledge is the currency of Western sexual discourses, and its transmission takes place within power domains) a number of alternative theoretical ramifications are briefly listed.

¹ *The Parrot*, dedicated to Amaru, celebrated erotic poet, date unknown. Cited by Lal, P. (1967) Sanskrit Love Lyrics, *Transition* 32:32-3, p33.

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10.0 Introduction

Some education departments have issued that sexual education is needed to enable children "to reclaim the innocence of their childhood" since

"Early sexual activity interferes with the normal growth and healthy development of children. In addition, it leads to psychological problems, which could include the loss of interest in a life. Moreover, early sexual activity is generally non-consensual sex or, even when there is purported consent on the part of the child, he or she is too young to give informed consent and to come to terms with her/his sexuality" ².

Modernist constructions of childhood stem from the opposition of innocence and corruption, a corruption that is synonymous with knowledge³ or not far from it. This lack of knowledge is subjectified, and used to mobilise a protection-centred (Scott, Jackson et al.)⁴, reactionist (rather than agonistic) paedagogism, engineering age stratifying knowledge wars⁵; this, in spite of disappointingly few insights to the subjective autobiographical decursus of innocence⁶. Over the course of two decades, the whole matter has taken on a rather problematic character: the increasing need for truths and their institutional production and management, against the background of the bankruptcy of its very essences.

Neuman (1975)⁷ states that middle-class attitudes and anxieties about childhood masturbation in the United States and Europe from 1700 to 1914 arose out of the concept of the child as "innocent and weak though easily corrupted". According to Foucaultian perspectives, the distribution of knowledge-power originates in the Greek-Western confession of a true (yet obscure and base) "truth" of sex, a *scientia*, "unfolding within a power relationship", and opposing the transmission of pleasure-as-truth as dictated by an *ars*

² Asmal, K. (Aug., 2001) *Protecting the Right to Innocence: The Importance of Sexuality Education*. Report of the Protecting the Right to Innocence: Conference on Sexuality Education, 19-21. Department of Education, Pretoria, p4, 15 [http://education.pwv.gov.za/Policies%20and%20Reports/2001_Report/SEXUALIT.PDF]

³ Thormann, J. (1996) The unconscious and the construction of the child, *Lit & Psychol* 42,4:16-36

⁴ Scott, S., Jackson, S. & Backett-Milburn, K. (1998) Swings and Roundabouts: Risk Anxiety and the Everyday Worlds of Children, *Sociology* 32,4:689-705. Cf. Scott, S., Jackson, S., Backett-Milburn, K. & Harden, J. (1998) *Risk Anxiety and the Social Construction of Childhood*. Paper for the International Sociological Association; Jackson, S. & Scott, S. (1999) Risk anxiety and the social construction of childhood, in Lupton, D. (Ed.) *Risk and Sociocultural Theory: New Directions and Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, p86-107

⁵ See for instance Heins, M. (2001) *Not in Front of the Children: Indecency, Censorship, and the Innocence of Youth*. Hill & Wang

⁶ See for instance Devrome, M. A. (1997) *Sexuality in Adolescence: Recounting Lived Experience*. PhD Dissertation, University of Calgary. [DAI (1997) 57(10-A):4257]

⁷ Neuman, R. P. (1975) Masturbation, madness, and the modern concepts of childhood and adolescence, *J Soc Hist* 8,3:1-27

erotica. Innocence would be a distinctly "Western" concept (Schérer)⁸, but this is an obsolete idea. Rather than immobilising children by concepts of erotic (erotological) amorphousness, cultures most universally *dramatise* sexual transitions organised around knowledge / identity themes (cf. **chapter 5**):

"Adolescents are marginal in the Parkian sense as they straddle childhood and adulthood, and sexuality accentuates this marginality. Western European traditions have shaped mainstream US social perceptions with the result that children have become simultaneously "innocent" and, as teenagers, sexually "uncontrollable"⁹.

Van Manen observes how "knowledge of and access to the cultural secrets of adult life--such as mature erotic knowledge and sexual practices [etc.] become main criteria by which childhood is defined"¹⁰. Authors¹¹ have argued that "innocence" is "manufactured", which, as Reynolds notes, may be part of a disempowering objectification agenda (which hints at the dire implications of "cuteness" curricula¹²).

As will be argued in this chapter, the hierarchical distribution of sex-as-science is represented through the compartmentalisation and curricularisation of sex, processes, as Foucault observes, readily infused by nosological ramifications. As will be implied below, Freud localised *natural categories* and *normal structures* of the family/society in what would be man's psychic structure, an inevitable functional structure guiding clinical truths (truths as clinical), or academic categorialism (categories as academic). The application of this reappraisal can hardly avoid such things as inevitable trauma, inevitable knowledge and inevitable "sexuality", so intimately joined in psychodynamic legacy. Today we see feverish categorialist effort regarding all these truths, still intimately joined; and there's an economic truth in it. The triplet is institutionally interbred, the result increasingly measured in terms of naturalised chronologies, and nurtured to be self-sustaining, surviving partial "backlashes" of most kinds. A thorough localisation of the Western sexology/psychiatry institute, as selective legitimisation rather than neutralisation, is not intended here; instead, this limited collage of references does no more than arguing than the triad in question (knowledge, trauma and eroticism) is represented in historically essentialised thought projects ("the primal scene", "the birds and bees"), a cultural datum which may continue to halt deconstructive efforts. We see here the fruits of some three centuries of secular distribution of moral problems: the sexual behaviour trajectory, universally problematised, is arbitrarily contained by academically legitimised classifications, and appropriated for ethnicist and class (e.g., §1.1.3.4) signification.

⁸ Schérer, R. (1974) *Émile Perversi*. Paris: Laffont; Hocquenghem, G. & Schérer, R. (1976) *Co-ire; Album Systématique de l'Enfance*. Paris: Recherches; Schérer, R. (1978) *Une Érotique Puérile*. Paris: Éditions Galilée; Scherer, R. (1995) Un nouvel ordre sexuel mondial, *Quel Corps?*, p47-9, 261-74

⁹ Melese-d'Hospital, I. (1994) "Innocent Child" or "Horny Teenager?": Adolescents' Sexuality, Marginality, and HIV Policy. Paper for the American Sociological Association

¹⁰ 1994 research outline, <http://www.ualberta.ca/~vanmanen/hssecr.htm>. Cf. Manen, M. van & Levering, B. (1996) *Childhood's Secrets: Intimacy, Privacy, and the Self Reconsidered*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press

¹¹ Corteen, K. & Scraton, P. (1997) 'Prolonging 'Childhood': Manufacturing 'Innocence' and Regulating Sexuality' in Scraton, P. (Ed.) *Childhood in Crisis*. London: UCL Press

¹² Harris, D. (1993) The cute and the anti-cute, *Harper's Mag* 287:26. Further: Holt, J. C. (1974) *Escape from Childhood*. New York: E. P. Dutton, ch. 12

10.1 "Primality" in Euro-American Child Sexology: A Curricularisation Issue

Sigmund Freud was dedicated to the traumatology of the *Uhrzene* from the very beginning of his psychoanalytic thought (Esman, 1978:p50-3)¹³. The matter was taken up by psychoanalysts as well as a large number of parental advisories covering sexual issues, and was merged within discussions of domestic nudity, parent-child and sibling co-sleeping and co-bathing, where it became as a classic theme in sex education for parents throughout the century. Significantly, these issues in practice hardly ever raise legal questions. It is known that a first retrospective prevalence study was conducted as late as 1976 (Hoyt)¹⁴, and longitudinal data were first available as late as 1998 (Okami et al.)¹⁵. The lag of academic falsification is stunning, and reveals much of the absolute reign of case material in psychoanalytical thought. Further, it should be noted that the idea itself is a concept of traumatology specific and typical of the culture that seems to appreciate an institutionalised sexology, and then omits the obvious patterns of investigation suiting its hypotheses. It had to be taken up by "outsiders" to disprove its somehow seducing claims.

The studies never demonstrated much harm. Primal scene avoidance operates on a discursive level of innate cultural traumatology, and effects an age/phase (rather than kin) stratifying and stratified avoidance regarding matters construed sexual. What has ethnology to offer?

10.2 Anthropological Perspectives

It appears that cultures may have their typical primal scenes. Stekel¹⁶ argued that "[e]ine außerordentliche Rolle im Sexualleben des Kindes spielt das Klosett. Für das Kind ist das Klosett keine Bedürfnisanhalt, sondern eine Quelle der erotischen Anregung". The curricular compartmentalisation of human excretion has probably contributed to Freud's identification of the "anal phase" as such¹⁷. Children's attraction to toilets is probably an exponent of the exotification (Bem) / proto-eroticisation¹⁸ of nudity, with a carry-over effect to the places where a display of the "scene" is expected.

To limit the discussion to coitus, Devereux (1951)¹⁹ extensively discussed the Mohave primal scene, stressing its educational qualities, and its contribution to "a rapid and continuous behavioural, characterological and social maturation, rather than a stunting and premature frustration of the instincts, and of Mohave character structure". The Euro-American primal scene, many "experiences" alike, is destined to be incidental, the child walking in on the

¹³ Esman, A. (1978) The primal scene: a review and a reconstruction, *Psychoanal Study Child* 28:49-81

¹⁴ Hoyt, M. F. (1976) *The Primal Scene: A Study of Fantasy and Perception Regarding Parental Sexuality*. Unpubl. Doct. Diss.

¹⁵ Okami, P., Olmstead, R., Abramson, P. & Pendleton, L. (1998) Early childhood exposure to parental nudity and scenes of parental sexuality ("primal scenes"): an 18-year longitudinal study of outcome, *Arch Sex Behav* 27,4:361-84

¹⁶ *Psychosexueller Infantilismus*, p45

¹⁷ See also Schuhrke, B. (1998) Die offene Toilettentür. Sexualität, Scham und Neugier in der Familie, *Pro Familia Mag* 26,3/4:18-20

¹⁸ Preparatory article, *Proto-Erotiek: Agogische Exotiek tussen Leererotische en Psychodynamische Realiteit*.

¹⁹ Devereux, G. (1951a) The Primal Scene and Juvenile Heterosexuality in Mohave Society, in Wilbur, G. & Muensterberger, W. (Eds.) *Psychoanalysis and Culture*. New York: International Universities Press, p90-107

parents who are caught *in flagrante*. The extent of ethnographic communications of what might be called the category of "imitated sexuality" points to the assumption that the primal (but perhaps not solely parental) scene would be a universal experience; however, the trauma, outside the boundaries of speculation, is explored cross-culturally only sporadically. For some reason, witnessing parental coitus is a routine item in American anthropological coverage of the "life cycle", some authors feeling compelled to discuss possibilities and probabilities even in the negative.

10.2.1 Watching Parents: Intercourse

According to ethnographers' explicit issuing of the matter²⁰, parental intercourse is observed all over the world²¹, the timing of discontinuation being variable and unfortunately rarely addressed. Stephens (1971:p406; 1972:p2-3)²² found that 35 of 91 primitive cultures are known to practice parent-"child" co-sleeping, of which 16 were known to "allow" cross-generational coital observation²³ (in three²⁴ of these, this claim was compromised by informants' denial). In six, possibly eight, children's observation of "sex orgies and occasions of quasi-public intercourse" could be documented. In sixteen, adults are known to discuss and joke about sex openly before children; in 8, this was denied by informants. In a final six, children would be exposed to ritualised or culturally approved parental "obscenity".

10.2.2 The Primal Bed, Room, Home, Village: Compartmentalisation and Curricularisation of Scenes

Primal scene experiencing was not coded for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. SCCS codes are available on the person(s) infants and children sleep with, where adolescents sleep, sex segregation in sleeping areas of children, and sex segregation in sleeping areas of adolescents and teens²⁵ (variables 23, 751, 933, 1710-1713). Whiting et al. ([1958])²⁶ found that in a sample of 56 societies, 24 practised biparental-"infant"²⁷ co-sleeping (the same bed); in only five the

²⁰ The mere coverage of the issue may be biased by a psychodynamic orientation, interest, or expertise. Rarely the matter is addressed in full, and even more sporadically, it seems, it is numerically studied as for American society.

²¹ For explicit statements (and completed with Stephens' data) see for Africa: Tanala, Sudan, Senegal, Ghana, Nuer, Amhara, Umbundu, Xhosa, Gusii, I-Kung; Asia: Central Thai, Burma, Taiwan, Burakumin (Japan), Garos (debated: Goswami vs Sinha), Santal, Akha, Alorese, Samoa, Ulithi, Ilocos; Trobriands; Puerto Rico, Copper Eskimo, Mohave, Ojibwa, Hopi, Kamano, Apache, Navajo, Yanoama, Mapuche, Cashinahua, Tenetehara, Hare, Mangaia, Marquesans; Aranda and other Australian aborigines; Truk, Ulithi, Valle Caña, Deoli, Baiga, Easter Islanders

²² Stephens, W. N. (1971) A cross-cultural study of modesty and obscenity, in *Technical Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*. Washington, US : Government Printing Office. Vol. 9, p405-51; Stephens, W. N. (1972) A cross-cultural study of modesty, *Behav Sci Notes* 7,1:1-28

²³ Alorese, Baiga, Copper Eskimo, Deoli, East Bay, Goulbourn Island (Australia), Hopi, Kamano, Marquesas, Mohave, Ojibwa, Samoa, Trobriands, Truk, Ulithi, Valle Caña

²⁴ Manus, Modjokuto, Tepoztlan

²⁵ Divale, W., Abrams, N., Barzola, J., Harris, E. & Henry, F. (1998) Sleeping Arrangements of Children and Adolescents: SCCS Sample Codes, *World Cultures* 9,2:3-12

²⁶ Whiting, J. W. M., Kluckhohn, R. & Anthony, A. (1958) The function of male initiation ceremonies at puberty, in Maccoby, E. E., Newcomb, T. M. & Hartley, E. L. (Eds.) *Readings in Social Psychology*. Rev. ed. New York: H. Holt, p359-70

²⁷ No exact delineation of the concept was offered.

infant slept away from the co-sleeping parents' bed. However, an indefinite number of these might adhere to the post-partum taboo. We see that for infant-parental co-sleeping patterns in 186 societies (Barry III & Paxson, 1971, column 1)²⁸ it was not once observed that both parents do *not* sleep with the infant in the same room. PSEs in infancy are technically a possibility in societies with rating 5 (both parents sleep in the same room as the infant, #=59) and 9 (both parents sleep in the same bed as the infant, #=23), and provisionally for ratings 4 and 7. A further SCCS measure was provided by Broude and Greene (1983, column 13)²⁹.

We might consider the discontinuation of co-sleeping, either for bed or room, as an exponent of curricularisation. The discontinuation of sibling cross-sex co-sleeping is a recognised transition in some societies³⁰. Rosenfeld studied (incidental) cross-generational co-sleeping (1982)³¹ and cross-generational co-bathing (1987)³² in the U.S.A., studies being informed by an "abuse" paradigm. Parent-child co-sleeping discontinuation is marked explicitly in a number of African cultures³³ as well as outside³⁴, and in a majority of these cases the child actually moves out of the home, typically to grandparents. The timing of co-sleeping discontinuation varies, but is invariably prepubertal³⁵. Stephens (1962:p79; 1972:p3) found that the boy's moving out was noted in more than half of the sample (in 36 they did, in 27 they did not), but was careless for the age at which this occurred ("the 7 to 15 age range"). In some cases this transition is rationalised. "The Nyakyusa believe that the sexual fluids are extremely dangerous to children, hence (they say) the restrictions on the parents of a young child sleeping together [*sic*]" (Wilson). The Bemba considered sexually mature people "hot" and as such dangerous for infants and young children altogether.

According to professionals, the age at which behaviours related to nudity and co-sleeping were said to become inappropriate was lower for different-gender parents than for same-gender parents³⁶. The opposite was found for kissing. Co-sleeping together with co-bathing until adolescence in Japan and China could be regarded as "incestuous" (DeMause) because of its duration; this accounts for an accusatory, hybrid use of the standard lexicon of psychodynamic theories, and sentiments against the chronocentric department of "abuse". There have been no specific studies disentangling kinship from age avoidance narratives.

10.2.3 Watching Parents and Being Watched: Curricularisation of the "Visual Experience" Order

²⁸ Barry, H. III & Paxson, L. M. (1971) Infancy and early childhood: cross-cultural codes 2, *Ethnology* 10:466-508

²⁹ Broude, G. J. & Greene, S. J. (1983) Cross-Cultural Codes on Husband-Wife Relationships, *Ethnology* 22,3:263-80

³⁰ E.g., Qemant. Among the Yakut, it happens at age 10-12 (Sieroszewski, p887)

³¹ Rosenfeld, A. (1982) Sleeping patterns in upper-middle-class families when the child awakens ill or frightened, *Arch Gen Psychia* 39:943-7

³² Rosenfeld, A. et al. (1987) Family bathing patterns: implications for cases of alleged molestation and for pediatric practice, *Pediatrics* 79,2:224-9

³³ Maragoli, Nuer, Majangir, Bemba, Shona, Thonga, Meru, Azande, Baushi, Karugu, Bena, Gusii

³⁴ Thai

³⁵ "Above the age of weaning" (Bemba), five (Bangladesh), eight or nine (Shona), seven (Gusii), seven or eight (Thonga), five to seven (Meru), nine or ten (Zande, Bena, Kaguru), before "late childhood" (Batak), ten or twelve (rural Thai), "even before initiation" (Kaguru) or "à partir du moment où il osera se tenir éveillé au moment où Vénus couvre ses parent de son étreinte" (Baushi); only in some cases it is "soon after puberty" (Ovimbundu).

³⁶ Disimone-Weiss, R. (2000) Defining sexual boundaries between children and adults: A potential new approach to child sexual abuse prevention, DAI-B 60(8-B):4216. Professionals who were younger, did not have a psychodynamic orientation, or were from the western states generally responded that the investigated behaviours become inappropriate at later ages than those who do not have these characteristics. In addition, although psychologists and psychiatrists were not found to significantly differ in their responses, paediatricians generally responded with a significantly older age cut-off than did either of the other two professions.

There is little ethnographic consideration for noncoitally explicit "scences" enacted by the parental dyad or the parental generation (e.g., nudity, breastfeeding) experienced by children. It is suggested that in most societies visual shielding occurs over a gradient of activities, including hugging, modest kissing and embraces on the one end, and coitus or other genital practices on the other. This may also be noted for the entire arsenal of censorship devices to shield children from exposure to images portraying sexual techniques, including television warnings operable in many countries announcing "explicit" scenes: it might affect their "sexual IQs"³⁷.

Whether young children shield their obscenity, nudity, and sexual activity from the still younger ones has received no attention. A cursory inventory (§6.2.7) suggests that children actively shape the compartmentalised coital/intimacy order, and shield their own coitus from parental (and peer) interests. Of course, the child at some time comes to include himself in the curricularisation hierarchy, assuming the restrictions (s)he observes applied to his/her own person and to those in the same and other age groups. This perspective would most likely contradict the classical ethnographic (and psychodynamic) image that this hierarchy is invariably and merely composed of a two-layer (or *generational*) organisation.

10.2.4 Watching Animals

Among the **Serbs**, Pavlovic found that "[s]ome peasants do not know what sights female children should not witness. I once saw a peasant holding a mare and forcing his daughter-in-law and his daughter to drive the stallion to service it". Watching animals is seen as an important means of the acquisition of coital technology in rural areas³⁸. Particularly in Africa, the cattle is the prime mate of the child, and the boy spends the whole day with the flog. Parents have generally been noted to regard the knowledge of animal matings as operationalised knowledge, and as such a theme for socialisation. The Cuna (Panama) actually forbid animal scenes to be watched (Nordenskiöld, Marshall). In some societies, it appears as if the domestic animal is sex-trained too. On Inis Beag, Ireland, "[e]ven the dog caught licking its genitals inside the home is whipped and banished from the house" (cited by Yates).

A meaningful lateralium, compartmentalised and curricularised children are to reconstruct the human case from the animal case.

10.2.5 Watching TV: Managing Changing Screens

Specific technological proceedings have possibly revolutionised the experience of growing up sexually. Vieira³⁹ has sought "to address the ways in which three distinct domains – the

³⁷ Stodghill II, R. (2001) Where'd You Learn That? in: Davidson, J. K. & Moore, N. B. (Eds.) *Speaking of Sexuality: Interdisciplinary Readings*, Los Angeles: Roxbury, p372-7

³⁸ To name some of the societies for which this is explicitly documented: Amhara, Toucouleur (Senegal), Xhosa, Tebu, Gusii, Tanala, Shona, Tibet, rural Japan, Taiwan Hokkien, Akha, rural France, Highland Scots, Inis Beag [Ireland], Denmark, Bonerate, Zuni, Western Apache, Hopi, Siuai, Easter Island, Aitutaki, Paraguay, Yahgan, Puerto Rico, Yanoama, Selk'nam (Fireland Island)

³⁹ Vieira C. G. (Sept., 2001) *alt.cyberkids: Rituals of Resistance*. Unpublished PhD Diss. University of Wales, College of Cardiff. Partially available at: <http://www.cf.ac.uk/jomec/vieira/index.html>

Internet, childhood and sexuality – are located in a discursive nexus that is irreconcilable with normative notions of what it means to be a child". Television and internet have immensely enhanced the distribution of adolescent cultures, values and issues that shape the needs and demands of the young consumer⁴⁰. Internet, particularly, increases the degree of "mobility", communication, and anonymity that children seek to enhance sexological expertise. The curriculum that follows this line of development is one controlled only by a technological superiority that ensures the selective restriction, limitation or delay of children's access to the online world. A number of issues have entered the realm of digital parenthood, posing threats to the "unsuspecting" juvenile consumer: pornography⁴¹ and paraphilic attentions⁴², mainly. Some *legal* efforts aim to "protect" children from explicit communications via electronic ways⁴³.

One hypothesis suggests that curricularisation of exposure is related to curricular need or demand. Abelman (1980)⁴⁴, discussing sex in soap operas: "Many of the sex acts were not explicitly portrayed; they were discussed, alluded to, or implied. Given the theory that children will come to value and model the behaviors seen on television, the findings suggest that those acts most explicitly portrayed, specifically petting, would be modeled more frequently than other intimate acts".

Technological proceedings pose immediate problems and require innovative solutions to the curricularisation and curricular distribution of sexual knowledge. These solutions in part are provided by technology. Both television and internet access opportunities are protected selectively by parental option for channel, site or day schedule. Television programs are introduced by icons warning the child or parent for oncoming explicitness, and provide age recommendations. Programs are scheduled when children are in school or late night. These strategies elaborate upon age requirements for the purchase of explicit material, and access limitation to "explicit" environments.

10.2.6 And Where Does the Stork Come From: The Primal Talk

Another classical Freudian theme is that of "infantile" sexual theories. Where primal scenes are reasonably effectively blocked from view, narrative becomes the central "primal" factor,

⁴⁰ See Himmelweit, H. & Bell, N. (1980) Television as a sphere of influence on the child's learning about sexuality, in Roberts, E. J. (Ed.) *Childhood Sexual Learning: The Unwritten Curriculum*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, p113-37; Sprafkin, J. N., Silverman, Th. & Rubinstein, E. A. (1980) Reactions to Sex on Television: An Exploratory Study, *Public Opinion Quart* 44,3:303-15; Kelley, P. et al. (1999) Talking dirty: children, sexual knowledge, and television, *Childhood* 6,2:221-42; Kunkel, D. et al. (1996) *Sex, Kids and the Family Hour: A Three-Part Study of Sexual Content on Television*. Kaiser Family Foundation, Oakland; Roberts, E. J. (1982) *Children's Sexual Learning: An Examination of the Influence of Parents, Television, and Community Service Providers*. Harvard University; Ward, L. M. (1995) Talking about sex: common themes about sexuality in the prime time television programs children and adolescents view most, *J Youth & Adol* 24,5:595-616

⁴¹ Zillmann, D. (2000) Influence of unrestrained access to erotica on adolescents' and young adults' dispositions toward sexuality, *J Adolesc Health* 27,2 Suppl.:41-4

⁴² Quayle, E. & Taylor, M. (2001) Child seduction and self-representation on the Internet, *Cyberpsychol & Behav* 4,5:597-608; Freeman-Longo, R. E. (2000) Children, teens, and sex on the Internet, *Sexual Addict & Compuls* 7,1-2:75-90

⁴³ Kennedy, M. A. (1996-7) Information Superhighway: Parental Regulation-The Best Alternative, *Univ Louisville J Fam Law* 35,3:575-93

⁴⁴ Abelman, R. (1980) *Afternoon Delight: Sex in the Soaps*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association (66th, New York, November 13-16)

allowing a degree of freedom, a buffer, for curricular control and stability. The facts of life are diverse, and good parents, if they know these facts themselves, choose elements of this "whole truth" to speak "nothing but the truth".

Purposeful misleading arguments on the ontogenetic question are noted in many societies. Taking the work of the Newsons (1968:p375-84) and the "cross-cultural" work by the Goldmans (1982:p216-37) as a baseline, it appears that providing the truth has been an enormous problem, paralleled by a wide diversity of ideations within moral, religious and physiological paradigms⁴⁵. Newson and Newson found that up to 66% of lowest-class "wives-of" provided spurious explanations to their four-year-olds: the stork⁴⁶, Santa Claus, Woolworth's, under the goosegog bush, the back garden, the cabbage patch, the hospital (cf. Ribal, 1973:p22-3)⁴⁷. Some parents screened their television for "farming programmes and that". Naiveté was preserved through a program ranging from neutralisation (professional-class) to suppression (unskilled-manual class).

An intriguing use of the knowledge of reproduction occurs in some North-American tribes that frighten children out of sex with the argument that they are fertile prepubertally⁴⁸. In most societies, however, intelligence on at least human reproduction is subject to rigorous curricular control, and deliberate mythmaking is a polycultural phenomenon⁴⁹. Native rationales for this universal policy are rarely explored, and if so, tend to be discussed in matter-of-fact terms. The issue was not coded for the SCCS.

Kirkman et al. (2001, 2002)⁵⁰ suggest that fathers experience difficulties in communicating about sexuality with their children as they were positioned in mutually incompatible discourses of both traditional masculinity and involved fatherhood. This can be juxtaposed versus many African cases where instruction is strictly gender segregated. Whereas in the American intrafamilial phenomenon sex discussions take on different styles⁵¹ (an ethnographic aspect poorly understood), African education appears to have been either as colloquial (e.g., **Wanguru**) or more dogmatic, yet gendered and formalised through the use of specific (secluded) locations, elaborate (at times "secret") phrase curricula, and nonparental ceremonial masters. The input and output are proscribed rather than prescribed, as are the *dramatis personae*. The re-construction of the self within the performance of being educated (and educating), therefore, is not to be mistaken, a social truth, a pathway to be followed rather to be ventured. It represents a case of assimilation rather than individuation, a case of recruitment and inauguration rather than development and revolution. It is also interesting to see that Afro-American mothers "used stories from their own experiences to accomplish socialization / enculturation and to discourage their daughters from making the same mistakes that they reportedly made (such as becoming pregnant during the teenage

⁴⁵ Cf. Morrison et al. (1980:p32-60)

⁴⁶ See also Simon, M. (1989) Der Storch als Kinderbringer, *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitschr f Volksk* 34-5:25-39

⁴⁷ Ribal, J. E. (1973) *Learning Sex Roles: American and Scandinavian Contrasts*. San Francisco, Calif.: Canfield

⁴⁸ Ingalik, Hopi, Blood Indians

⁴⁹ Untruths and halftruths were collected for the U.S., Cuna, Xhosa, Okinawans, Chaga, Wahehe, Burma, Akha, French, Ghanese, Scots, Lebanese, Wogeo, New Ireland Darabi, Hopi, Tinglit, Ojibwa, Puerto Rico, Philippines, Bulgaria

⁵⁰ Kirkman, M., Rosenthal, D. A., Feldman, S. S. (2001) Freeing up the subject: tension between traditional masculinity and involved fatherhood through communication about sexuality with adolescents, *Culture Health & Sexuality* 3,4:391-411; Kirkman, M., Rosenthal, D. A. & Feldman, S. Sh. (2002) Talking to a tiger: Fathers reveal their difficulties in communicating about sexuality with adolescents, *New Directions for Child & Adolesc Developm* 97, Autumn:57-74

⁵¹ E.g., Lefkowitz, E. S., Kahlbaugh, P. E. & Sigman, M. D. (1996) Turn-Taking in Mother-Adolescent Conversations about Sexuality and Conflict, *J Youth & Adolesc* 25,3:307-21

years)"⁵². These stories "served as cultural artefacts that describe the cultural pathways" of those involved.

10.3 Discussion: The Curricular Stratification of Information and Technology

"In western industrialized countries children grow up amidst strong cultural investment in sexualized narratives. From advertising to films and videos, from multiple TV offerings of soaps, chat-shows, cable options of 24 hour romance, violence or erotica, internet information and dialogue... to popular magazines and daily newspapers: everywhere sex sells and buys, titillates well-trodden paths of curious voyeurism and projections, moulded and selectively extracted bodies, edited scripts and conventions of the palaver of intimacy. The stories and images percolate into individuals' sense of themselves, sense of others, dreams, hopes and fantasies. This wider cultural proliferation of images and suggestions about "sex" and desire goes alongside many years in school and in home / family contexts, where other conventions prevail. Here the sexualized body is more often suspect and censored, contained within traditions of embarrassment or humour or rules"⁵³.

A number of models have been or can be applied to coital stratification according to life phase. Their implications for cross-cultural diversity are discussed below. The most frequently offered interpretations for cross-cultural difference is the element of *economic compromise*: coitus would have been shielded (more effectively) had it not been for one-room accommodations. In these cases, where having sex weighs heavily against shielding sex, PS avoidance would be a function of SES rather than cultural attitudes. A number of theoretical entries need to be addressed.

-- **Ethology.** Schiefenhövel⁵⁴ assumes that coital privacy, regardless of the identity of spectators, is universal in man, and nonexistent in animals. Coital privacy lessens the threat posed by dominant males to the pairbonding stability of the copulating dyad (cf. Money & Ehrhardt, 1973/1996:p201). The avoidance of coital exposure need would develop early, in "latency"; in fact, it had better replace the concept of latency (*ibid.*). This model is less clear in its explaining the intrafamilial-intergenerational setting. The inexistence of zoological equivalents of "privacy" in either setting has not been demonstrated, but seems unlikely at least in the latter case.

⁵² Nwoga, I. A. (2000) African American mothers use stories for family sexuality education, *MCN Am J Matern Child Nurs* 25,1: 31-6

⁵³ Lewis, J., *Visualizing desire: HIV prevention dilemmas for women's sexual safety in Europe*. Versions of the article appeared in: *A Women's Place. Women, Domesticity and Private Life*, Ed. Annabelle Despard, Agder College, Research Series No. 12, 1998; and in *NORA Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*, No. 2, Vol. 6, 1998

⁵⁴ Schiefenhövel, W. (1982) Kindliche Sexualität, Tabu und Schamgefühl bei "primitiven" Völkern, in Hellbrügge, Th. (Ed.) *Die Entwicklung der Kindlichen Sexualität*. München: Urban & Schwarzenberg, p145-63, at p159; Schiefenhövel-Barthel, S. & Schiefenhövel, W. (1999) Sexualität und Schwangerschaft, in Brockhaus (Ed.) *Brockhaus Mensch, Natur, Technik. Phänomen Mensch*. Leipzig & Mannheim: R. A. Brockhaus, p24-39, at p27-8; Schiefenhövel, W. (2001) Sexualverhalten in Melanesien. Ethnologische und humanethnologische Aspekte, in Sütterlin, Ch. & Salter, F. K. (Eds.) *Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt: Zu Person und Werk*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, p274-88, at p280

-- **Structural-Functionism.** The shielding away of coitus within the familial setting might appeal to a spectrum of psychodynamic explanations⁵⁵, providing relief of Oedipal tensions. This, however, remains untested. The model requires that PSEs jeopardise tensional equilibria that define the Oedipal triangle (and the whole of psychosexual status), thus compromising the delicate process of its resolution. It requires that PSEs appeal to an innate biological mechanism inevitably transforming the experience into a psychological conflict.

-- **Conflict Theory.** In most societies the child is confined to the level, cohort or *stratum* of information it is assigned to, and in most cases can be conceptualised as a "technology", a knowledge of doing things. The sexual curriculum is defined by the age width, kinship requirements, and gender rigidity associated with the "information cohort" over time. Cultures are typified by the passive and active delay legitimising, identifying or capacitating ("operationalising") knowledge (coital technology to coitus, masturbatory technology to orgasm) as well as the "operationalising experiences" that might result from them (masturbation to allosexuality, allosexual incidents to allosexual patterns, orgasm to masturbatory patterning), etc. In this view the merest *concept* of sex is the first prerequisite in a motivational sequence that eventually leads up to its initial practice. It may be suggested that the delay of this first step is a most radical though near universal choice operationalising sex as an age-graded and -grading privilege. Or rather, children's sexology roots in the curricularised failure of this age-based power segmentation of society, situational relaxation of its implementation, or in the promotion that is granted with age. This model requires the conceptualising of coital technology as an economic value unevenly distributed over the age gradient, such distribution effected by the exercise of power, and such exercise benefiting the powerful in controlling power gradients.

In its strictest form, this model requires the (at least potential) equivalence of coitus to both parties in terms of meaning (e.g., pleasure) and, ethically, entitlement. It is this requirement that is generally met with opposition.

-- **Symbolic Interactionism, Social Constructionism.** Parents choose to delay the transmission of coitus as a concept by modifying exposure to the concept. The gradient is preserved by such techniques as active and passive nonlabelling and mislabelling (Gagnon)⁵⁶, and from "neutralisation" to "suppression" (Newson & Newson). Coital development (**chapter 6**) is thus left to a curriculum in which (1) coitus does not take place because of its lack of meaning, or its nonrepresentation in operational scripts; and (2) coitus takes place within a gradual shift of meaning, its representation in scripts being updated on the basis of some curricular agenda. Cross-cultural differences would have to be explained, if not from economic perspectives, from curricular agendas to provide or withhold (operationalised) meanings to behavioural categories, or to curricularise diverse potential meanings.

⁵⁵ Although some have gone to far ends of traumatic interpretation, the (initial) mechanisms are summarised as (1) erotic "charging" without adequate discharge opportunities; (2) sadomasochistic misinterpretation; and (3) intensification of Oedipal dynamics resulting in an increase of castration awareness (free from Okami, 1995, 1998).

⁵⁶ Gagnon, J. G. (1977) *Human Sexualities*. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman & Co., p88-90

11

*Medicalisation and Curricularisation of Sexual Behaviour Trajectories*¹

“What law cannot suppress, a fear of the supernatural does. As, for example, the current belief that self-abuse in a boy causes hair to grow on the palm of his hands”².

Summary: This chapter is concerned with demonstrating how cultures, expanding on Foucault’s thesis, *universally* resort to biological and nosological legitimisations of moral choices connected to given sexual behaviour curricula. It is further argued that this tendency continues to be a definite hallmark of contemporary Western society, particularly in the issue of age stratification.

¹ For full coverage of the ethnographic references made in this article, see the preparatory article *Genital Behaviour Modification: The Nososophies and Hypochondrias of Self-Pleasure*.

² Bonnerjea, B. (1931) Some Present Day Superstitions of the White Population of the Middle West, U.S.A., *Man* 31, Oct.:224-5, at p225

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11.0 Introduction

Medicalisation, according to Foucault, served as a “[procedure] by which that will to knowledge regarding sex [*scientia sexualis*], which characterizes the modern Occident, caused the rituals of confession to function within the norms of scientific regularity” (1976 [1981:p65, 67]), relocating (“emigrating”, deploying) sin, excess or transgression to one of its final places, under the rule of the normal and the pathological, the “true discourse” of the medical scene. In recent debates, it has been argued, consensual sex in adolescence has become increasingly medicalised (as well as criminalized) within a discourse centralising adolescents’ “best interests” and the role of the state as *parens patriae*³.

Medicalisation of sexual categories, however, is a part of the ethnohistory of many parts of the world. With respect to overcoming illness, Whiting and Child⁴ had expected that beliefs regarding the therapeutic properties of areas of behaviour (e.g., sexual activity) would show some connection with corresponding behaviour that in childhood had been satisfying through a long period of indulgence on the part of adults; the results seemed disappointing⁵. However, Whiting and Child did not consider “sexual avoidance” beliefs to be *applied to sexual socialisation* (that is, phase-specified avoidance and abstinence proscriptions). To some extent these beliefs hypothetically represent the undercurrent of any sexual behaviour socialisation (*curricularisation*) effort. Similarly, they did not consider “therapeutic” beliefs to be *applied to the anticipation of future sexual health or functioning* (that is, *prevention of dysfunctions*, and *securing or enhancing natural functions*).

Departing from Foucault’s ethnohistorical absolutism in delineating medical discourses, the present article intends to elaborate on the uses of these “therapeutic” beliefs in an attempt to map the *universal* nosological principle in sexual behaviour curricularisation.

11.1 Sexual Categories, Growth and Disease

³ Sullivan, T. J. (1989) *Sex And Consent in Adolescence: A Local Centre of Power-Knowledge*. PhD Dissertation, York University (Canada) [DAI-A 50/09, p3078, Mar 1990]

⁴ Whiting, J. & Child, I. (1953) *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

⁵ In only four cultures were sexual practices believed to have a specific therapeutic value; in the societies of these of which initial sexual satisfaction (ISS) could be rated (Baiga, Marquesans), it was very high (p196, 203); an association with sexual abstinence customs was not found (p210). It was further observed that sexual socialisation anxiety (SSA; high/low) was not associated with the existence of some sexogenic nosology, entirely not so when judging from ratings and only mildly so when judging from rankings (p159, 162; *N*=28). Judging from mean *rankings*, the difference in SSA in sexologically nologising vs nonnologising cultures was significant (*p*<.01; p164). This is also the case for ISS judging from mean ratings *and* mean rankings (p168).

Sex acquires the status of an interfering element in development through the nosological association with (1) presumed antecedents, and (2) presumed consequences. That is, sex is the *indicator* or the *cause* of disease or misfortune. As such, genetic explanations of sexual practices have frequently been used to promote the association with a nosological theme. In the ethnohistorical record, this is seen to have been applied to homosexuality, female sexuality, incest configurations, those orientations designated paraphilic, and phase specific sexuality (e.g., *paradoxia sexualis*)⁶. In fact, this issue represents a discourse on a variety of *social problems* being explained through the concept of *disease* (Thomas Szasz)⁷, and as such most likely satisfies a cultural need, or fills up a cultural void. Illustratively, Hallowell (1949 [1955:p294])⁸ observed that among the **Ojibwa**

“[...] it is believed that any departure from culturally evaluated sex behavior provokes its own penalty-disease and sometimes death. [...] The universe is simply constituted in such a way that disease automatically and inevitably follows sexual transgression. This means that ultimately no one can escape moral responsibility for his sexual conduct. He must contemplate it in that light”.

Most societies have their own elaborate *sexual pathology*, but the tendency of nosologising being especially suitable for *curricular* control is not routinely appreciated. The measure describing “beliefs that sex is dangerous” of Broude and Greene (1976)⁹, for instance, was not specified for life phase. However, Broude had previously (1975:p382)¹⁰ argued that the sexosophy surrounding premarital sex was dichotomous via a biomedical rationale, and this folklore may account for the whole sexological system (e.g., Becker, 1984:p52-3, 56)¹¹.

11.1.1 Medicalising Sexarche

Invariably coitocentric, societies tend to operationalise (legitimise) “coitus” as either *poetic* (necessary, natural, productive, promoting, constructive, stimulating, curricular) or as *contrapoetic* (destructive, exhausting, depleting, degrading, optional, exchangeable, distracting, extracurricular, contracurricular). This conceptualisation transudates various levels of social reality via circumstantial factors derived from political/ideological¹², religious

⁶ See Janssen, D. F. (July, 2001) *Paradoxia Sexualis: The Biological Psychopathia Sexualis of the Child*. Unpublished literature study by the author. Cf. §2.3.

⁷ E.g., Szasz, Th. (1970) *The Manufacture of Madness*. New York: Harper & Row

⁸ Hallowell, A. I. (1949) Psychosexual adjustment, personality, and the good life in a nonliterate culture, in Hoch, P. W. & Zubin, J. (Eds.) *Psychosexual Development in Health and Disease*. New York: Grune & Stratton, p102-23. Reprinted in Hallowell, A. I. (1955) *Culture and Experience*. University of Pennsylvania, p291-305

⁹ Broude, G. J. & Greene, S. J. (1976) Cross-cultural codes on twenty sexual attitudes and practices, *Ethnology* 5,4:409-29

¹⁰ Broude, G. J. (1975) Norms of premarital sexual behavior, *Ethos* 3:381-402

¹¹ Becker, G. (1984) The Social Regulation of Sexuality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, *Curr Perspect Soc Theory* 5:45-69

¹² Guyon, who repeatedly refers to “numerous” personal experiences in the sexual lives of girls in various places, leaves no doubt to the effects of age disparate “initiations”: “The early loss of virginity- and particularly, in many cases, before the onset of menstruation- reveals itself as a factor of good development and of asserted physiological balance- exactly the opposite of the neurotic girls who are found in western families and in convent schools. Girls thus initiated, even if they are very ordinary in appearance, grow beautiful. Their traits become regular, their face refines, their eyes widen and shine, their appearance become definite, their person grows healthy, their proportions harmonise. They grow taller, they attract attention [sic]. Sexual culture appears for these young plants an indispensable element highly beneficial to their development. They show none of the anæmia and lack of vitality which characterise girls who are shut up, and coddled, the victims of repression and of censure. They reach a state of equilibrium- physical, psychological and moral- which no other experience can assure”. Sexual intercourse even “assists the maturation of her throat and bosom”. See Guyon, R. (1950) The child and sexual activity; part II, *Int J Sexol* 3,4:237-47, at p243-4

or secular perspectives. This protagonist/antagonist axis is dramatically represented by the dichotomous cultural positions that conceptualise its enactment as a magical *sine qua non* or *accelerator*¹³, or as a necessary antecedent¹⁴ of pubertal development (as is characteristic of Melanesian and Amazonian societies). These are not idiosyncratic or even monolithic ideologies; rather, this dichotomy describes cases in which explanations are either phase-specified and utilised as such to *legitimise a given curriculum or agenda*, and/or cases where sexuality is attributed with a degree of omnipotence (ancient Greece, up until 20th century Europe) that would prove the applicability of, facilitate or corrupt a given moral curriculum.

One might argue, for instance, that the “poetic” belief was a legitimisation for prepubertally consumed age stratified marriage or routine seduction (Australian Aboriginals, Bororó, Masai, Lepcha, Canela)¹⁵. Both the Apinayé and the Kaska apply negative biomedical associations to masturbation but poetic qualities to coitus; Kaska coitarche, however, was a negative experience, the belief being used both as a preventative warning and to pressure girls into “confessing” the presumed antecedents of menarche after its occurrence. The “belief” therefore provides the correct impression of curricular control.

11.1.2 Children’s Allo- and “Auto”-Erotic Bodies: Nosological vs Cultural Discourse

Looking at the ethnographic record, antimasturbatory arguments are known to be derived from nosological beliefs¹⁶ (apart from traumatological and hygienic rationale) and magical beliefs (Kogi) apart from the seemingly idiosyncratic curricular rationales found in some societies¹⁷. In most cases of nosological *threats*¹⁸, nosological rationale (i.e., culture-wide belief) is unlikely but not ruled out on the subcultural level. The control on early allosexuality is likewise issued by nosological beliefs¹⁹, nosological threats²⁰ as well as “hypercorrect” communications regarding fertility²¹. An antiparallel attitude is found in cases where abstinence of early intercourse is thought to cause dysfunction (Nimar Bahilis).

¹³ These include meno- , pubo- and thelopoetic concepts of coitarche, as well as the coital prerequisite for menstrual cyclus continuity. The menarche linkage is noted for the Trukese, Kaska, Australian Aborigines (Walbiri, Murngin, Anbarra, Tiwi), Lepcha, Chewa, Tahitians, Indonesia (Adjebers, To Bada), Sandwich Islanders, Azande, Bororó, Apinayé, Ramkokamerkra, Eastern and Western Timbira, Wari’ (Pakaas Novas), Pau d’Arco, Onge Andamanese, New Guineans [incl. New Ireland and Dani], Kisangani Wagenia, Tepoztecan, Alkatcho (British Colombia), Nyamwezi, and found in medieval to 19th century Europe. Coitus is believed to be a primarily thelopoetic agent among the Tanzania Parakuyo, Masai, Trukese, Tiwi, and Bororó; the Karugu assume coitus to be secondarily thelopoetic. Generally promoting qualities for male puberty are attributed in Yemen. Magical coitogenic menarche is found in the mythology in Thailand, India, and Mexico, among the Mataka, Cubeo, Tukano and Kaliai (New Britain). A male parallel is reported for the Mangaia where nocturnal emissions are blamed on the visit of avaricious “ghost women” (Marshall).

¹⁴ Up until 20th century Europe, Arapesh, Hopi, Ifaluk (New Carolines)

¹⁵ This may well be the case among those cases where there is infant betrothal (Andamanese, Nyamwezi, Azande, New Guinea, Tahiti) or at least peripubescent marriage (Yemen). According to Swartz, one “rather sophisticated informant” suggested that “[...] men only get interested in girls when the breasts begin to develop, that perhaps both would begin without copulation, but that “we Trukese are bad and when we see a girl is almost a young woman, we want to have intercourse with her”.

¹⁶ Puerto Rico, Ghana (Akan: debated), Okinawans, Kaska, Tobati, Russians, Thai, Suriname, premodern Europe and nonnative North-America (e.g., Germany, England, Finland, France, Spain, etc.), India (acc. Carstairs), Bororó, Apinayé, Quechuas, Jamaica (variable), Mehinaku

¹⁷ Guajiro, Ilocos, Ewe (Ghana), nonnative North-Americans, Puerto Rico, Selk’nam

¹⁸ Tikiri, Tetela, Taiwan, Burma, Semai, India (acc. Dube), Tobati, Trukese, Guinea, India; premodern Europe and nonnative North-America, Shuswap

¹⁹ Trukese, Bakuria, Nupe, Valenge, Thonga, “Sambia” (sex play with girls), Cewa, Bororó, Siriono, Jivaro

²⁰ Ulithi, Ute, Afikpo, Malukula, Seniang, Mochuana, Hopi, Cashinahua

²¹ Ingalik, Hopi, Blood Indians

The *historiographical* tool in sexology aims at rewinding the moral traditions in medical verdicts specified for the entities construed in clinical practice. In an illustrative paper Gillis (1996)²² examines the early development of writings on infant and childhood thumb-sucking in American paediatric textbooks since 1878. He discusses the integration and consolidation of this *suctus voluptibilis* into common American paediatric coverage by observing that it found pathological and nosological anchors (p65) in its being classified as a “functional neurological disease”. The parent, nurse and non-paediatric physicians were incapacitated in their potential expertise, and the habit was pathologised by its association with orofacial deformity and sexualised (thus, pathologised) by its association with masturbation. The paediatrician was considered a *coloniser* rather than the self-declared *explorer* of the unknown terrain of infancy (p73) and paediatrics was identified as “an early intellectual example of contextual or relative “truth” ” (p64), by virtue of its anchoring the child’s behaviour in its assumed adults consequences. As summarised:

“The emerging paediatric discourse [...] included ideas of the unique world of the healthy infant and child requiring special expertise to interpret pathology; the exclusion of other possible authorities; development as a critical time in the life of a human being; the consequences of abnormal development for adulthood and therefore the race; prevention as a therapeutic strategy” (p73).

From his short account we learn that obviously competitive interests of authorities struggling for (new) social identities (at the cost of others’), the association of sexual/behavioural hygiene and prophylactic conceptualisations of development, and the conceptual paradigms of paediatric intervention, childhood sexuality and developmental pathology are most intimately connected²³. A celebrated commenter on “sexual cultures”, Money²⁴ regards masturbation theories as “sexosophical” rather than sexological, placing its development alongside that of health food and exercise theories. In the older literature, “masturbation” was included or discussed within various pathognomic domains²⁵, primordially without much regard for life phase: “behaviour problems”, “behaviour disorders”, “difficulties of personality”, “personality disturbances”, “minor neuroses”, “neurotic disturbances”, “sex disorders”, “sex problems”, “sexual deviations”, “habits”, “bad habits”, and “habit disorders”. A 1974 symptom listing by the U.S. based *Group for Advancement of Psychiatry* included “anal masturbation” under *disturbances related to body functions, bowel functions*, “masturbation” under *disturbances related to body functions, habit patterns*, and a group of problems in “sexual adjustment”, as a subcategory of *disturbances of social behaviour*.

Very much analogously, this has been the story of childhood sexuality within the larger modern Western sexological discourse, and analogous examples can be given for the **Jewish**²⁶, and **Russian**²⁷ case, historically both strongly medicalising and psychiatrising cultures that have (effectively) restricted developmental sexualities on this basis.

²² Gillis, J. (1996) Bad habits and pernicious results: thumb sucking and the discipline of late-nineteenth century paediatrics, *Med Hist* 40:55-73

²³ It is a shame, however, that he fails to extent the orofacial or erotic concerns to present day morality and dentistry. Both stories are continued in later medicine, and very much contemporarily so.

²⁴ Money, J. (1983) The genealogical descent of sexual psychoneuroendocrinology from sex and health theory: the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, *Psychoneuroendocrinol* 8,4:391-400

²⁵ Cf. Yates, A. (1982) Childhood sexuality in psychiatric textbooks, *J Psychia Educ* 6,4:217-26

²⁶ Ajzenstadt, M. & Cavaglion, G. (2002) The sexual body of the young Jew as an arena of ideological struggle, 1821-1948, *Symbolic Interaction* 25,1:93-116

²⁷ Mead, M. & Calas, E. (1955) Child training ideals in a postrevolutionary context: Soviet Russia, in Mead, M. & Wolfenstein, M. (Eds.) *Childhood in Contemporary Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p179-203, see

It may be hypothesised that the world-spread nosological concept of sexual behaviour, especially that of masturbation, may in selected cases be due to a missionary influence. Auto- and allosexual behaviours may seem to fall victim to an analogous system of pathologising only in a minority of cases (e.g., **Bororó**).

In 19th century literature, masturbation was condemned on the argument that it caused insanity, rather than, as before, interfering with conjugal sex; it thus changed its status from moral category to nosogenic agent²⁸. The narrative bringing this message, however, suggested a merging of moralistic and nosographic arguments. However, the early literature cannot univocally be accused of a hidden curricularisation agenda, since its initial (as opposed to later) coverage was hardly age or phase specific²⁹. Masturbation pathologies addressed the infant more explicitly only around 1850, and this inclusion was probably based on orgasmogenic (rather than semen depletion) theory, which is likely since pre-1900 authors commonly commented on infantile orgasm³⁰.

11.2 Traumatology to Trauma: The Shaping of Traumatic Sex Discourses

A literature search points out that the initial occurrence of biologically curricularising functions such as menarche, spermarche and orgasmarche are universally interpreted traumatologically when not adequately anticipated (**chapter 12**). It is also apparent that these unanticipated biological milestones (particularly menarche) are universally associated with shame and guilt curricula that characterise gendered cultures as pathologising ones. The parallel between cultural and individual discourse is striking, a pattern sufficiently demonstrated for the gender binary but not for the life phase perspective. This, too, is a characteristic cultural choice.

Speculation on modern exponents of the tendency to medicalise moral discourses immediately fall victim to both medical and moral objections; essentially, this represents the rejection of antipsychiatric claims. One thesis, for instance, holds that “sexualisation” of children after socially stigmatised events is inappropriately psychiatricised by means of ad hoc “traumatological” models. The behaviour involved presents a *moral* concern (essentially, the violation of curricular principles) but is “traumatologised” through association with the concurrently traumatologised perpetrator, and through the culture-specific anticipation of adverse “consequences”. This storyboard transforms the transmission of sex in that of trauma, ready to be labelled an “abuse cycle”. The redefinition of sex from moral to medical category blends cultural constructions of both; the blend being more than a matter of narrative, sex becomes trauma. And as sex continuously haunts cultures as well as individuals, so does trauma.

In sum, sexologists act as nosologists designating patient identities/roles to sexual individuals.

p191-2; Segal, B. M. (1977) Soviet approach to the causes of neuroses, *Am J Psychother* 31:577-94, see p587; Rivkin-Fish, M. (1999) Sexuality education in Russia: defining pleasure and danger for a fledgling democratic society, *Soc Sci Med* 49,6:801-14, esp p804-5

²⁸ Freedman, E. B. (1982) Sexuality in nineteenth-century America: behavior, ideology, and politics, *Rev Am Hist* 10,4:196-215

²⁹ See preparatory material.

³⁰ *The Differential Diagnosis of Infantile Orgasm: A Historiography*. Unpublished literature study by the author.

11.3 Medicalised Curricula and Sexual Control

Medicalisation is a way of defining devalued personal and social conditions as “illness” and then subjecting them to medical labels and treatment³¹. The culture-identifying process of medicalisation as defined as “the way in which the jurisdiction of modern medicine has expanded [...] and now encompasses many problems that formerly were not defined as medical entities”³², is paralleled by the phenomenon of explaining or anticipating interpersonal (e.g., curricular) problems as person-identifying medical conditions *at all*. This historical definition may also include anachronistic cases. In the Tukano, Ramkokamerkra, New Britain, and (provisionally) Timbira cases, the coitogenic menarche belief was observed to persist beyond contemporary applicability. This suggests that moral rationale may in selected cases not only use scientific progress to fit current moral dogmata, but even resist historical gains in public objectivity. This is an interesting case for ethnomethodologists.

Tiefer (1996)³³ warned for sexuality in general being transformed into “a disease- and malfunction-oriented bodily function”. The author argues that “removal” of social and cultural aspects of sexuality have resulted in an “overreliance on medical explanations of sexual problems”, an “overmedicalization” introducing “a new morality of sexuality and health disguised as scientific objectivity”. I would like to suggest that this process occurs differently for diverse moral topics, and that medicalisation does not so much *produce*, but *identifies* and *legitimises* “new” or old moralities. That is, moral discourses utilise whatever medical technology is available to institutionalise the issue within an academic curriculum. The medicalised control and organisation of sexual behaviour trajectories (e.g., Schultz, 1982)³⁴ indeed is a particularly interesting one. It could be argued that regular visits to a gynaecologist’s office have replaced the function of communal rites of sexual passage in preindustrial societies³⁵. Clinicians might describe sexuality as a fundamental aspect of being rather than an aspect of behaviour and create an identity for their “patients” that alters both the way they view themselves and the way society views them³⁶. Applied to individual trajectories, medicalised curricula come to define a major effort both to understand, and to operationalise the control of sexual behaviour. Somatisation parallels depoliticisation. The critique of medicalization holds that nosological reasoning becomes an institution of social control, that helps promulgate the dominant ideologies of a society³⁷ instead of challenging them. An apologist perspective argues that this is a major contribution to any society unable to organise the control and understanding of some of its moral issues in a less “debatable” way. It is a simple and in a sense “primitive” solution, whatever sophisticated dimensions it

³¹ Denberg, Th. D. (2000) Medicalization and mother-blame: A study in the clinical management of deviance in Mexico, *DAI-A* 61(5-A):1920

³² E.g., Gabe, J. & Calnan, M. (1989) The limits of medicine: women’s perception of medical technology, *Soc Sci & Med* 28:223-31

³³ Tiefer, L. (1996) The Medicalization of Sexuality: Conceptual, Normative, and Professional Issues, *Ann Rev Sex Res* 7:252-82

³⁴ Schultz, L. G. (1982) Child sexual abuse in historical perspective, *J Soc Work & Hum Sex* 1,1-sup-2:21-35

³⁵ Schindele, E. (1997) Übergänge im Frauenleben- Medikalisierung und Stigmatisierung durch die westliche Medizin, *Curare* 11:263-8

³⁶ Hansen, B. (1989) American physicians’ earliest writings about homosexuals, 1880-1900, *Milbank Quart* 67,Suppl 1:92-108

³⁷ Wiatzkin, H. (1984) The Micropolitics of Medicine: A Contextual Analysis, *Int J Health Serv* 14,3:339-78

might acquire in technological societies. Even the depathologising of homosexuality was imperfect³⁸, which suggests (at least clinical) moral conservatism. As can be examined in recent article by Unal (2000a,b)³⁹ on **Turkish** (cf. **Russian**⁴⁰) clinicians are apparently still out to “identify children who *could be at risk of developing CM* [childhood masturbation, accompanying “symptoms” like sweating, flushing and tachypnoea], such as children with a history of insufficient breastfeeding, sleep difficulties in the infancy period, and genito-urinary diseases” (*ital.add.*). The children were referred for masturbation, on the basis of the idea that it was interfering with home/school activity and/or “strongly disturbed the parents”.

In attempts to negotiate “when one should be concerned”, authors present “a continuum of young children’s sexual behaviors, ranging from normal to pathological”, while providing “tips for distinguishing inappropriate from normal sexual behaviour”⁴¹ [*sic*]. Sexual play between children requires attention to determine whether it is “abusive, imitated from prior experience, and potentially transmissible to other children”⁴². Kellogg and Hoffman (1995)⁴³ studied unwanted sexual experiences (USEs)⁴⁴ among 342 adolescents aged 14-17 years, suggesting a difference between illegal unwanted, illegal wanted, not-illegal unwanted, and not-illegal-wanted experiences. However, this difference was not explored and at least tree types are medicalized/ pathologized: “Both illegal and unwanted sexual experiences merit professional attention and treatment” (p1457).

More importantly, stereotyped medical responses to ethical dilemmas (e.g., age disparate sexual contacts) create feedback loops that finally generate the legitimisation of its institution.

11.4 Perspectives

Specific theses addressed *supra* include:

- (a) Beliefs about curricular normality are regulated, or at least legitimised, through biomedical principles;
- (b) Beliefs about curricular abnormality are regulated, or at least legitimised, through biomedical principles;
- (c) Biomedical explanations are utilised to preclude compromising of established curricular patterns, and commonly take part in ideological systems even where (c1) methodological standards have evolved beyond the immediate plausibility of the idea, or where (c2) novel data are generated and interpreted to fit established ideologies only.

³⁸ De Cecco, J. P. (1987) Homosexuality's brief recovery: From sickness to health and back again, *J Sex Res* 23,1: 106-14

³⁹ Unal, F. (2000a) Predisposing factors in childhood masturbation in Turkey, *Eur J Pediatr* 159:338-42; Unal, F. (2000b) [The clinical outcome of childhood masturbation], [*Turk J Pediatr*] 42,4:304-7

⁴⁰ Mikirtumov, B. E. (1980) [Clinical manifestations and the treatment of masturbation in infants and preschool children], *Vopr Okhr Materin Det* 25,3:47-51; Fainberg, S. G. (1964) *O Preduprezhdenii Det-Skikh Zabolevanii* [On the prevention of nervous disease in children]. A manual for the prophylaxis and cure of neuroses, behavior problems, and masturbation in children; Atarov, T S. (1959) *Voprosy Polovogo Vospitaniia* [Problems in Sex Education]. Masturbation, which “under Soviet conditions is no longer a mass phenomenon”, is viewed as harmful. Cf. Hungary: Frankl, S. (1936) *Az Idegbajos Gyermek* [*The Neuropathic Child*]. Including masturbation.

⁴¹ Essa, E. L. & Murray, C. I. (1999) Sexual Play: When Should You Be Concerned? *Childhood Educ* 75,4:231-4

⁴² Cantwell, H. B. (1989) Child Sexual Abuse: Very Young Perpetrators, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 12,4:579-82

⁴³ Kellogg, N. D. & Hoffman, Th. J. (1995) Unwanted and illegal sexual experiences in childhood and adolescence, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 19,12:1457-68

⁴⁴ This term was traced back to 1991.

The theses have been explored through cultural opinions on sexual categories such as coitarche, masturbation, and phase disparate patterns. Highly sensitive to political debate, it is recommended that these patterns be approached via less politically sensitive, established items: the medicalisation of female sexualities / bodies, the medicalisation of homosexual bodies, etc.

12

Bodies, Functions and Culture I. **Operationalising Organs, Transitions and Erotics**

“Easy, easy, many women will weep if you err”

Summary: The first of a duet, this chapter explores sociological and cultural determinants in the socialisation directed to organs, providing social meanings and, closely related, grounds for culture-specific experiences of their development. It was argued that the sexual body is gradually and progressively “assimilated” through the curricular assignment of pragmatic identities. Tracking down the assimilated body, instances are encountered where this assignment is delayed, does not occur unambiguously, or does not adequately seem to be assimilated by intergenerational interventions. In any case, the body unfolds within the larger political discourses that *recruit*, *complement* and *identify* its potential. In traditional societies, for instance, the female body is variably dealt with according its “meaning” within the political scene of bride transferral. A central issue is the dissociation between reproductive and otherwise productive operationalisations of bodies. The operationalisation is demonstrated to be closely related to affective responses to bodies and bodily changes.

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12.0 Introduction: Culture and Sexual/Reproductive Bodies

According to Albin¹, "Because the corporeal is situated at the point of intersection where expressions of sexuality and cultural boundaries meet, the body has become a central concern both in academia and the wider culture, providing one of the few points of direct contact between these often divorced spheres". Developmental bodies, as do bodies in general², provide excellent objects for sociological study. Kincaid (1992:p104-33)³ provides an engaging discussion of Victorian anatomy and physiology of the child's budding body. The developmental sexual (gendered, erotic) body has recently begun to be investigated from within sociological models. Thorne (1993:p136-47)⁴, for instance, provides an account of the school experience of physical development. These attempts may inform empathic calls for distinguishing body "control" from body "care"⁵. A last example is that of Aitken⁶ localising the geographic child's body and sexuality (2001:chs. 3 and 4).

At the cross-cultural front, however, few materials are available. The most detailed accounts are provided for the developmental reproductive body. Schlegel (1995)⁷ implies in Western countries, due to curricular dissociation of the socialisation of two social functions, a dissociation exists between reproductive and productive bodies, and a subordination of the former to the latter in terms of preparation. In traditional societies, this does not occur. According to Paige and Paige (1981⁸; cf. Ginsburg and Rapp, 1991, 1995)⁹ the meaning of the awakening body lies in the political and economic environment in which it awakens, defining the organisation, distribution, and value of its reproductive capacity (P&P,

¹ Albin, D. D. (2001) *Making the Body (W)hole: A Qualitative Study of Body Modifications and Culture*. PhD Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin [DAI-B 62/08, p. 3790, Feb 2002]

² E.g., Weyns, W. (1993) Het lichaam in de sociologische theorie. Enkele krachtlijnen, *Tijdschr Sociale Wetensch* [Dutch] 38,4:359-94

³ Kincaid, J. (1992) *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture*. New York: Routledge

⁴ Thorne, B. (1993) *Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press

⁵ Leavitt, R. L. & Power, M. B. (1997) Civilizing bodies: Children in day care, in Tobin, J. J. (Ed). (1997) *Making a Place for Pleasure in Early Childhood Education*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p39-75

⁶ Aitken, S. C. (2001) *Geographies of Young People: The Morally Contested Spaces of Identity*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge

⁷ Schlegel, A. (1995) A cross-cultural approach to adolescence, *Ethos* 23,1:15-32. See also Schlegel, A. & Barry, H. III (1991) *Adolescence: An Anthropological Inquiry*. New York: The Free Press; Fuchs, E. (1975) Cross-cultural perspectives on adolescence, *J Am Acad Psychoanal* 3,1:91-104; Castelnovo, A. (1990) La adolescencia como fenomeno cultural, *Rev Psicoanal* 47,4:661-72; Correal-Sanin, G. (1976) [Adolescence in tribal cultures], *Rev Colomb Psiquia* 5,1:76-84; Caldwell, J. C. et al. (1998) The Construction of Adolescence in a Changing World: Implications for Sexuality, Reproduction, and Marriage, *Stud Fam Plann* 29,2:137-53

⁸ Paige, K. E. & Paige, J. M. (1981) *The Politics of Reproductive Ritual*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press

⁹ Ginsburg, F. D. & Rapp, R. (1991) The Politics of Reproduction, *Ann Rev Anthropol* 20:311-43; Ginsburg, F. D., & Rapp, R. (Eds., 1995) *Conceiving the New World Order - The Global Politics of Reproduction*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press

1981:p79-121), predominantly by subjecting the body to social discontinuity. The implications for complex societies (p273-4) were discussed only in terms of personal appraisal and attitude. Thus, there seem to exist large differences between pre-industrial and industrial “sexually” developing bodies, the interest of the immediate environment varying between an emphasis on its reproduction economy (fertility, attracting claims of exclusive and unambiguous paternity rights, fraternal interests), and on personalised social “body trajectories”, whether explained materially (birth control, marital stability, parenthood) or in psychological terms (“psychosexual development”, “erotic lifestyle”, “sexual health”). That is, the dissociation between social and personal bodies, and body curricula, is an indicator of economic status: economy leads to polity leads to bodies (ritualisation, social operationalisation, personal operationalisation).

12.1 *The Assimilation of the Sexual Body*

One hypothesis explored in the present chapter holds that culture determines whether bodily changes pertain to “reproductive”¹⁰, “sexual” or “gender” transition discourses. The construction of bodies, as an assimilation of gendered, sexualised and “reproductive” parts, thus, has to be acknowledged within these confluent discourses.

12.1.1 *Construed Bodies*

As Nielsen and Rudberg (1993)¹¹ have argued,

“[...] the body plays a central role in the development of both gendered subjectivity and gender identity. In fact, the body fulfils a double task within psychological development; it represents the integrity which is the basis for experiencing ourselves as someone, a separate self distinguished from others. At the same time, the body is the source of our passions and it is only through the body that we can integrate sexuality with gender. In other words, the body is significant for drawing the *boundaries* which are necessary for establishing any gendered subjectivity whatsoever. On the other hand, the body is significant in determining the way that reproductive processes and *sexuality* are integrated with our identity as man or woman”.

The material body, it can be argued, not only is shaped by social relations, but also “enters into their very construction and transgression, as both resource and constraint, limit and opportunity”¹². The body is an instrument for the execution of a social contract, a symbol and a generator of symbols¹³. Studies¹⁴ indicate that girls are “learning, through fashion, to desire

¹⁰ Graber, J. A. & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1996) Reproductive transitions: The experience of mothers and daughters, in Ryff, C. D. & Seltzer, M. M. (Eds.) *The Parental Experience in Midlife*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p255-99

¹¹ Nielsen, H. B. & Rudberg, M. (1993) Gender, body and beauty in adolescence- three psychological portraits, *Young* 1,2

¹² Williams, S. J. & Bendelow, G. A. (2000) “Recalcitrant Bodies”? Children, Cancer and the Transgression of Corporeal Boundaries, *Health* 4,1:51-71

¹³ Nizzoli, U. & Cavicchioni, V. (1983) Il corpo e nel simbolo, il simbolo e nel corpo, *Riv Sperimentale Freniatria & Med Legale Alienazioni Ment* 107,1, Suppl.:345-51

and create a normalized image of the perfect woman", fashion being "a heuristic as they constructed the meaning of their bodies". According to constructionists, children do not operate from the basis of their gender, they "come to know themselves as gendered selves (or subjects) in ways that are both internally divisive and correspond to divisions within culture"¹⁵ and within technological spaces¹⁶. Themes of embodiment, physicality, and performance play a part in the ways in which informal groups of students "actively ascribe meanings to issues of sex and gender"¹⁷. Anthropologists have begun to analyse how pubertal events evoke cultural meanings about gender and "gendered" bodies that adolescents (as might preschoolers¹⁸) then use to construct personal meaning and sexual subjectivity¹⁹. A definition of "gendering" might be provided in bodies being explored through

"[...] relational territories [...], which are culturally accessible within boundaries and according to dynamics that are socially negotiated and regulated, and which reflect power hierarchies and differentials"²⁰.

In this perspective, authors identify multiple bodies (e.g., the problematic body, the controlled body, the commodified body, and the social body)²¹, all related both to "gender" and to the portrayal of bodies in mass media.

12.1.2 Organ Socialisation: The Anthropology of the Genitals, with a Reference to "Modesty"

Each society and culture imposes different restrictions on individuals' use of their bodies, sexuality, and body image²². Within a pedagogical paradigm, "sexual" socialisation can tentatively be divided²³ in the socialisation of gender (sexuality proper), and that of genitalia (genitality). "Genital socialisation" proper pertains to areas of "child training" usually identified with the elements of modesty, sexual [genital] behaviour, and the communication regarding the broader social relevance of such transactions. The level at which genitalia externa are subject to public or semi-public discourse varies over age and the ethnographic spectrum (cf. **chapter 13**). In this environment, the genitalia acquire their (anticipated)

¹⁴ Oliver, K. L. (1999) Adolescent girls' body narratives: Learning to desire and create a "fashionable" image, *Teachers College Record* 101,2:220-46

¹⁵ Debold, E. (1997) Knowing bodies: Gender identity, cognitive development and embodiment in early childhood and early adolescence, DAI-B 57(7-B): 4742. Cf. Weigel, A. G. (2001) Adolescent girls in their own words: Sociocultural influences on body image, DAI-B 61(11-B):6154

¹⁶ Fujimura, M. (1998) [Media Environment and Children's and Adolescents' Bodies: Background, Discourse and Senses], *Kyoiku-shakaigaku Kenkyu* [J Educ Sociol] 63:39-57

¹⁷ Kehily, M. (2001) Bodies in school: Young men, embodiment, and heterosexual masculinities, *Men & Masculinities* 4,2:173-85

¹⁸ Martin, K. A. (1998) Becoming a Gendered Body: Practices of Preschools, *Am Sociol Rev* 63,4:494-511

¹⁹ Martin, K. A. (1995) Puberty, sexuality, and the self: Gender differences at adolescence, DAI-A 55(9-A):3006. See Martin, K. A. (1996) *Puberty, Sexuality, and the Self: Boys and Girls at Adolescence*. Florence, KY: Taylor & Francis/Routledge

²⁰ Trasforini, M. A. (1999) Il corpo accessibile. Una riflessione su corpi di genere, violenza e spazio, *Polis* 13,2:191-212

²¹ Bengs, C. (2000) *Looking Good: A Study of Gendered Body Ideals among Young People*. Dept Sociology, Umea University, Sweden

²² Costa e Silva, J. A. (1985) Ethnopsychomotricité et identité: le rôle de la place du corps de l'enfant et de la mère, *Ann Med Psychol* 143,10:985-90

²³ Gagnon (1977:p95) concludes that American "sexual" behaviour is "linked primarily to gender roles".

functional status, their identity, their “image”. For some reason, children’s genitalia are avoided in Bronx Municipal Hospital Center, New York²⁴. It is hypothesised that this “image” contributes substantially to the motivation, the experience, and the meaning of behaviour involving genitalia in some perspective or another. It presumably defines, for instance, its situational or longitudinal “functions”: observation, experiment, orgasm attainment, thrill seeking, authority opposition, manipulation, distraction, exchange, role enactment, substitution, and so on.

The cultural/biological functions of shame is an interesting part of human sexuality. Morris²⁵ suggests that clothing was developed to facilitate a nonsexual approach among organisms in an upright position; clothing, except in young children in their “obvious presexual phase”, it reduces sexual signaling in a public context and sexualises nonpublic uncovering (On the other hand, it reduces the signaling of pubic hair). Schiefenhövel (1982:p161, 162)²⁶ assumed that the timing of shame is based on some inborn principle so that it would develop “apparently after some time of growth in the prepubertal child”.

Particularly illustrative is the extensive description of **Kogi** modesty training. This includes themes of phallophagia, vagina dentata, and phallic penetration, and creating a “defensive” attitude to the genitalia:

“Hide your penis because an animal will eat it up!” is said to male children, and “Cover yourself, because a snake will get into you!” is said to the girls. It is daily repeated to boys that it is the toad that will eat or bite this organ, and little girls are told that the aggressive animal is the snake or the “worm”. When one mentions the word “toad” or “snake” in front of children about two years old, they always react with a rapid movement of the hands toward the genital region”.

“In general, little girls are cautioned: “Do not look at men, because they have penes”. The tendency of this teaching is explained by the adults with the words: “. . . in order that they may be afraid of men”. From the age of three or four, boys are taught identically: “Women have there (in the vagina) a knife, and they are going to cut off your penis!” “If you go out of the house a wild animal (toad) will come and eat up your penis”. The taboo of the ceremonial house is explained to girls in the same way: “There inside is a big snake which will get into your vagina”. “There an animal with claws would tear open your belly”. “There a fierce dog would bite you!” Little girls, when they pass near the ceremonial house, manifestly cover the genital region and avoid looking at the door” (p220-1).

“It is frequently observed that children around the age of three, when faced with a new and thus “dangerous” situation, touch their genital organs. Adults interpret this gesture as a defensive one, and they say that the children are trying to cover themselves against a possible attack. It seems to us, however, that this is rather a means of self-assurance, without the gesture’s being connected with the idea of defense of the specific organ. That the adults interpret the gesture incorrectly as defensive reflects another association of ideas. Throughout the childhood of the individual, the parents repeat daily threats of castration, indicating to the child with gestures and words that his sexual organs are exposed to the danger of being bitten, cut off, or injured in some other way. In the first place, they are thus trying to inculcate in children the idea of modesty. “Hide your penis because a toad will eat it up!” “Cover yourself because a snake will get into your vagina!” These two sentences and variations of them are already heard during the first year, when the child is not yet walking. Once he is walking, the threat is made more specific and refers to the ceremonial house and to society. To girls it is said: “Do not enter the ceremonial house. There is an animal there with claws that will tear open your belly!” To boys it is said: “Be careful with women! They have a knife there and they will cut off your penis!” To girls it is said: “Be careful with men! They have there a worm which will bite you in the vagina!” At the same time the

²⁴ Balk, S. J. et al. (1982) Examination of genitalia in children: “the remaining taboo”, *Pediatrics* 70,5:751-3

²⁵ Morris, D. (1985) *Bodywatching*. London: Cape. 1986 Dutch ed. Amsterdam/Brussel: Elsevier, p209; Morris, D. (1967) *The Naked Ape*. 1986 ill. Dutch ed. Utrecht/Aartselaar: Bruna & Zn., p83-4

²⁶ Schiefenhövel, W. (1982) Kindliche Sexualität, Tabu und Schamgefühl bei “primitiven” Völkern, in Hellbrügge, Th. (Ed.) *Die Entwicklung der Kindlichen Sexualität*. München: Urban & Schwarzenberg, p145-63

theme of the toad and the snake (worm) is elaborated, and the boys begin to associate the toad with female sexuality, the snake with the male. When the corresponding words are mentioned, the children now react with the gestures of defense. According to what the parents themselves say, the object of these threats is to form the first pattern for the future separation of the sexes and to inculcate in the children fear of the opposite sex and of all sexual activity in general. The result is evident at an early age. A child, when he sits on the ground or lies down, will try to pull his clothing between his legs, forming a defense in the genital region. This custom persists later, especially among men, throughout life. Every once in a while they arrange their garments in this region of the body. When they sit down, they take the shirt with both hands, press it against these organs, and then sit on the folds. Always, when an individual sits or squats, he immediately forms a sort of protective covering" (p283-4).

12.1.3 Cultural Bodies and Social Milestones

Cultures apply different meanings to adolescent bodies (e.g., Irvine, 1994:p21-2)²⁷, the experience of bodily change (rather than growth) being subject to cultural "framing" (cf. Valsiner, 2000:p273-6)²⁸. This framing takes on a dramatic character within the scenario of initiations. Commonly, the social body here undergoes fundamental interpretational shifts sociologically, being lifted from the asexual unproductive, indefinite state to, variably, a carrier of economic, tribal, sexual, and reproductive significance. The Western body, by contrast, knows no such drama, no such immediate significance, and, ideally, follows an atraumatic existence, with some gradual change, and some gradual inauguration, but rarely officially so. Here, body "significance" would be the outcome of a battle between "normative" assault (media "commodification", parental signalling, "peer pressures", "patriarchy") and "traumatic" assault ("sexualised" attention, nosocomial abuse, "sexual" harassment), a division originally elaborated by Freud.

Using the SCCS, Schlegel and Barry III (1979)²⁹ found that 69% of girl initiations were organised around menarche, in a high percentage (87) at an individual (single) basis. For boys, who are less frequently initiated (36 vs 46% of SCCS societies), this is more diverse, actual ejacularche [though this definition of "genital maturation" may not be rigidly enforced] accounted for a maximum of 10% of the schedules³⁰, and initiations involve large groups in 43%. This is a rather clear cross-cultural picture, the transition timing of boys being far more loosely associated with "puberty" (pubescence) than girls for whom menarche is of paramount importance (only 7% of female initiations would take place postmenarchally, whereas 40% would in the case of boys). Also, female fertility was centralised in the ceremonial totality more often than male fertility (41 vs 16%); this also holds true for the superior relative salience of "sexuality", though less obviously (21 vs 11%). The first "signs" of puberty (pubarche and thelarche) would dictate transitional ceremonies in 29% (boys) and 13% (females) of societies, while 10% of boys and 36% of girls were initiated before this had occurred. This adds up to 39% of initiated boys and 49% of initiated girls becoming "adolescent" before their fertile period proper.

From these and other data, it appears that the attribution of maturity labels or the application of discontinuity messages is only variably linked to factual maturation.

²⁷ Irvine, J. M. (1994) Cultural differences and adolescent sexualities, in Irvine, J. M. (Ed.) *Sexual Cultures and the Construction of Adolescent Identities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, p3-28

²⁸ Valsiner, J. (2000) *Culture and Human Development: An Introduction*. London [etc.]: Sage

²⁹ Schlegel, A. & Barry III, H. (1979) Adolescent initiation ceremonies: a cross-cultural code, *Ethnology* 18,2:199-210

³⁰ Hadza, Massa, Orokaiva, Kimam, Kwoma, Nambicwara

12.2 Girl Bodies

The following sections establish the cultural shaping of menarchal and thelarchal body, and the social shaping of clitoris and visual pudenda. Additional references to the shaping of girl bodies are collected in chapters 9 and 13.

12.2.1 The Menarchal Body: Socio- / Nosographic Spectrum

How physical functions are translated into *sexological* concepts, or phrased within positive or negative set of mind is subject to wide variations worldwide. This may be so for the first experience of menstruation (e.g., Britton, 1996)³¹ [see **bibliography**]. There has been substantial agreement in the literature that cultural attitudes and frameworking influence females' reaction to menarche³². Menarche is represented by discursive practices shaping girls' subjectivity³³. Britton interprets the English case:

"British young women do not have a simple, clear framework of shared women's beliefs (a framework of meaning) to make sense of this change [menarche]. They encounter and are shaped by a mixture of discourses: "recipes" from medical/biological discourses, as well as lay discourses in the form of mother's advice with respect to expectations and dangers in their reproductive roles. Further, in some ways modern cultural constructions aim to extend childhood" (p650).

In an Italian sample of 15 to 18-year-olds, males' awareness of pubertal changes was poor, whereas the "discovery" of puberty in females was a "very significant" moment³⁴. In order to understand the psychological meaning of menarche it is necessary to examine cultural beliefs, socialisation, anticipation³⁵, and actual experience³⁶. Cultural factors are likely to play a major role in children's anticipation and integration of the pubertal experience. Exploratory studies showed three interconnected themes emerging from the narratives: shame and embarrassment, "sexualisation", and issues of power³⁷. The process of "sexualisation" (Lee

³¹ Britton, C. J. (1996) Learning about "the curse": An Anthropological Perspective on Experiences of Menstruation, *Women's Stud Int Forum* 19,6, 12:645-53. Cf. Brown, J. K. (1963) A cross-cultural study of female initiation rites, *Am Anthropol* 65:837-53; Delaney, J., Lupton, M. J. & Toth, E. (1976/1988) *The Curse: A Cultural History of Menstruation*. 1st & rev. ed. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, p24-32. See also p64-71, 93-7, 142-54

³² Scott, C. S., Arthur, D., Owen, R. & Panizo, M. I. (1989) Black adolescents' emotional response to menarche, *J Natl Med Assoc* 81,3:285-90. Cf. Hawthorne, D. J. (2000) Living through private times: African-American females at menarche, *DAI-B* 60(9-B):4520

³³ Lovering, K. M. (1995) The bleeding body: Adolescents talk about menstruation, in Wilkinson, S. & Kitzinger, C. (Eds.) *Feminism and Discourse: Psychological Perspectives*. London: Sage, p10-31

³⁴ Zani, B. (1991) Male and female patterns in the discovery of sexuality during adolescence, *J Adolesc* 14,2:163-78

³⁵ Frank, D. & Tamberlyn, W. (1999) Attitudes about menstruation among fifth-, sixth-, and seventh- grade pre- and post-menarcheal girls, *J School Nursing* 15,4:25-31

³⁶ Brooks-Gunn, J. & Ruble, D. N. (March, 1979) *The Social and Psychological Meaning of Menarche*. Paper presented at the Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, San Francisco, CA; Ruble, D. N. & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1982) The Experience of Menarche, *Child Developm* 53,6:1557-66; Brooks-Gunn, J. & Ruble, D. N. (1982) The Development of Menstrual-Related Beliefs and Behaviors during Early Adolescence, *Child Developm* 53,6:1567-77; Brooks-Gunn, J. & Petersen, A. C. (1983) The Experience of Menarche from a Developmental Perspective, in Brooks-Gunn J. & Petersen, A. C. (Eds.) *Girls at Puberty*. New York: Plenum Press, p155-77. For a cross-cultural essay, see Beyene, Y. (1989) *From Menarche to Menopause: Reproductive Lives of Peasant Women in Two Cultures*. Albany, NY: SUNY Albany Press [comparing menstrual life in Greek and Mayan villages]

³⁷ Sasser-Coen, J. (1996) *The Point of Confluence: A Qualitative Study of the Life-Span Developmental Importance of Menarche in the Bodily Histories of Older Women*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Oregon State University;

and Sasser-Coen, 1996a:p91-4; Lee and Sasser-Coen, 1996b:p85-110) would entail “the social construction of “woman” through the politics surrounding the female body. Given that female bodies are construed as objects of attention and desire, menarche marks the simultaneous entry into adult womanhood and adult female sexualization”. In their *Blood Stories* Lee and Sasser-Coen focus on menarche as “a central aspect of body politics in contemporary society”. Using a social constructivist /post-structuralist view of the subject, the book emphasises that it is in part through the body that women are “integrated into the social and sexual order”, and it is in part through the discourses and disciplinary practices of menstruation, framed as “feminine” normative practices, that “heterosexuality is constructed and reconstructed in everyday live”.

The subjective anticipation of menarche is rarely explored³⁸. Memories of the first menstruation in **Finnish** and **Russian** women were predominantly negative, and commonly associated with feelings of dirtiness, sin, and self-blame³⁹. Discussion about menstruation was discouraged, and most women felt that their mothers were not supportive; the use of sanitary napkins and tampons was liberating. It is concluded that the first menstruation for these women was a time of silence and confusion in which religious, cultural, and social forms of knowledge intersected.

European menarche and thelarche, in contrast to, for instance, its traditional African pendant, initially represented a secret⁴⁰ shared among same-sex peers and also between mother and daughter. Even when reasoning on the basis of a recent study, it could be argued that “[t]he biology and meaning of menstruation remains culturally taboo in Western society”⁴¹. So much so, perhaps, that this has impeded academic understanding of the matter⁴². The anticipation of menarchal bleeding is withheld from preadolescents on a wide scale⁴³, leading to an initial traumatic misinterpretation of the event⁴⁴ (cf. Rierdan et al., 1986:p37)⁴⁵, not entirely unlike primal scene misinterpretation. [For the horror of American menarche, consider Toni Morrison’s *The Bluest Eye*⁴⁶]. In these cases, apparently, girls may be conditioned to associate sexual maturity with health impairment.

Sasser-Coen, J. R. (1997) The Point of Confluence: A Qualitative Study of the Life-Span Developmental Importance of Menarche in the Bodily Histories of Older Women, *DAI-A* 57, 10-A:4493; Lee, J. & Sasser-Coen, J. R. (1996a) Memories of Menarche: Older Women Remember Their First Period, *J Aging Stud* 10,2:83-101; Lee, J. & Sasser-Coen, J. (1996b) *Blood Stories: Menarche and the Politics of the Female Body in Contemporary US Society*. New York: Routledge

³⁸ E.g., Dashiff, C. J. (1992) Self-care capabilities in Black girls in anticipation of menarche, *Health Care for Women Int* 13,1:67-76

³⁹ Simonen, L. & Liborakina, M. (1996) The First Menstruation-Bodily Memories of Finnish and Russian Women, in Rotkirch, A. & Haavio-Mannila, E. (Eds.) *Women’s Voices in Russia Today*. Aldershot, England: Dartmouth, p88-106

⁴⁰ Zulliger, H. (1955) Das “Geheimnis” pubertierender Mädchen, *Psyche* 9:498-512. See also Hite ([1994:p114-24]) on the American experience of the menarchal secret.

⁴¹ Beausang, C. C. & Razor, A. G. (2000) Young Western women’s experiences of menarche and menstruation, *Health Care for Women Int* 21,6:517-28

⁴² Doan, H. McK. & Morse, J. M. (1985) The Last Taboo: Roadblocks to Researching Menarche, *Health Care for Women Int* 6,5-6:277-83

⁴³ Former statements on this point were collected for the Serbs, Rungus, Morocco, Kwakiutl, Chippewa, Inuit, St. Lucia (West Indies), Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Korea, Chicanos

⁴⁴ Xhosa, Tanzania, **Kgatla** (“bleeding to death”; Suggs, p108), Tanzania **Kwere** (Denis), **Karugu** (“[...] menstruation was rarely explained to Karugu girls before it happened, so its onset often shocked and upset many girls”), Paraguay, Maya, Tarahumara (“[Girls] are apparently not even warned of the onset of menstruation, for it is said that girls then become terrified”). “I remember waking up in the morning with blood on my thighs and bedcovers and vomiting on the floor when I saw the mess. I was so frightened I couldn’t even call to my sister. [...] Mom did her best to clean me up quickly, but hardly said a word when I asked what was wrong with me. She only gave me detailed instruction about how to dispose of the soiled Kotex, then left me in bed to ponder the mystery of my “wound” ” (Ribal, 1973:p228).

⁴⁵ Rierdan, J., Koff, E. & Flaherty, J. (1985/6) Conceptions and misconceptions of menstruation, *Women & Health* 10,4:33-45

⁴⁶ Morrison, T. (1970) *The Bluest Eye: A Novel*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. As discussed by Rosenberg, R. (1987) Seeds in Hard Ground: Black Girlhood in *The Bluest Eye*, *Black Am Lit Forum* 21,4:435-45, esp. p436-7

In a study by Moore (1995)⁴⁷ themes in story completion tasks linked periods with incapacity or illness. In another study⁴⁸, narratives showed that “the body of a menstruating woman has cultural meaning inscribed that function to ensure the embodied experience of a menstruating woman is unfavourably different from the embodied experience of a non-menstruating woman”. Yet another study suggested many girls are unfamiliar and uncomfortable with their bodies and some think of menstruation as a chronic illness⁴⁹.

This contrasts with cases where menstruation acquires a central symbolic meaning, its first occurrence safeguarded by therapeutic means if necessitated:

Castañeda, García and Langer (1996:p135-6)⁵⁰ note how rural Mexican women’s sexuality is directly linked to reproduction and blood is the supremely feminine substance. Great importance is consistently attributed to menstruation about which well-defined concepts exist in the community, where as pre-menarche changes are perceived as a state of “bio-psychosocial maturity”. Menarche beyond 14 years of age is considered abnormal and is attributed to an “excess of cold” in the body, therapy is usually administered by traditional birth attendants.

A historical analysis⁵¹ suggests menarche was consequently understood within a religious (ancient Europe), medical (modern history) and, contemporarily, in a commercial framework. However positive these cultural identifications, advertisements might function “to heighten insecurities [and] to perpetuate and maintain the silence and shame which surrounds menstruation in our [American] society”⁵². This is understandable in the light that American “[c]hildren are socialized away from body contact with self as well as with others”⁵³. Authors have argued that in “our [American] culture tends to ignore the affective importance of menarche and instead conveys the view that it is a hygienic crisis”⁵⁴. Brumberg (1997)⁵⁵, as cited by Frankel (2002)⁵⁶, notes how the commercial (cf. Vostrál⁵⁷), medical, and hygienic aspects of menarche and menstruation allow mothers a host of discussion topics that “have nothing to do with sexual pleasure”. In that sense, constructs of menarche may tend to “desexualise” the event that, of course, has no other biological background than the reproductive. The curricularisation effects of “sex education” are considerably dependent on

⁴⁷ Moore, S. M. (1995) Girls’ understanding and social constructions of menarche, *J Adolesc* 18,1:87-104

⁴⁸ Koutroulis, G. (2001) Soiled identity: Memory-work narratives of menstruation, *Health* 5,2:187-205

⁴⁹ Fingerson, L. (2001) Social Construction, Power, and Agency in Adolescent Menstrual Talk, *DAI-A* 62,2:781-A

⁵⁰ Castañeda, X., García, C. & Langer, A. (1996) Ethnography of fertility and menstruation in rural Mexico, *Soc Sci Med* 42,1:133-40

⁵¹ Hufnagel, G. (1999) A cultural analysis of the evolution of menarche and menstruation: Implications for education, *DAI-A* 60(6-A):2256. Cf. Brumberg, J. J. (1993) ‘Something happens to girls’: menarche and the emergence of the American hygienic imperative, *J Hist Sex* 4:99-127. See also Brookes, B. & Tennant, M. (1998) Making Girls Modern: Pakeha Girls and Menstruation in New Zealand 1930 – 70, *Women’s Hist Rev* 7,4:565-82. Cf. Diorio, J. A. & Munro, J. A. (2000) Doing Harm in the Name of Protection: Menstruation as a Topic for Sex Education, *Gender & Educ* 12,3:347-65

⁵² Simes, M. R. & Berg, D. H. (2001) Surreptitious learning: Menarche and menstrual product advertisements, *Health Care for Women Int* 22,5:455-69

⁵³ Martinson, F. M. (1994) Children and sexuality, Part II: Childhood sexuality, in Bullough & Bullough (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York [etc.]: Garland, p11-6

⁵⁴ Whisnant, L. & Zegans, L. (1975) A study of attitudes toward menarche in White middle-class American adolescent girls, *Am J Psychia* 132,8:809-14

⁵⁵ Brumberg, J. J. (1997) *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*. New York: Random House

⁵⁶ Frankel, L. (Jan., 2002) “I’ve Never Thought about It”: Contradictions and Taboos Surrounding American Males’ Experiences of First Ejaculation (*Semenarche*). Paper, Human Development Department, MVR Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca. Draft received from the author.

⁵⁷ Vostrál, Sh. (2001) *From Girl to Young Woman: Media, Material Culture, and Menstruation in Post-War United States*. Proposal for paper to be given at the Conference *Designing Modern Childhoods: Landscapes, Buildings, and Material Culture*, University of California, Berkeley, USA, May 2-3. “At stake was appropriating adolescent bodies to cultivate lifelong consumers. The unspoken anxiety that [post-War American] society expressed concerning girls’ sexual development manifested itself in attention to menstrual hygiene — in the advertisements, mother/daughter advice columns, and menstrual education materials”.

what actually is educated. Pubertal transitions can be anticipated without any reference to allosexual behaviour or its consequences⁵⁸. It is therefore hypothesised that a neglect (non-operationalisation) of menarche occurs when (a) its ritualisation is not issued by some economic, social, or political value (Paige and Paige), and (b) when it is believed that anticipation or ad hoc explanation of its essence operationalises coitus. Menarche also acquires a more direct sexological relevance when coital patterning is manifest before its occurrence; in America, this does not normally occur. It also acquires such relevance when early (immediate) pregnancy is valued positively, as a first unambiguous sign of fertility, or instead, valued negatively⁵⁹. Associated with pregnancy values is the delay of menarchal announcement together with a “premenarchal taboo” (Ghana, acc. Vervoorn), the scheduling of initiations (Ghana) or marriages (Ethiopia) close to menarche to prevent preinstitutional pregnancy, the (threat of) non-initiation of pre-initiation pregnant girls (Makonde), and the curricular use of anti- and proconceptive agents⁶⁰. The commercial availability of oral or barrier contraceptives theoretically greatly relieves this system, theoretically relocating family politics within the medical, rather than moral, sphere.

Ergo, the *attitude* toward menarche reflects the *control* culturally legitimised by its occurrence, which in turn reflects the control on *sexuality* (whether or not in the sense of curricular *virginity* and/or *pregnancy*)⁶¹. The approach of menarche in many cases can be traced to specific historical-sociological contexts⁶², which can even make its attitudes seem to be at odds with general cultural priorities.

Thuren (1994)⁶³ analysed that “[w]hile celebration of the first menstruation may seem especially logical in societies that emphasize motherhood, as does Spain, a girl’s first menstruation there is, paradoxically, a shameful matter. The explanation of this paradox lies in the supposition that what arrives with the first menstruation is not potential motherhood, but potential sexual activity, and also womanhood (as opposed to manhood), both of which are construed as negative or ambivalent. This, however, suggests a new paradox in the present Spanish context. After two decades of mostly positive change, the concept of change has become synonymous with improvement; and sexuality, always culturally emphasized in the Mediterranean area, has taken on the role of a key symbol of change”.

⁵⁸ Among the Argentine **Araucanians**, for instance, a girl may be “prepared” for menarche (though this is debated), but not explained its purpose. Copper **Inuit** girls were merely told that “[...] it meant they were growing up” (Condon citing Milan). As reverse is seen in lower-caste **Indians**: girls may be told about pregnancy but not menses (Luschinsky).

⁵⁹ For Africa, examples include Kamba, Kikuyu, Dinka, Ghana (Akan, Ewe), Pedi, Sebei, Bemba, Nandi, Swasi, Wahehe, Berg Damara

⁶⁰ Among the **Amwimbe**, “[c]onsiderable, if not complete, sexual licence” is allowed after circumcision and labietomy (Browne). Before the operation a charm protected girls from pregnancy, which after the ceremony is replaced by a fertility charm.

⁶¹ In Ahafo, **Ghana**, girls must not get pregnant before menarche is formally announced, a practice that may be delayed for years after its actual manifestation (Vervoorn). Also, “[y]oung girls are usually married and become pregnant within a month or two of their first menstruation [...]” (Field). In precolonial Ghana, Akan and Ewe girls were not to become sexually active and get pregnant before the celebration of puberty rites, which were held soon after menarche so as to reduce the possibility of an unsanctioned birth (Smock). In **Ethiopia**, likewise, the marriage age for females is 12-15, to prevent pre-marital pregnancy (Beddada). Among the **Amwimbe**, “[c]onsiderable, if not complete, sexual licence” is allowed after circumcision and labietomy. Before the operation a charm protected girls from pregnancy, which after the ceremony is replaced by a fertility charm (Browne).

⁶² E.g., Baumann, M. (1999) Thinking the young woman’s bleeding: early discursive investigation of menarche, Lundahl, L. & Popkewitz, T. (Eds.) *Education, Research, and Society: Critical Perspectives from American and Swedish Graduate Students*. Monographs on Teacher Education and Research, Vol 3. Umeå University, p151-65

⁶³ Thuren, B.M. (1994) Opening Doors and Getting Rid of Shame: Experiences of First Menstruation in Valencia, Spain, *Women’s Stud Int Forum* 17,2-3:217-28

Their efforts to avoid and prevent this embarrassment while meeting their communication needs have led them to develop creative linguistic strategies such as slang terms, circumlocutions, pronouns, and euphemistic deixis⁶⁴.

12.2.1.1 *Fertilised Bodies*

Fertility becomes a cult within the perspective of bride transfers. As such, it becomes a manufactured and celebrated attribute of the cultural body, as suggested by its centrality in ritualism (SCCS 559, 560). Medicines or charms may be used⁶⁵, and elaborate rituals may be indicated⁶⁶.

Fertility as a developmental attribute of the body is subject to cultural definitions. **Paiela** adolescents *by definition* neither copulate nor sexually reproduce. They are considered chaste and sterile, in fact not really male or female, until they are married and become parents (Biersack, 1982:p242)⁶⁷. Knauf (1993:p101) on New Guinea South Coast tribes, describes that the young girl is “subjected at about age eight to ten to serial sexual intercourse by adult men [...] to procure sexual fluids for rubbing on the girl’s groom-to-be, to help him grow”. The custom was said to be “willingly submitted to [...] in the belief that it was necessary to enhance their personal fertility as well as that of the Marind cosmos” (p96). Fertility enters the operationalisation of “adulthood”. In a Portuguese coastal community, for instance, girls were considered “adult” when fertile (menstruation occurred around 16 or 17), boys when married (Cole, 1991:p84-5)⁶⁸. Sexual activity may be said to enhance fertility (Polynesia); Bantu people encouraged dolls and playing marriage as “fecundity-generating” activities.

In Western society, it is hardly studied how fecundity transitions are subjectively appreciated. Marsiglio et al. (2001)⁶⁹ investigated “when and how men first started thinking of themselves as someone capable of impregnating a partner [...]”. The authors find that “males use varied interpretive foci to assign meaning to discovering their procreative potential. Furthermore, we show how romantic partners help males co-construct their procreative consciousness, in part by helping men actively attend to issues of procreative responsibility”.

12.2.1.2 *Transfers of Reproductive Bodies: Contrasting African and Islamic Menarche*

⁶⁴ Kissling, E. A. (1996) “That’s just a basic teen-age rule”: Girls’ linguistic strategies for managing the menstrual communication taboo, *J Appl Communication Res* 24,4:292-309

⁶⁵ E.g., Mbuti, Amwimbe, Baushi, vaRemba

⁶⁶ Schegel discussed the part the **Hopi** “aunts” play in promoting fertility. “At the naming ceremony after birth, these women rub the newborn infant of either sex on their bare thighs, thus assuring the child’s fertility when an adult”. The gift of the kachina doll to the daughter was also interpreted as significant for her nascent “precious fertility”. The Hopi practiced trial marriage, with wedding preparations begun with pregnancy (Brandt).

⁶⁷ Biersack, A. (1982) *Ginger Gardens for the Ginger Woman: Rites and Passages in a Melanesian Society*, *Man*, New Series 17,2:239-58

⁶⁸ Cole, S. (1991) *Women of the Praia*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

⁶⁹ Marsiglio, W., Hutchinson, S. & Cohan, M. (2001) Young Men’s Procreative Identity: Becoming Aware, Being Aware, and Being Responsible, *J Marriage & Family* 63,1:123-35

In Africa, sexual instructions to girls offered “at the occasion of menarche” are integrated in initiation curricula⁷⁰. In these cases, one might suspect some informal precurricular anticipation of the vital details, including fertility; this, however, is not generally documented explicitly. Menarche takes a central place in traditional African coming of age. The record demonstrates that girls’ sexuality was acknowledged, and was to be celebrated, trained and appropriated. In most cases, an *ad hoc* approach is normative, and explicit taboos on anticipating approaches exist⁷¹ to ensure a climactic concept of nascent sexuality (“heat”) to be ritually subdued. The erotic potency of the girl was acknowledged through its demonstrative socialisation, its preparation through submission, and its dramatic, ictal transfer. The operationalising principle is the **economic** value of the girl, traditionally being governed via **complementary** constructs, critical values (sexual prowess) actively (mostly *ad hoc*) cultivated and emphasised via dramatic **identification** strategies.

The political meaning of the menarchal body in the Middle East⁷², and its status within Islamic teachings renders its need for operationalisation equally pressing. The girl may be veiled (though this may be anticipated), parental supervision is increased (it having been severe in anticipation), sex instruction is formulated in a set of prohibitions, and negative advises, also an anticipated quest; menarche is not usually anticipated (e.g., Naamane-Guessous) and neutralised in a shame curriculum. A positive operationalisation is ensured by traditional perimenarchal marriage⁷³. Among both Turkish and Arab girls, pubescent marriage becomes inevitable for as she reaches puberty fathers and brothers are faced with their daughter’s or sister’s sexuality, a state they cannot “control”. This departs from the principle that female sexuality is always to be controlled, with the transfer from parental to conjugal control becoming a central **social** (rather than economic) crisis, though an adequately anticipated and, hence, orchestrated crisis. Again, the matter is truly one of **complementation**, but its chronology explained though the **identification** of the body as harbouring a dilemma to a socialising (controlling) environment.

The meaning and concept of the female changing body, thus, lies in the need, organisation and interpretation (complementation, identification) of its being transferred from the parental to the marital institution. In the African case, globally, the transfer is one of a carefully invested and upgraded value object for which the return cause is a central agenda. Conversely, within Islamic rule, the transfer is one of a body that represents a nascent danger to social structure, one that needs to be institutionalised (transferred) before it causes such transfer to be jeopardised.

⁷⁰ E.g., Kamba, Chewa, !Ko, Mambwe, Bwela, Hambukushu, Makonde, Hehe, Namyans, Igbo, Swahili, Bena, Subiya, Ngulu, Maka, Berg Damara

⁷¹ At menarche, **Karugu** girls are said to be “cooled” (*imhosa*), subdued and controlled their new sexuality. Although breasts are frequently used for a girl’s growing up, secondary hair growth and menstruation are conversational taboos; menstruation is indicated only in euphemism, and “[s]everal women informants protested their total ignorance of menstruation before it occurred, and their terror they had done something wicked. They all stated “*Mwiko kabisa kumwambia kigoli!*” (Sw.)- it is absolutely taboo to tell a pre-puberty girl”.

⁷² In **central Arabia** around the 7th and 8th century A.D. ejarcularche (13, 14y) and menarche (13) primarily signified legal, political and social *cesure*, the minimal ages would have been nine and twelve (ten), respectively (Motzki). Among the traditional **Kuwaitis**, “[...] the legal and customary age of marriage was defined by the onset of menarche, despite some evidence that some girls were married before puberty” (Hill).

⁷³ “[...] many [**Yemeni** mothers] claim that sexual activity hastens the onset of menstruation, although several say they themselves did not begin to menstruate until several years after marriage. A few months after her daughter’s marriage, a woman announced proudly to me, “Arwa has gotten to be all right!” When I asked what she meant, she explained, “She has gotten her period [...]. It usually comes quickly once a girl gets married” (Dorsky).

12.2.2 Thelarche: The Cultural Blossoming Bosom

The socialisation of the mammae is to be considered a critical entry for explaining both cultural and gender differences in erotic citizenship. The social significance of breasts evolution has seen a distinct historical devaluation. In his detailed defence of a medieval concept of adolescence, Schultz (1991)⁷⁴ observed that only two signs were mentioned in the description of physical maturity: breasts and beards (p527). As cited, the narrator of *Rennewart* stated that

“[w]hen a maiden is about to come of age and her small breasts begin to form, she is overcome by a nascent desire that slips into her heart and that, on account of the pain of the desire, upsets her spirits and teaches her the ways of her mother”.

Thelarche may be one step in the path toward adulthood (e.g., Frayser)⁷⁵ by the fact that, rather than menarche, breasts provide a hardly disguisable signal in a visual economy, a marketplace of gazes, as well as a world of “candidates”. In some cases⁷⁶, thelarche signifies nuptial status or justifies initiation or sexarche. In other cases, the bosom may less formally be taken as a curricular sign⁷⁷. This use of thelarche as a fertility guarantee, taboo anchor and stratification tool is near absent in Western societies. These uses explain why the growth of breasts may be subject to maternally or personally initiated artificial promotion (§13.1.1). It also underscores the significance in cultural rationalisations of sexual intercourse as being

⁷⁴ Schultz, J. A. (1991) Medieval Adolescence: The Claims of History and the Silence of German Narrative, *Speculum* 66,3:519-39

⁷⁵ Frayser, S. G. (1985) *Varieties of Sexual Experience: An Anthropological Perspective on Human Sexuality*. New Haven: HRAF Press, p136

⁷⁶ Among the **Bala** (Congo), boys are ready for marriage when he stops “fooling around” like a youngster, when pimples start breaking out on his forehead (“someone with pimples can’t be trusted around women”), and when his axillary hair, pubes and beard (least important) begin to grow. For girls, it would be thelarche, and not menarche [age 12]; girls are ready earlier because “girls mature faster than boys”. Among the **Bemba**, girl’s pubertal stages are intimately linked to social status; a distinction is made between pre- and postpubertals, and for prepubertals, between pre- and neothelarchics. Evans-Pritchard (1971) marks that the **Azande** reckon the girl’s age by the development of her breasts. **Baganda** “[g]irls matured at about twelve, though they never remembered their age; they were described as having breasts, and when the breasts began to hang down, they were spoken of as full grown women” (Roscoe). The **Tonga** have a female but no male initiation, the anatomical indicators being thelarche or menarche. Adolescent boys may have thelarchic girls as lovers but adult sex with prepubertals in either configuration is said to cause a disease (*cinsiluwe*) in both parties. Although girls did not marry until puberty in **Tanzania**, menarche was not the main indicator for nuptiality: the appearance of breasts and the competence in household duties were. **Kapauku** marriageability is measured by “physical appearance” (thelarche), rather than menarche (Steinberg, 1959; Pospisil, 1958, 1963). The same is said about the **Rungus** of Sabah, where “[...] menarche does not constitute a labeled stage in a girl’s development” (Appell, 1988, [1991]). For the **Saramaka**, Price notes that “[...] the development of a girl’s breasts provides the traditional mark of readiness for the rites of womanhood. People say that ideally a girl should be passed from adolescent aprons to adult skirts as soon as her breasts begin to “fall to the heart””. Among the **Luguru**, breasts are frequently used as indicators for a girl’s growing up, while secondary hair growth and menstruation are conversational taboos. For the **Berg Damara** the development of breasts of girls was the sign for the first physical preparation for marriage (Vedder). To assess a nubile **Akan** girl’s moral integrity “no factor is taken into account more than the condition of her breasts: loose dropping breasts are, rightly or wrongly, taken as symptomatic of pre-nubility sexual intercourse”. **Wolof** girls should not have intercourse with their betrothed before thelarche (Ames). The first great event in the life of an **Ibibio** girl is her entrance into the “Fatting-house”, on the occasion of Mbobi-i.e. “The Coming of Small Breasts” (Talbot, 1915:p76, 82-3). In **Central Australia**, Röheim notes that the future husband of a betrothed girl will “[f]rom time to time [...] visit his bride and grease her, this being regarded as a sign of his love, as a sort of caressing and as a magical proceeding to make her breasts grow”. This event marks marriageability.

⁷⁷ Among the **G/wi**, coitus does not begin until the girl is 11 or 12, “when her breasts begin to develop”, i.e., prior to menarche. Ammar (p184-92) relates that **Egyptian** adolescent girls are progressively restrained in their mobility, partly “because their breasts have grown”.

primarily or secondarily thelopoetic⁷⁸, contrasting those cases in which an antagonistic relation is presumed between the status of breasts and sexual experience⁷⁹. In sum, thelarche (“managed” through thelopoesis) are operationalised as conveying important (diagnostic or prognostic) clues to the sexological identity of the girl, provide occasions for the control or rationalisation of sexual curricula (prethelarchic disqualification of sexarche, initiation, marriage; antithelopoetic or antithelarchic effect of sexual behaviour), for instance by manipulating the advent of this status. In short, social order “creates” breasts and breasts “create” social order. This ultimately shapes the erotic appraisal of breasts. In some cases, even the prethelarchic breast is integrated (“operationalised”) in early love play⁸⁰.

As a consequence of its, if anything, rudimentary sexological operationalisation⁸¹, the Western nascent breast lacks the unambiguous personal and social significance suggested in the previous observations. Brooks-Gunn et al. (1994)⁸² found that few girls 6th-8th grade girls reported intensely negative feelings to either change in breast and pubic hair growth. However, Kelly and Menking (1979)⁸³ found that breast development and the degree of satisfaction in young adulthood affect both same-sex and cross-sex relations. Breast growth (but not pubic hair growth) was found to be associated with a positive body image, positive peer relationships, and superior adjustment⁸⁴. In the individual and subcultural setting, thelarche seems to gradually acquire a positive (erotogenetic) interpretation, but only after a period of marked ambivalence typical of all marginally operationalised and anticipated pubertal ‘stigmata’.

The critical curricular intervention of covering deserves a closer examination than is available through the literature. The bra, and an assortment of pre-bra coverings are widely considered a pivotal event in the recognition of girls’ physical curriculum, which may precede thelarche proper (e.g., Best). The (maternally initiated) purchase of a girl’s first has been identified as “a highly symbolic cultural ritual in this country” [U.S.] (Benedek et al., 1979:p542)⁸⁵. In a lot of Western and non-western societies the prethelarchic (Tanner M1) breast is covered in public and semi-public spaces while the (equiform) pectus is not. In others, the mammae are never covered, and thus its covering not curricularised. The timing of this, as opposed to genital covering, has not been studied for the SCCS. The best studies to support claims on the cultural significance of breast socialisation are that of premature and retarded thelarche.

⁷⁸ Tanzania **Parakuyo**, **Masai**, **Trukese**, **Tiwi**, and **Bororo**; **Karugu**

⁷⁹ An **Orri** (Nigeria) girl joins her finacée freely although “too early intercourse” is thought to “cause her breasts to dry up and may render her sterile”. Mead (1948)⁷⁹ noted that the **Arapesh** seem not to fear sex play, but do believe that (pubertal) growth and sexual activity are mutually exclusive. Particularly, the breasts would remain “small, erect and inhospitable”, opposing the female ideal of pendulent mammae.

⁸⁰ The conventional petting among the **Nuba** included squeezing the breasts, *even when undeveloped*, of the girl.

⁸¹ Few studies provide insights to the socialisation of breasts in Western society. The material suggests a variable appraisal (cf. Martinson, 1973:p81, 130; Yates, 1978:p214, 219-20).

⁸² Brooks-Gunn, J., Newman, D. L., Holderness, C. C. & Warren, M. P. (1994) The experience of breast development and girls’ stories about the purchase of a bra, *J Youth & Adol* 23,5:539-65. See also Brooks-Gunn, J. (1984) The psychological significance of different pubertal events to young girls, *J Early Adol* 4,4: 315-27

⁸³ Kelly, H. & Menking, S. (1979) Recalled breast development experiences and young adult breast satisfaction and breast display behavior, *Psychology* 16,1:17-24

⁸⁴ Brooks-Gunn, J. & Warren, M. P. (1988) The psychological significance of secondary sexual characteristics in nine- to eleven-year-old girls, *Child Developm* 59,4:1061-9

⁸⁵ Benedek, E. P., Poznanski, E. & Mason, S. (1979) A note on the female adolescent’s psychological reactions to breast development, *J Am Acad Child Psychia* 18,3:537-45

12.2.3 Organ Curricularisation: The Cultural Clitoris

Sexual lexicon development in children has been demonstrated to be gender biased (Gartrell and Mosbacher, 1984)⁸⁶ in retrospective survey. Names were found to be derivative, euphemistic and pejorative. Whereas male subjects acquired a “complete” vocabulary for male genitalia by a mean age of 11.5 years, female subjects did not complete their anatomical vocabulary for female genitalia until a mean age of 15.6 years. American parents have occasionally been uncovered to practice this form of curricularisation⁸⁷, but the allegation that this is an American curiosum remains to be disproved. Further studies⁸⁸ suggest that organs are operationalised by curricular labeling, using curricular terms and curricular functional definitions⁸⁹.

Feminist understandings of the “cultural clitoris” appears to be discussed primarily in the context of genital “mutilations”. These discussions have contributed to the identification of the social functions of these institutions: the curricular enforcement that defines the organ’s function, and mere existence, symbolising the acclaimed female’s sexual service.

Operationally, the cultural spectrum in socialising the clitoris ranges from artificial organomegaly⁹⁰ (cf. §13.1.2) to extirpation.

⁸⁶ Gartrell, N. & Mosbacher, D. (1984) Sex differences in the naming of children’s genitalia, *Sex Roles* 10,11/12:869-76

⁸⁷ Yates (1978:p164), *op.cit.*; Leroy, M. (1993) *Pleasure: The Truth about Female Sexuality*. London: HarperCollins, p32-6; Lerner, H. E. (1976) Parental mislabelling of female genitals as a determinant of penis envy and learning inhibitions in women, *J Am Psychoanal Assoc* 24,5, Suppl.:269-83; Ash (1980) The misnamed female sexual organ, in Samson, J. (Ed.) *Childhood & Sexuality: Proceedings of the International Symposium*. Montreal: Editions Etudes Vivantes, p386-91; Schor, D. & Sivan, S. (1989) Interpreting children’s labels for sex-related body-parts of anatomically explicit dolls, *Child Abuse & Negl* 13:523-31; De Marneffe, D. E. (1993) *Genital Recognition and Gender Labelling: An Empirical Study of Toddlers*. University of California, Berkeley; De Marneffe, D. (1997) Bodies and words: A study of young children’s genital and gender knowledge, *Gender & Psychoanal* 2,1:3-33; Jaffe, J. J. (1985) “Down There”: *The Relationship Between Childhood Home Environment, Childhood Genital Labels, and Adult Sexuality in a Middle-Class Female Sample*. University of Southern California; Kreidler, H. & Kreidler, S. (1966) Children’s concept of sexuality and birth, *Child Developm* 37,2:363-78; Fraley, M. C. et al. (1991) Early genital naming, *Developm & Behav Pediatr* 12:301-4; Wurtele, S. et al. (1992) Preschoolers knowledge of and ability to learn genital terminology, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 18:115-22; Wurtele, S. (1993) Enhancing children’s sexual development through sexual abuse prevention programs, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 19,1:37-46; Cheung, M. (1999) Children’s language of sexuality in child sexual abuse investigations, *J Child Sexual Abuse* 8,3:65-84. Dutch data are found in Van den Ende-de Monchy, C. (1980) *Exploratief Onderzoek naar de Lichaamsbeleving bij Kinderen van Vier tot Zes Jaar*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands

⁸⁸ In the study by Fraley et al. (1991) on 117 U.S. mothers with 1- to 4-year-old children neither boys nor girls were likely to be given a standard anatomical genital term, although many children received colourful colloquial expressions. In the study of Schor and Sivan (1987) on 144 children aged 3 through 8 years it was found that responses for breast, buttock, and penis were more precise than for other body parts. More than half of the respondents did not have labels for anus and scrotum. In the study by De Marneffe (1997, based on a 1994 dissertation) boys in the sample (46 children, ages 15 to 36 months) had more often been provided with names for their genitals than had girls. Girls tended to have been given more words for both sexes’ genitals, whereas boys had more often been taught words only for male genitals. Wurtele (1991) found that being taught correct genital terminology appeared to be positively correlated with children’s attitudes towards their own sexuality. Parents who did (#=47) and did not (#=18) teach correct terminology were compared and found to differ on income and in their attitudes toward children’s genital exploration.

⁸⁹ At times the childhood name for the sex organ appears idiosyncratic, such as “marie-Jeanne” (husband-Jeanne). The misnaming of children genitalia may be a function of adult use of euphemism. Of 133 pet names (Cornog, 1981, 1986), most fell into 1 of 5 categories: (1) variation of owner’s name; (2) other human name; (3) descriptive word or phrase; (4) joke or humorous metaphorical allusion; and (5) variation of another word for that body part. Cornog, M. (1981) Tom, Dick and Hairy: Notes on Genital Pet Names *Maledicta* 5,1-2:31-40; Cornog, M. (1986) Naming sexual body parts: Preliminary patterns and implications, *J Sex Res* 22,3:393-8

⁹⁰ The **Ponapé** islanders “pulled and tugged at the labia of the little girls to lengthen them, while men pulled on the clitoris, rubbing it and licking it with their tongues and stimulating it by the sting of a big ant [...]”. This oral manipulation of the labia and clitoris extends to many of the other Pacific islands. This preparation was “widespread among the women in **Mberengwa**, though the **vaRemba** women put more weight on its importance. During this early period some women said that they “milk” the clitoris of the little girl. This “milking” is necessary to prevent the girl as an adult woman from wanting excessive sex or becoming hyper active [...]”. **Batetela** girls, and possibly other Bantu, of five or six go to the forest and pull the labia majora and the clitoris “afin de les faire grandir et d’attirer ainsi les garçons”. Rather similar to the **Mangaia** (Marshall), the **Ra’Ivavae** girl’s clitoris is massaged, moulded, balmed, and orally stimulated by the mother (Marshall). The length of the organ is regularly

Feminist claims of the clitoris have sporadically addressed the social determinants of this not so much anatomical reality but indeed social construct⁹¹. Koedt's (1968)⁹² understanding of the clitoris could later be celebrated as "a breakthrough for feminist sexual theories and American sexual thought"⁹³. Harris (1979)⁹⁴ argued that linguistic usage pertaining to female sexuality is "the product of a patriarchal value structure and, as such, reflects patriarchal prejudices about female sexuality". Harris suggests that the apparent inability of many women to achieve coital orgasms was related to "centuries-old cultural attitudes" and that "linguistic usages, particularly dichotomies, tend to perpetuate the prejudices that underlie many cultural attitudes". Blau (1943)⁹⁵ had argued for the same view: "In contradistinction to the wealth of names other than "scientific" given to the male sex organ, study of a dozen languages discloses no comparable lay designations of the clitoris. This suggests that there is a strong influence acting to keep it obscured, secret, and hidden. Hence, language deficiencies would seem to highlight the extreme cultural suppression of female sexuality". Meanwhile, the archaic psychoanalytic debate surrounding organ primacy transferral is compromised by the absence of adequate data.

12.2.4 "Keeping Them Legs Crossed": Differential Ethological Shaping of the Sexual Genital

Wex (1979)⁹⁶ argued that the ethological female is shaped by the patriarchal structure, thereby symbolising it, predominantly by her postural attitudes in public spaces. While these claims appear far-fetched and do not explore the import of female anatomy, it indeed appears to be so that the female body is subject to a stricter curricular control (shaping) than males in most societies for which a sexual difference is noted. "Keeping the legs together" is taught to girls in pre-industrial⁹⁷ as well as industrial societies⁹⁸. Among the New Guinea **Paella**, genitals are considered so obscene, that one does not look at or touch one self's; sexual intercourse is equated with seeing the genitalia (Biersack).

measured by priests within sacred grounds, to provide additional advise. The aim may be the increase of fertility thought to result from satisfactory sexual contacts.

⁹¹ In a study of 373 male and female college students, Ogletree and Ginsburg (2000) found that they were overwhelmingly taught that vaginas were the female counterpart to penises. The authors suggest that because the clitoris has no reproductive function, "[...] it can easily be neglected in a society seen as teaching women to be sexy but not sexual". The bias for penis vs clitoris found in textbooks was found earlier by Yates (1982) and Willinsky (1987). Studying 12 medical and 16 English language dictionaries, Braun and Kitzinger (2001) found that both "vagina" and clitoris" were overwhelmingly defined by their location, whereas the penis was defined in terms of function. Description of sex/sexuality was frequently omitted from both vaginal and clitoral definitions, and female genitalia continued to be defined in relation to an implicit penile norm. Three assumptions informed these definitions: female genitalia were "absent", "passive", and "heterosexual" objects, assumptions, the authors claim, that were "sexist" and "heterosexist".

⁹² Koedt, A. (1968) The myth of vaginal orgasm, in Notes from the First Year. New York: New York Radical Women

⁹³ Gerhard, J. (2000) Revisiting "The myth of vaginal orgasm": the female orgasm in American sexual thought and second wave feminism, *Feminist Stud* 26,2:449-76

⁹⁴ Harris, H. (1979) Some linguistic considerations related to the issue of female orgasm, *Psychoanal Rev* 66,2:187-200

⁹⁵ Blau, A. (1943) A philological note on a defect in sex organ nomenclature, *Psychoanal Quart* 12:481-5. Kanner, while, agreeing in the main with Blau's conclusions, demonstrated that there were definitely a considerable number of such terms. See Kanner, L. (1945) A philological note on sex organ nomenclature, *Psychoanal Quart* 14:228-33

⁹⁶ Wex, M. (1979) "Let's Get our Space Back". Berlin: Frauenliteraturverlag Hermine Fees

⁹⁷ Specific information for, among others, Hausa, Lebanon, Bahrain, Puerto Rico, Okinawan, Tarahumara, Korea, Western Apache, Hopi, Tolai

⁹⁸ Hite (1994 [1994:p130-1])

12.3 Boy Bodies

The following sections are to establish the cultural shaping of ejacularche and penile tumescence. Additional references to the shaping of boy bodies are collected in **chapters 9 and 13**.

12.3.1 Spermarche: Socio- and Nosographic Spectrum

Mantegazza regarded pubertal sexual dreams (the “Angels of the Night”) as a sublime sex educator, and recommends young readers to subside with their content. He remembered a farmer’s boy, who with a rare fortune had reached the marriageable age, without having been informed of the good and the bad. When it finally comes to passions in a dark stable, and to emission, the “powerful boy” ran back to his mother to confess all, in dread that he might be maimed forever.

Although a physiological equivalent, seminarche does not appear to have the cultural meanings that menarche has in contemporary American society⁹⁹ (neither might thelarche¹⁰⁰). Classic attitudinal studies on seminarche¹⁰¹ were not interested in the psychological appraisal of the *orgasmic* component; nevertheless, the routine analogy with menarche is suspect phenomenologically¹⁰².

Unanticipated, or in some cases even anticipated (**China**), spermarche is met with nosological interpretation; in selected contexts, apparently, the level of anticipation may not be associated with negativism (**Nigeria**). Moreover, a predominantly positive attitude (measured retrospectively, of course) can be found in conjunction with the indication that ejacularche is not generally discussed before or after (**U.S.**)¹⁰³, and where its occurrence may even be designated “taboo” (Frankel). But studies divert on their results. Western adolescents have routinely been found to be plagued by nocturnal emissions, due to insufficient preparation (e.g., Paonesa and Paonessa, 1971; Hockenberry et al., 1996)¹⁰⁴. Adolescents may confuse emissions or first ejaculate with urine (Sugar, 1974)¹⁰⁵, or blood (Hite, 1981 [1982:p508-9; cf.

⁹⁹ Frankel, L. (2000) *The Cultural and Developmental Significance of American Males' Experiences of First Ejaculation (Semenarche)*. Paper for the American Sociological Association [draft received from the author]. Cf. Martinson, F. M. (1974) *The Quality of Adolescent Sexual Experiences*. St. Peter, MN: The Book Mark, p3-5

¹⁰⁰ Lee, J. (1997) Never Innocent: Breast Experiences in Women’s Bodily Narratives of Puberty, *Feminism & Psychol* 7, 4:453-74

¹⁰¹ Levin, R. J. (1976) Thorarche- a seasonal influence but no secular trend, *J Sex Res* 12,3:173-9; Gaddis, A. & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1985) The male experience of pubertal change, *J Youth & Adolesc* 14,1:61-9; Adegoke, A. A. (1993) The experience of spermarche (the age of onset of sperm emission) among selected adolescent boys in Nigeria, *J Youth & Adolesc* 22,2:201-9. Cf. Adegoke, A. A. (1992) Relationship between parental socio-economic status, sex and initial pubertal problems among school-going adolescents in Nigeria, *J Adolesc* 15,3:323-6; Stein, J. H. & Reiser, L. Wh. (1994) A study of White middle-class adolescent boys’ responses to “semenarche” (the first ejaculation), *J Youth & Adolesc* 23,3:373-84. See also Leite, R. M. & Buoncompagno, E. M. (1995) Psychosexual characteristics of male university students in Brazil, *Adolescence* 30(118):363-80, and Brongersma, E. (1986) *Loving Boys, Volume 1*. Elmhurst: Global Academic Publishers, p147-55

¹⁰² More on the experience of ejacularche in “*Versunken in Mysterischer Betrachtung*”: *Proto-Orgasms and Other Choppers to Chop Off Your Head*. Unpublished review by the author. [included as **Addendum**]

¹⁰³ Cf. Frankel, L. (Jan., 2002) “*I’ve Never Thought about It*”: *Contradictions and Taboos Surrounding American Males’ Experiences of First Ejaculation (Semenarche)*. Paper, Human Development Department, MVR Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, Table 2, for an overview.

¹⁰⁴ Paonesa, J. J. & Paonessa, M. W. (1971) The Preparation of Boys for Puberty, *Social Casework* 52,1:39-44; Hockenberry, Ea. et al. (1996) Mother and adolescent knowledge of sexual development: The effects of gender, age, and sexual experience, *Adolescence* 31(121):35-47

¹⁰⁵ Sugar, M. (1974) Adolescent confusion of nocturnal emissions as enuresis, *Adolesc Psychia* 3:168-85

809n19)]¹⁰⁶, or be otherwise concerned over their occurrence (Raymond et al, 1968)¹⁰⁷. Stein and Reiser (1994:p377)¹⁰⁸ reported a 31% initial confusion of first semen with urine.

This stands in sharp contradistinction to the aboriginal **Australian** case. Here, genitalia and sexual maturity were important organising factors in everyday life; menarche, thelarche, pubarche, and ejacularche were commonly referred to by children as indicating age or age difference. In selected tribes ejacularche may represent a transitional phase in parental control of sexual interactions (**Kanuri, Zulu**); of course, this is an issue when coital patterning is known to anticipate puberty. Evans-Pritchard's¹⁰⁹ account of **Azande** ejacularche implies that a boy's age was reckoned by the appearance of his ejaculate [also note the knowledge of pre-ejaculatory orgasm, as further reported for the Mohave]:

"A boy of about 12-14 years of age is said to have orgasms without emissions; from about 14 to 16 his emissions are 'merely like urine' and contain no mbisimo gude ["soul of the child", reproductive capacity]; at about 17 years of age they contain mbisimo gude¹¹⁰. A man considers himself capable of procreating children so long as he is able to ejaculate sperm" (1932).

After **Tonga** boy's polluararche, he is said to "have become an adult. Medicines may be administered to the boy that will prevent him from being overcome by them (the Custom of the Erotic Dream, Tilorela)". For a Nyasaland (**Malawi**) boy's coming of age, Young (1933:p16) observes, "[t]he decisive sign is the erotic dream", which has to be reported and is followed by a small ceremony.

Spermarchal timing of instructions for boys may be less universal than in the case of menarche¹¹¹, and sometimes boys do not receive any, while their sisters do (e.g., !Ko). In most tribes, however, it is not explicitly documented that "puberty" rites are synchronised with this event. Ejaculation may be the subject of modifying practices¹¹².

Thus, while menarche is a central theme in patriarchal society, the factual *Mannbarkeit* (facultas generandi) of the boy, as an event, may be of lesser *publicly acknowledged* significance, while as a theme, its entry in a boy's subculture seems determined by informal intergenerational and peer communications.

12.3.2 Potency: The Cultural Erection

¹⁰⁶ Hite, Sh. (1976) *The Hite Report*. New York: Macmillan; Hite, Sh. (1981) *The Hite Report on Male Sexuality*. N.Y.: Knopf. 1982 Dutch transl.

¹⁰⁷ Raymond, J. et al. (1968) Simulation behavior symptomatic of mental illness in an adolescent, *Ann Med Psychol* 1,1:139-40

¹⁰⁸ *Op.cit.*

¹⁰⁹ Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1932) Heredity and gestation, as the Azande see them, in . Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, p400-14, p401. Also in Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1932) *Essays in Social Anthropology*. London: Faber. Cf. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1974) *Man and Woman among the Azande*. London: Faber & Faber, p19

¹¹⁰ The Zande does not speak of people as of so many years of age. The ages given above are my estimates for actual persons designated as examples by my informants [orig. footnote]

¹¹¹ **Bena** (polluararche)

¹¹² **Samburu** herdboys perform subincision on themselves around age seven to ten, according to five informants, partly "to make ejaculation faster" (Margetts). **Masaai** circumcision was said to prevent ejaculatio praecox (Merker).

Underwood and Honigmann (1947:p568)¹¹³ stated that on traditional Haiti, masturbation is prohibited and not observed; training would be so effective that even erections are not observed [*sic*]. The American record proves that people even sought to modify unintentional physical symptoms¹¹⁴, though its curricular use was not clarified. In surveying childhood coitus, Stekel¹¹⁵ recommends that “5. Die Knaben müssen öfters in der Nacht auf Erektion untersucht werden”; it was not established for what reason.

In former days, boys could be punished for their morning erection by parents “incorrectly judging it to be sexual”¹¹⁶. This contrasts sharply with idealists such as Calderone¹¹⁷ some decades later. Indeed, what “messages” does tumescence carry? Western sexology typically cares to debate the “sexual nature” of early erections (e.g., Löwenfeld), and remarkable misconceptions (e.g., “erectio praecox”)¹¹⁸ have been recorded for this case. A notable exception to this ramification is sexologist Thore Langfeldt addressing impotence and lubrication dysfunctions in 12-year-olds, together with juvenile secondary anorgasm, etc.

African erections may be required for marriageability¹¹⁹, and marriage might have to be annulled on account of the impotence of the husband (e.g., **Wolof**). Thus, “[t]his causes a good deal of anxiety among mothers on account of their boys, and it often happens that they will want to see that their little boys are capable of having an erection” (Faladé). African developmental potency may be focus of explicit parental¹²⁰ or peer concerns, taboos¹²¹, tests¹²² and medicines, as therapeutica¹²³ or preventiva¹²⁴. Early sexual activities may be welcomed as a signal of potency (Bakongo, Tutsi, Burundi). The elements of potency (e.g., Senegal, Zaire [Bakwa-Luntu, Bakongo], Tanzania, Martinique) and virility (e.g., Puerto Rico, Turkey,

¹¹³ Underwood, F. W. & Honigmann, I. (1947) A comparison of socialization and personality in two simple societies, *Am Anthropol* 49:557-77. Reprinted in Haring, D. G. (Ed., 1956) *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*. Syracuse

¹¹⁴ Mountjoy (1974) Some early attempts to modify penile erection in horses and human: an historical analysis, *Psychol Record* 24:291-308. It does not become clear for exactly what ages the devices were intended.

¹¹⁵ Stekel, W. (1895) Über Coitus im Kindesalter; eine hygienische Studie, *Wien Med Blätt* 18,16 (April 18th):247-9

¹¹⁶ Grünewald, E. (1954) Kastrationsdrohung und Bettnässen, *Jb f Psychol & Psychother* 2:364-7. Another case was provided by Martinson (1973:p57).

¹¹⁷ Calderone, M. (1983) Fetal erection and its message to us, *SIECUS Rep* 11,5-6:9-10

¹¹⁸ Stier (1910) Über sexuelle Hyperhedonien im frühen Kindesalter, *Charité-Annalen* 34:319-56. Fürbringer believed that erections started at 15, while masturbation could be observed under age 5. See Fürbringer, P. W. (1895) *Die Störungen der Geschlechtsfunktionen des Mannes*. Vienna: Alfred Hölder

¹¹⁹ E.g., Kagoro / Moroa

¹²⁰ **Bakongo** boy infants' potency is greatly valued by his mother (Enry).

¹²¹ Among the **Acholi** (Gulu district, Uganda), “[i]mpotence is attributed to violation of a taboo which forbids mothers to touch a baby's penis within the first three days of its life (Standing and Kisekka). Childhood “impotence” is thought to be caused by the spilling of milk on the boy's penis among the **Serer** (Senegal), **Fulani** (), and **Tetela** (Zaire). Among the Tetela, genital automanipulation is said to cause the same. While a certain amount of sexual education is given to the girl by her mother and certain women of the village (sexual hygiene, coital techniques), the boy is merely told to be potent, and to satisfy the girl. **Räjpüt (India)** young boys wear a black cord around their waist, according to some mothers to “to make the vein in the penis grow straight” lest a contrary condition caused impotence (Minturn and Hitchcock).

¹²² A **Lake Nyasa** boy having an emission in the night will take his soiled cloth to the headman of the village. He says, if the stain be black, that the boy must not marry as he will be impotent” (Stannus). Among **Shona** boys, the *mumveva* (*Kigelia pinnata*) fruit was regarded as signifying masculinity. “When the fruit was regarded in season, boys would bore a hole in the young fruit, into which they would insert their penises. They would then wait to see whether the fruit matured or died. If the fruit died or became deformed, this signified a threat to their sexual potency. If it grew into maturity, this was seen to result in sexual competence and an enlarged penis” (Shire). A boy's urine and semen was examined to assess his potency, and to assess the necessity of special foods (Gelfand).

¹²³ As in the Senegalese, and Tanzania Bantu (Wembah-Rashid) among the **Baushi** of Zaire, infant erections are provoked, and medicines are used to combat assumed impotence when the penis remains flaccid (Kokonge and Enry). At puberty, boys use numerous plants to prepare genitals to insure glandular function, provocation of spermarche, penile enlargement, and erectile potency. Among the Uganda **Nkole**, “[m]others are very anxious to observe penile erections of their sons to assure themselves that the little ones are potent. Should erections be absent on several mornings, not only the mother but also the father will begin to search for a remedy” (Mushanga).

¹²⁴ At puberty, the **Wahehe** boy “is given medicine to prevent his being impotent”.

Aritama) often seem to be genuine anticipating concerns, explaining mothers' actively (tactically¹²⁵, verbally¹²⁶) paying reference to the phenomenon in infancy (**chapter 9**).

Among the Toucouleur (Senegal), for instance, mothers are "obsessed with the virile potency of her infant", and eager to watch his erection. Enuresis is thought to be associated with impotence. 19.6% of men and none of females would have learned about impotence between ages five to ten, generally from age mates. The Puerto Rican case of machismo cultivation is well described. Casanova (1951)¹²⁷ add to this: "If they had an erection, they were praised and the parents would celebrate it by telling them they had joined the masculine race". By contrast, a Kwoma boy must not have an erection in public, particularly in the presence of his sisters, who will beat his penis with a stick if they observe it (Whiting and Reed).

The European case suggests a poor social definition of erections, at least as a developmental concept. However, in the Classical period, a boy's pubescence gave rise to a celebration of his body; when married, the father disproved his impotence with a certificate (Rousselle). In Mesopotamia, sexual potency was obviously important and self or mutual masturbation was a technique utilised to provide potency¹²⁸. The socialisation of erections in Western studies is rarely addressed, a significant finding. In the Deehan and Fitzpatrick study (Ireland), parents reported "having discussed erections" with 11 percent of (mostly prepubertal) sons and 5 percent of daughters.

12.4 *Pleasure Bodies*

The following sections explore the cultural boundaries of pleasure bodies. "Pleasure", it could be argued, is a "largely unspoken and dangerous territory"¹²⁹ even in such legitimate arenas as sport. Most constructionists would argue against "pleasure" being an essentialist attribute of "the body" as a territory of consumption, the access to which is "blocked" by cultural interference. Feminist approaches nevertheless point to "constructions [that] are frequently negative or contradictory and *deprive* women of the pleasure and gratification they are fully *capable of realizing* in their sexual lives"¹³⁰ (*ital. add.*). Children's pleasures, likewise, would be "erased"¹³¹ by negativist body discourses.

"Cryptobiologist" ideas about pleasure have been forwarded by psychoanalysts, mainly, the exact ramifications being multiple, and often paradoxical¹³². To limit this interesting discussion to the sexological concepts of arousal and orgasm, it appears that there does not appear to be an everyday discourse about their development. *This ontological vacuum of erotic*

¹²⁵ **Gitano** "mothers love making their male babies' penises become erect [...]" (Blasco). A **Gimi** or **Bimin-Kukusmin** mother "[...] kisses the penis, pulls at it with her fingers and takes it into her mouth to induce an erection" (Gillison; Poole).

¹²⁶ **§9.3**.

¹²⁷ Casanova, A. A. (1951) *Estudio General de Diez Núcleos Familiares del Barrio "Chicamba" de Ponce*. Unpublished term paper, University of Puerto Rico School of Social Work. Quoted by Stycos (1955:p43)

¹²⁸ Bullough, V. L. (1971) Attitudes Toward Deviant Sex in Ancient Mesopotamia, *J Sex Res* 7,3:184-203

¹²⁹ Gard, M. & Meyenn, R. (2000) Boys, Bodies, Pleasure and Pain: Interrogating Contact Sports in Schools, *Sport, Educ & Soc* 5,1:19-34

¹³⁰ Daniluk, J. C. (1998) *Women's Sexuality Across the Life Span: Challenging Myths, Creating Meanings*. New York: Guildford

¹³¹ Johnson, R. (1997) The "no touch" policy, in Tobin, J. J. (Ed). (1997) *Making a Place for Pleasure in Early Childhood Education*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p101-18

¹³² E.g., Lincke, H. (1954) Über Angstlust und Infantile Sexualität, *Psyche* 8:427-49

pleasure is symptomatic of a cultural tendency to decentralise the ontogenetic legitimacy of discursively eccentric issues as such. Bad things do not develop; they exist and they should not.

12.4.1 *Orgasmarche and the Cultural Orgasm: Obscured Pleasure Milestone*

The important matter of “orgasmic development” being discussed in full elsewhere¹³³, I here wish to elaborate the concept of the curricular control of orgasm by the organised delay of its first occurrence. This ideology, based on the premise that orgasm is possible at some time perinatally¹³⁴, is anticipated by Meyer (1996:p100)¹³⁵ in conceptualising orgasm as a behavioural tool mastered, in contrast to the child, by the adult and utilised in defining sexual reality of the child by means of this “superior orgasmic technology”. Psychological and anthropological studies seem to have born out the conclusions of Desmond Morris (1967)¹³⁶ that primitive female sexuality is aimed only at procreation, and that in human females, orgasm is a “cultural acquisition”¹³⁷.

Orgasm is rarely communicated to prepubescent children as an immediate possibility, even in “progressive” texts¹³⁸. Orgasm is not a topic commonly discussed in books on sex education prepared for parents of children in U.S. society¹³⁹. Stereotypically, this might lead to initial traumatic / nosological interpretation¹⁴⁰. The average age of *orgasm knowlegibility* has been researched only scantily¹⁴¹. A full review of orgasmarche studies (see **Addendum**) suggests that “orgasm” tends to be attained on average in the 12th year of life according to Western samples, while the literature is full of references to ages far below this.

Langfeldt and Borneman¹⁴² collected their share of evidence for **Scandinavia** and **Europe**, it seems, before attitudes made this knowledge suspect, to say the least. The ethnographic record does not solve the issue of orgasmarchic timing due to the paucity of data¹⁴³; mean orgasmarche ages are found for **Iraqi women**, **Israeli women**, **Columbians**, **Russians**, **East Germans**, and **North Americans** (*ibid.*).

¹³³ “Versunken in Mysterischer Betrachtung”, *op.cit.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Meyer, J. (1996) Sexuality and power: perspectives for the less powerful, *Theory & Psychol* 6,1:93-119

¹³⁶ *The Naked Ape*.

¹³⁷ Andrade, V. M. (1982) Maternidade, orgasmo e instinto de morte: uma contribuicao a psicologia da mulher, *Rev Brasil Psicanal* 16,2:223-39

¹³⁸ Some books explicitly deny prepubertal age orgasm (Stoppard, 1997) in answer to a specific “relevance question” [p34]. The possibility, however, is infrequently suggested to parents (e.g., Van der Doef, 1994:p57). A Dutch instructional guide to masturbation (Lammers, 1992), intended for 11 years and above, dry orgasm is described as possible, although perhaps “different” and less intense (p48); dry (p65, 66) and preschool (p71) orgasm are mentioned in personal retrospectives accounts of adults. Two other Dutch children’s booklets on ejaculation and masturbation, the issue of dry orgasm is not mentioned (Delfos, 1997, 1999; “research” by M. Gottmer).

¹³⁹ Martinson, F. M. (Nov., 1992) *Child Sexual Development and Experience: What the Experts Are Telling Parents*. Paper presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex Annual Meeting; Martinson, F. M. (1994) *The Sexual Life of the Child*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey

¹⁴⁰ E.g., Hite (1976 [1978:p60])

¹⁴¹ The average age of first knowledge in an online sample of male balloon fetishists was 12.05. See Gates, K. L. (2000) *Deviant Desires*. Juno Books. Sarnoff and Sarnoff (1979:p112-4) related that “true awareness of the orgasmic experience” is possible first in early childhood, while earlier orgasms may be forgotten.

¹⁴² Borneman had to refrain from videotaping the children because of parental objections

¹⁴³ To the Polynesian, “[...] sex is life itself: the entire cycle of birth, love-making, death- and then eternal life through one’s seed. It is all-embracing, like the weather or the sea, and it is talked about as freely. According to Marshall (1962:p241), **Ra’ivavae** children have an understanding of orgasm, but, possibly not of their own ability: “Even the small children on Ra’ivavae know that *navenave* means to experience the orgasm, and they understand that both men and women are capable of it”. Suggs (1966:p45) writes: “Young [**Marquesan**] boys from the age of six or seven upward gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation contests. The object of these contests is too see who can experience orgasm and/or ejaculate (*manini, haka te’a*), first. Naturally, the younger members of these groups are physiologically incapable of ejaculation, and their participation evidently is based on their desire for sexual stimulation divided both from the actual manipulation of the genitals and from observing the behaviors of

The curricular dissociation of “orgasmic identity” and orgasmic potential, thus, may be tentatively regarded as normative in the industrial West. Apart from the fact that virtually all verbal and practical socialisation is absent, at least *before* orgasmarche, it could be assumed that parents fear infant and childhood orgasm for its presumed negative properties, probably the habituation of masturbation proper¹⁴⁴. Yates (1978:p67-8; see also various papers on “eroticisation”)¹⁴⁵, for instance, explains the cultural orgasm through socialisation¹⁴⁶. The impact of orgasm for sexual behaviour patterning and motivation is not adequately explored and needs to be clarified to put the meaning of orgasm delay in perspective. In the mean time, Gagnon (1977:p83-5)¹⁴⁷ verbalised the following speculation (arguing for the term “orgasm script”):

“It is possible to imagine a social order that does make orgasm an early and constant activity on the part of the child, an activity as important as eating, running, jumping, getting good grades, learning to read and to smile. It could even be made gender-specific [...]. In such a society it is likely that orgasm and orgasm seeking would be characteristic of most children; however, it would be so not because of the innate desire to have orgasm, but because the activity was socially highly valued”.

These arguments were rarely heard before or after the 1970s, but they seem to be rather significant. If physical pleasure is one of the most pronounced social arguments for genital behaviour, the obvious pursuit of delaying this pleasure is a central political event. On the whole, orgasmarche is an avoided and even rejected concept by contemporary sexologists (e.g., Dutch prize-winner Jany Rademakers), and those having centralised it are (however rightly) subject to personalised criticism (American celebrated pioneer Alfred Kinsey, and, remarkably, few others).

12.4.2 Erogenicity and Erotics: Biocultural Implications

others”. Devereux (1951 [1967:p98]) observed that the **Mohave** believed in dry orgasm in small children. He can also be quoted in assuming that “because of cultural conditioning and the absence of a latency period, the Mohave child has a somewhat greater orgasmic capacity than has the occidental child, although there can be no doubt that this capacity is still considerably inferior to that of the adults, and does not suffice therefore to release in a massive and climactic manner *all* tensions generated by the witnessing of the primal scene” [*ital.in orig.*]. Interviewing the children with permission of their legal guardians, Devereux (1950b) observed that masturbation is begun at age 6, and that dry orgasm is attained by age 6. Edwardes and Masters (1961:p81) commented on **Oriental** children that “orgasm is achieved easily and rapidly at each contact, because the mind and senses of the child are not disciplined like those of the adult”. Pangkahila and Pangkahila (1997) note on **Indonesia**: “Although some parents report that they watch their *children* pleasuring themselves *to orgasm*, many parents are afraid when they discover their children self-pleasuring because they believe this to be an abnormal act” [*ital.add.*].

¹⁴⁴ Biosophical pathologising of masturbation throughout the centuries has focussed on the presumed neurological consequences of, and this is not often made explicit, orgasm. Another problem in the masturbation literature is that ages were not always regarded as crucial factors, and were omitted or vague in the discussion of the orgasmogenic pathology of the nervous system.

¹⁴⁵ Yates, A. (1978) *Sex Without Shame*. New York: William Morrow

¹⁴⁶ “What happens to children when they are allowed sexual freedom? In some Oceanic and African societies, toddlers explore each other’s bodies, sometimes begin intercourse by age four, and are soothed by rubbing the genitals. Children never need to be told about sex, as they have ample opportunity to observe adults. Sexual growth is a smooth continuum depending for the most part on size, aggressiveness, and glandular function. Liberal cultures, such as Polynesian Mangaia, lend perspective to our own child-rearing techniques. In Mangaia, virtually one hundred percent of women achieve orgasm. In stark contrast, on the small Irish island of Inis Beag, the female climax is unknown or thought to be abnormal”.

¹⁴⁷ Gagnon, J. H. (1977) *Human Sexualities*. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman

Until the Age of Orgasm, states Hall¹⁴⁸, the genitalia provide “a sea of knismogenic (knismos=tickling) sensations” which later become “extremely gelogenic (gelos=laughter)”; the cultural impact on these “sensations” may be pervasive. Children invent words for those sensations lacking vocabulary. Examples include “weiner tickle” (M., 1973:p28), “jeebies”¹⁴⁹, or some other qualification of “tickling, tingling, itching or stinging”¹⁵⁰. This appears to be the degree of specificity that education books may consider appropriate¹⁵¹ allowing, for instance, a blurring of pleasant and orgasmic experiences. In the absence of adequate identification, sensations are dedicated to urinary causes: “Wild and confused dreams made me feel funny--just as if I had to urinate” (Martinson). Urgency leads to genital clutching, and parents in response stimulate the association by suggesting toilet visiting on the occasion of any genital touching. Even in the light of the failure of science to explore these issues as biological facts, these observations suggest that cultures may *delay the understanding and inherent utilisation of biological principles*, the main techniques employed probably being non-operationalisation (non-identification) and re-operationalisation (reclassification).

The ethnographic record does not seem to provide much clues for proving the hypothesis that socialisation shapes the extent of contemporary or subsequent erotic experience (arousal). The collective of previous findings, however, suggest this impact may be significant. Laboratory data lack prospective developmental significance, ethical approval, and funding.

12.5 The Manufactured Body: The Making of Puberty

As detailed elsewhere¹⁵², the traditional African and also Oceanic body used to be conceptualised as a tool for providing pleasure and offspring, a tool shaped by paternalistic (frequently, maternalistic) intent and, alternatively, by self-directed preparation curricula. The pivotal concerns are cosmetic and functional improvements and accelerations of what might otherwise have been considered an unalterable process. The prosexual (procoital) explanation of circumcision allows such interventions to effect a control on sexual (coital) curricula. Preparations allow the effector to take possession of the apparatus, claim or grant its utilisation, and to control the social curriculum that apparently is attached to its evolution. Preparations are commonly procoital, pro-potency, pro-erotic, pro-amatory, or pro-conceptive. A distinction between “**being prepared**” and “**preparing yourself**” is often spurious, since autopreparation may be instigated or taught by adults; in any case both principles are hardly ever applied in industrial countries.

The application of such intents, particularly in groups, signals a concern for future purposes, and establishes a sense of **identification**. Further, the intents may still be legitimised on the basis of **complementation** arguments. As such, it solidifies this cultural duet of wanting and being wanted¹⁵³. Such solidification is not systematically acquired *via the body* in Western society; this body, thus, is a largely *hypothetical instrument* socialised through *hypothetical*

¹⁴⁸ Hall, S. ([1924]) *Adolescence*. New York: D. Appleton. Vol II., p95

¹⁴⁹ Frenkel, Rh. S. (1994) Problems in female development: Comments of the analysis of an early latency-aged girl, *Psychoanal Study Child* 48:171-92

¹⁵⁰ Conn, J. H. (1939) Factors influencing development of sexual attitudes and sexual awareness in children, *Am J Dis Child* 58:744

¹⁵¹ Berges E. T. et al. (1983) *Children & Sex: The Parents Speak*. N.Y.: Facts on File, p128

¹⁵² See **chapter 13** and preparatory data collections.

¹⁵³ So much a part of identification process, **Meru** girls participated in *Ngaitana*, self-circumcision groups in response of the patriarchal banning of clitoridectomy (Thomas).

encounters. This renders sexarche the stressful “test-case” of not only sexual identity but also of the integration of physical reality and *bodiless body scenarios*.

12.6 Concluding Remarks

- (a) The sexual body acquires its meaning by the functions it is made to perform by environmental claims of it. In Western European societies these claims are few and the functions left to a curriculum that is entirely optional, and only so to a curricularised degree. Conversely, in some non-Western examples, social age is not measured except by specific pubertal features. This type of cultural **operationalisation** of organs and organ functions (whose reality is not necessary for initial survival) is very specific for the sexual apparatus and functions.
- (b) The consequences for the **experience** of bodies and body changes as such largely depend on cultural operationalisation efforts.
- (c) The operationalisation of bodies occurs along a gradient of **complementation to identification** principles. These are often intimately interconnected, but surface within the context of specific subjective positionings (agendas).
- (d) The operationalisation of bodies occurs along a gradient of **social to individual authorisation schemas**. The record suggest that both specific organic functions that are not biologically curricularised and those that are, together with the entire apparatus by which these functions operate provide service under the instrumentalisation of a social order claiming these functions at a given time and/or having to accommodate their potential implications for the individual. In Western society, *the organ curriculum*, largely based on nonintervention principles, comes to represent a gradual claim of it by the individual on the basis of his occasion for *extracurricular* operationalisation, be it by chance, by nature, by seduction or off-record education.

Data suggest that menarche provides a valuable entry for understanding the periodisation of female gender curricula, as well as an array of sociological concepts under the flag of “phase identified female sexualities”. Data invite the hypothesis that cultures may try to curricularise girls differently than boys, and try to socialise the male body differently than the female body.

12.x Perspectives

To put above conclusions to cross-cultural tests, detailed analysis is required of the specific techniques employed to provide meaning and status to organs and organ functions. Observations, questionnaires and autobiographical material all seem suitable. (a) what functions are being socialised; (b) what mode of socialisation is employed; (c) which reasons are forwarded to legitimise a given mode of socialisation.

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Compiler's Note: An addendum to §12.2.1 of "Growing Up Sexually" project, Volume II, this bibliography contains general and particularist sociological accounts of girls' first menstrual discharge, with a strong western bias.

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“Versunken in Mysterischer Betrachtung”

Proto-Orgasms and Other Choppers to Chop Off Your Head (Or, the Problematic History of Prepubertal Orgasm)¹

“My guess is that she had had a little orgasm”²

“Your response can be as simple as “It’s an intense feeling of pleasure during sex” ”³

“In no other portion of the human body are so large a number of nerves brought so closely together as in the reproductive system. In the act of masturbation, these nerves are wrought upon in such a manner as to produce the most serious results. The pleasurable emotion with which the beginning is attended culminates in a spasm of the nerves, terminating for the time all pleasure, and leaving the nerves as wasted and depleted as the body of a person whose entire physical system has been brought under the influence of a spasm, or fit as it is called. You will easily understand how such violent shocks to these special nerves, are communicated to the nerves throughout the entire body, and if such shocks are repeated, or long continued, the entire nervous system will eventually become shattered and ruined beyond all hope of complete recovery”⁴

“[...] a chopper to chop off your head [...]”⁵

¹ Not originally a GUS chapter, I have included this sideline collection of reference as an addendum for further contemplation.

² Mother of a boy of 6, speculating on “a little peer” of her son, quoted in Berges E. T. et al. (1983) *Children & Sex: The Parents Speak*. N.Y.: Facts on File, p127. The expression “little orgasm” was also used by the description of a woman’s own orgasm, reported by Schaefer (1964:p128), who at age six discovered that rocking and rubbing herself genitally on some bedclothes bunched between her legs could be continued “until something would happen-something moved, which I guess was a little orgasm”. It can also be read in a letter by a woman in Hooper, A. (1977) *More Sex-Life Letters*. London: Grafton Books, p245 (age 11).

³ Cadoff, J. (2000) Your kids’ most embarrassing sex questions -- answered! *Redbook*, 195,3:200

⁴ Stall, S. (1905) *What a Young Boy Ought to Know*. Philadelphia: The Vir Publishing Co. New rev. Ed. Cylinder XII

⁵ Winnicott (1947:p329)

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Abstract

This paper contains an extensive literature review of academic and secondary literature statements concerning early orgasmic experiences. Further topics include the phenomena of orgasmarche, prepubertal orgasm, pre-ejaculatory orgasm, prepubertal orgasm equivalence, prespermarchic ejaculation etc.

1 Introduction

Neurologists have been plagued by an awkward confusion between two spasmodic phenomena in early infantile life: the epileptic (pseudo-orgasmic) and the orgasmic. In another paper⁶ I propose to review the literature in search of the latter phenomena known as ictal masturbation, masturbatory seizures, masturbatory fits, convulsive masturbation, masturbatory paroxysms, masturbatory spells, masturbatory attacks, pseudomasturbation, thigh rubbing neurosis, onanic spasms, etc. In the present presentation, I wish to review the literature concerning the (perhaps equally awkward) phenomenon of prepubescent (in the male domain, pre-ejaculatory) orgasm. Its existence may seem relevant in the scope of the hypothetical role of masturbatory⁷ conditioning in erotogenesis; the sociology of the problem, however, may prove of more importance. I do not proclaim an orgasm paradigm for human “sexuality”⁸, but I wish to explore the developmental reality of the body as it relates to erotic acculturation.

To be sure, these hypothetical phenomena are what Richard von Krafft-Ebing, father of Western medical sexology, would have rated “paradoxical”, in the sense of an apparent contradiction to the creative laws of puberty⁹. Phylogenetically, these orgasm dry-runs would be auto-instructional, and thereby indirectly contributing to sexual congress beyond the prefertile years, while socially serving no function other than a hedonistic one. Nature, as opposed to after spermarche, does not seem to have instituted a periodic orgasm exercise in childhood, so that all orgasm would be optional and artefactual.

⁶ *Neurologists at a Loss: The Differential Diagnosis of Infantile Masturbation* (2000). Unpublished Manuscript.

⁷ As is dealt with elsewhere, the definition of masturbation in Western literature has evolved from hardly substantial to hardly satisfactorily. Analytic pondering on the possible functions of genital and self-satisfying behaviours or inclinations is seriously flawed by this nonconsensus. In this sense, it is surprising that Unal (2000) who claims the first controlled study investigating clinical and developmental features of childhood masturbation, defining the entity as “self-stimulation of the genitalia in a prepubertal child”, *not simply genital play, with accompanying symptoms like sweating, flushing and tachypnoea*, but does not mention a possible orgasm.

⁸ On the occasion of receiving the Van Emde-Boas-Van Ussel prize for sexology, Rademakers (2000:p17) contended that “[s]exuality of children does not lend itself for description in terms of the sexual response cycle (desire-arousal-orgasm-recovery)”. Since she does not write why not, this choice remains suspect. Otherwise put (Rademakers et al., 2000:p50), “[t]he limited definition of human sexuality in terms of the sexual response cycle [...] doesn’t do justice to aspects of sexuality which are more relevant to children”.

⁹ See my 2001 manuscript *Paradoxia Sexualis: The German Psychopathia Sexualis of the Child, 1877-1930, with a Biomedical Discussion*. University of Nijmegen, Dept. of Medical History, Philosophy and Ethics.

The Western academic world has seen *problematised orgasm* discourses in the past. Eu-orgasmicity in women (Degler, 1974:p1474-5) was discussed by 19th century scientists, although it does not seem to have been much of a controversy. As for a later date, the Freudian problem with female orgasm was taken up in gynaecological textbooks (Scully and Bart, 1973:p1046-7). The problematisation of early orgasm has not received a parallel interest of scholars. The review below suggested that there is a case for this argument, though.

2 Major Authorities

Brick and Koch (1998) used the statement “infants have sexual responses like clitoral/penile erections and orgasms” [2], as one that was to be answered as “definitely true” in a questionnaire testing “knowledge about children’s sexual learning”. Thus, we might be justified as to inquire to their nonprovided resources. *Orgasmology*, a term as so many introduced by Money (1993), has not addressed specifically the question of *orgasmogenesis*¹⁰ (to coin one myself). Male prepubertal dry orgasm is frequently mentioned by sexologists, yet often without the need for reference. Others have assumed a kind of physiological anorgasmia before puberty; for instance, Serba (1935) noted that “[t]he really new element of puberty is the climactic satisfaction which was missing in infantile sex activities”. Wilhelm Reich introduced the concept of orgasmic potency (*capacity for complete surrender to the involuntary convulsion of the organism and complete discharge of the excitation at the acme of the genital embrace*) as a criterion of emotional health, but he rarely if ever directly commented on orgasmic potency in childhood. Although Reich observed that orgasm’s “purely sexual nature is verifiable in the state of the infant during masturbation (i.e., flushed cheeks, convulsive movements, heavy breathing)”, he (1922 [1975:p108]) remarks in a footnote that “[t]he nature of the infantile orgasm has not yet been explained”. Later (1924 [1975:p217]) he would write: “Whereas the orgasmic potency of men may be clearly traced to the erogeneity of the phallic zone in childhood, we may not justifiably assume, in women, that any erogenous response other than clitoral existed in the first genital phase”. Still later (1927/8:p151), he remarks, that the infantile orgasm “verläuft in einer flachen Kurve mit aufsteigendem und absteigendem Schenkel ohne spitze Akme (Höhepunkt). Die Sensation beim infantilen Orgasmus dürfte am besten der beim Kratzen einer heftig juckenden Hautstelle zu vergleichen sein”. Finally, in 1936, speaking of restructuring and destruction of sexual helplessness, he pleads for “cultivating the capacity for full surrender, for infinite experience of sexuality (*orgasmic potency*) from childhood on” (*ital. in orig.*).

Havelock Ellis knew of early orgasm. He (1913, [III]:p337) relates a case of a boy of 12 after attempted intercourse with a girl “the hand flew to the phallus and worried it, and orgasm came at one- the childish orgasm consisting of well-spaced spasms of the ejaculators, without

¹⁰ The first international conference on orgasm was held more than 60 years after Wilhelm-Reich created a big scandal in Vienna by discussing orgasm publicly. The theme of this conference, which was held in New Delhi, India from 4-6 February 1991, was “Pleasure without Procreation”. More than 500 sexologists from 30 countries were in attendance. The conference, organised by Dr. Prakash Kothari, dealt with a large spectrum of issues related to orgasm and attempted “to rewrite the ABC of sexology”.

the poignant preliminary nusus of the adult orgasm”¹¹. Metschnikof (1910:p124)¹² cited Curschmann and Fürbringer¹³ in the observation of “[...] das Vorhandensein der Geschlechtsempfindung bei Kindern unter fünf Jahren. Sie entwickelt sich weiter und erreicht ihren Höhepunkt, bevor beim Knaben das Sperma mit den reifen und sehr beweglichen Samenfäden auftritt”, which would be the explanation of prepubertal masturbation.

Sex therapists have almost entirely neglected developmental implications in what is known as primary sexual dysfunctions [vide [infra](#)]. Masters and Johnson (1966:p140) include only speculations on female prepubertal sexual response, most notably by the enigmatic reference 131 (“unpublished data”), but never even seem to have systematically recorded retrospective data on first orgasm. Their later *Human Sexual Inadequacy* (1970), and for unelaborated reasons, included childhood only as a part of the sexual anamnesis of adult patients. Perhaps the ethical issues involved (see Johnson and Mann, 1980) in direct research pertained to mere retrospection too. Influential authors such as Carlfred Broderick (1966), Floyd Martinson (1973¹⁴, 1981a,b), Marie Calderone (1974), Thore Langfeldt (1990) and Ernest Borneman (1990:p202) all concluded positively on the existence of prepubertal orgasm. Langfeldt (1990:p184) estimated that “about 10% of children between 4 and 10 masturbate to orgasm” in Norway; he also found suggestions to dry multiorgasticity¹⁵ (*ibid.*). [Langfeldt (1977 [1981:39]) earlier estimated a one in 5 occurrence since early childhood.] Borneman (1990:p202) had read “close to hundred reports of orgasms among infants and preschool children. We found six children under two years and seven under four who seemed to be able to produce bodily states which we would have termed orgasmic had they occurred in a grown-up”. Orgasms were not filmed because the parents objected.

3 Terminology: Ambiguity

¹¹ Also quoted by Brongersma, E. ([1986]) *Loving Boys, Volume I*. Elmhurst, NY.: Global Academic Publishers, p96

¹² Metschnikof, E. ([1910]) *Studien über die Natur des Menschen*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Von Veit & Co.

¹³ *Real-Encyklopädie der gesamten Heilkunde*. 2nd ed. Vol. 14, 1888, p593

¹⁴ Martinson (1994) reviewed that “[...] in Davis’s (1929) study, 25 percent to age ten had practised self-stimulation and 12 percent had attained climax; in Kinsey et al.’s (1953) study, 19 percent practised to age twelve and 12 percent attained climax; and in Schaefer’s (1964) study, 43 percent practised to age twelve and 23 percent attained climax”.

¹⁵ Apart from Kinsey et al., the multi-orgasm literature is generally silent on prepuberty. Robbins and Jensen (1978) do not comment on prepubertal occurrences of male mutiorgasticity. “Most began having multiorgastic response after having had considerable sexual experience”. The explicit consideration of a “multi-orgasm capacity” in pre-pubescent females, as opposed to males, is not referred to by Kinsey et al. (1953). Whipple et al. (1998) reported a case of male multiple *productive* orgasmicity from the age of 15, equalling the age of ejacularche, while nothing is said about dry orgasm (the subject started “self-stimulation” at age four years). Yates (1978:p207): “A latency-age boy possesses monumental erectile capacity. When ejaculation isn’t present, he can progress from one orgasm to the next without needing to rest. From about age eight he notes a buildup phase which intensifies his pleasure”. Hammond [1889:p63] reported a case of prepubertal dry orgasm. Quoting from the German translation: “[...] a patient masturbated as long a could be remembered and was used from earliest youth by his nanny, one Mulattin, for the purpose of fulfilling her sexual lusts. He often attained orgasm 12 times a day, or even more. Only with the arrival of puberty, and sperm was produced through his manipulations, he lowered his masturbation frequency”.

The terminology classically revealed uncertainty about the nature, strength and comparability of orgiastic states in the young¹⁶. Lampl-DeGroot (1950) vaguely refers to “[s]ome observations on infants up to the age of one” that “seem to indicate that a kind of acme may be reached which could be considered as an early infantile form of orgasm” (p157). Further, acme could be frequent during the phallic phase (p160). This is in concordance with Tausk’s information (1912 [1951:p64]) who speaks of “orgasm-like excitation”, and Fenichel ([1982:p74]), commenting on “a kind of genital orgasm”. Lloyd (1964:p491)¹⁷: “Even in the infant, orgasm appears to take place; at least the child undergoes an episode of physical reaction”.

The sexual trance symptom of masturbating infants resembles the “sexual trance” of adult orgasm, as is described by Schwartz (1994), who problematises the concept of absence and orgasm experience:

“The absorbed state-sexual arousal-orgasm pathway hypotheses assert that absorbed states of consciousness accompanying sexual arousal (sometimes called altered states of consciousness or sexual trance) play important roles in sexual response not previously recognized. Absorbed states are an obligatory pathway to high physiological sexual arousal and to orgasm in many, perhaps all, females. The role of absorbed states in males is facilitation of arousal and orgasm, with enhancement of pleasure and subjective quality of the experience. But the absorbed states pathway is not an obligatory feature of arousal and orgasm in most males. These hypotheses are empirically testable; absorbed states have objectively measurable defining characteristics as well as subjective dimensions presenting greater but not intractable methodological difficulties. Inclusion of a cognitive psychology of absorbed states can bring us closer to a more adequate and integrated psychobiological understanding of sexual response in both women and men”.

4 *Pediatricians: The European Archive*

Sadger cites professor of paediatrics Dr. Max Kassowitz¹⁸ as an observer, and is said to remark that “[o]ne is justified in speaking of sexuality (in children) when phenomena occur that are well known from sexual orgasm or when there are inclinations that reassert

¹⁶ First ejaculation is termed *oigarche* (Carlier & Steeno, 1985), as opposed to *spermarche* (onset of production of spermatozoa, or onset of sperm emission, operationalized as spermaturia), *seminarche* (“semenarche”), *thorarche* (first seminal ejaculation; Levin, 1976) and *polluarche* (first nocturnal emission). Some papers have explored *spermarche* (Yi and Oshawa, 2000; Ji, 1995, 2001; Garcia et al., 1993; Guizar et al., 1992; Jorggesen et al., 1991; Schaefer et al., 1990; Kulin et al., 1989; Nielsen et al., 1986a,b; Hirsch et al., 1986; Levin, 1976; Richardson and Short, 1978; Sanchez-Cantu, 1992; Bornman et al., 1990) via urinalysis. “Prepubertal” *orgasmarche* could be differentiated into *premenarchic*, *prepubarchic*, *prethelarchic*, *pre-ejacularchic* (dry), *prepolluarchic*, and *prespermarchic*; the value of this remains obscure. *Orgasmarche* can be divided in its temporal relation to *adrenarche*, *gonadarche* and also the “*prostatarche*”. *Orgasmarche* in the literature is usually further specified as being spontaneous (as opposed to intentional or premeditated), masturbatory (solitary, mutual), and coital (vaginal, oral, anal). Verville (1967:p270) considers “psychic” orgasm: “Psychic masturbation is attainment of orgasm through fantasy or visual excitation and is rare in children of this age [6-12y?]. It is possible only after manually-induced orgasm or the witnessing of others’ sexual activity”. A last psychosexual “first”, *erectarche*, may be incorrectly attributed a biological milestone value.

“Spontaneous” erections occur many times a day, periodically so from fetal life and for prolonged periods during sleep in children, as measured by phallometry.

¹⁷ Lloyd (1964)

¹⁸ 1910, *Praktische Kinderheilkunde*

themselves over and again despite all obstacles and threats”¹⁹. As it appears, paediatricians in gone-by eras did not doubt infantile orgasm (for a random selection from a random decade, consider: Friedjung, 1912:p345/1923:p17; Thiemich, 1912:p363; Morse, 1915:p510; Kerley, 1919:p480).

Still earlier sources dealing with the issue of masturbation equally suggest a belief in preproductive orgasm. Vogel (1787) in an early document on masturbation relates the following story as it occurred to him in April 1785 (quoted by Neter, 1913): For 1/2 year a boy now one year of age is noticed to press his thighs together.

“Gewöhnlich dauert der ganze Auftritt eine Viertelstunde, wobei er rot im Gesicht wird, mit dem Augen funkelt, oft ganz laut ächzt, und mit Händen und Füßen arbeitet. Zu gleicher Zeit steht ihm das männliche Glied steif in die Höhe, und die Mütter will sogar bemerkt haben, daß ihm wirklich einige Feuchtigkeit abgehe. Entsetzlich! Endlich versinkt er ganz ermattet und von Schweiß triefend in einen tiefen Schlaf”²⁰.

The differential diagnosis of epilepsy was widely recognised a clinical challenge since many observations included some loss of awareness or responsiveness²¹ in addition to the locomotoric symptoms. An example from Scherpf (1881):

“Bei sehr nervös angelegten Kindern finden sich in Folge der Masturbation nicht selten ekstatische Zustände, die aufgeregte Phantasie in Verbindung mit einem überreizten Sensorium verursacht Hallucinationen, welche die gesammte Aufmerksamkeit auf einem Punct concentriren. Die Kinder sind versunken in mysterischer Betrachtung. Der Blick ist starr, die Haltung der Glieder eine bizarre. Perception und Reaction können in einem solchen cataleptischen Zustand aufgehoben sein”.

Fleischmann (1878, quoted by Sadger, 1921) describes the following example of a boy:

“Das Glied wurde steif [...]. Das Gesicht begann sich zu röten, die Augen wurden glänzend and der Ausdruck zeigte die gleichzeitige Erregung des Nervensystems. Während des höchsten Orgasmus blinzelte das Kind mit den Augen, schob die Hände in den Mund und rotierte mit dem Kopfe nach links und rechts, vorn und hinten; dabei ist es gegen alle Liebkosungen der Eltern taub und unempfindlich”.

Another typical example by Hirschsprung (1886):

¹⁹ *Minutes*, 188, p159. See also Sadger (1915 [1923:p345-7])

²⁰ This may well be first infantile orgasm reported as such by the medical profession.

²¹ The problem was probably more common than discussed, first reviewed adequately by Faerber and Demetriades (1927) and much later by Money (1996; 1999 [1997]: p73-6), however sparsely. The behavioural symptomatology of the infantile entity includes preoccupation / altered “consciousness” or “responsiveness”, irregular breathing or tachypnoea, rocking motions with or without manual clutching of pubic region, axial and extremital rigidity, staring, mydriasis, flushing, sweating, turning of the head. Additionally, there may be quivering and wavering of hands in a sort of tremor (Livingston et al.), sometimes outcries, grunting or sighs and subsequent “post-ictal” drowsiness or sleep, occurring up to many times a day, lasting minutes to hours, with a natural history of spontaneous resolution of episodes after months to years. Symptoms may vary in combination and severity, in clusters of cases described or in single reports; additional features are frequently described (fisting, fixed pupils, temporary strabismus). The typical mode of seems to be postural, with crossing of the legs.

“Kreuzen der Beine im sitzen und dann hin- und herrückende Bewegungen mit glühendem Gesicht, starren Augen, vollständiger Beklommenheit bis zur Erreichung des Höhepunktes; der Anfall endet oft mit einem Schluchzer und Collaps”²² (etc.; p629)²³.

Schoondermark (1902:p26-7) relates [tentative translation footnoted]:

“Dat hier, in de eerste jeugd [age 5-10], geen spermauitstorting optreden en dat dikwerk marasmus volgt, gaf volgens sommigen schrijvers, zooals Curschmann [?], aanleiding, de zwakte na spermatorrhoe, niet hieraan toe te schrijven, doch aan eene zekere epileptische zenuwschokking, die bij dergelijke acten gewoonlijk geschiedt. Dit te generaliseeren, is zeer zeker niet juist, omdat het zenuwstelsel van een’ 8-jarigen knaap op de onanistische daad toch geheel anders reageert, dan dat van een’ 20-jarigen jongenman. Wij moeten dus den zenuwschok vóór de puberteit, als heel wat meer ingrijpend beschouwen, dan daarna. [...] Wij kunnen de nadeelen van de onanie voor het zenuwstelsel wel opvatten als den invloed van herhaaldelijke convulsieve schokkingen van het zenuwstelsel. [...] Anders is het *na* de puberteit, omdat hier na de masturbatie, meestal pollutiën volgen²⁴”.

Schoondermarck refers to the often disregarded fact that masturbation nosologies have been based on orgasmogenic (rather than spermatorrhoeic) principles to specifically legitimise the combating of the pre-ejacularchic and female onanist. An early report on orgasmic control was published by Demetrius Zambaco (1882, cited by Sedgwick, 1991). He related that with labial cauterisation in girls, “after the first operation, from forty to fifty times a day, the number of *voluptuous spasms* was reduced to three or four” (*ital.add.*)²⁵.

5 Critics and Believers: A Too-Easy Curriculum

The biomedical impossibility of early orgasm has been contested infrequently, although not in any very convincing way. On clearly insufficient grounds, Kramer (1954) assumed a physiological impossibility of complete release in boys (p137, 138) as a mode of “explaining” clinical (psychoanalytic) gender differences in certain character traits. Specifically, the reader should bear in mind that: “Reactions and sensations approaching the orgasm in intensity are

²² Fuchs (1926:p94) and Kinsey et al. (1948) also described collapse after infantile orgasm.

²³ More recent cases of epileptoid masturbation/ orgasm are numerous (Livingston, Berman and Pauli, 1975; Bradley, 1985; Fleisher and Morrison, 1990; Wulff, Ostergaard and Storm, 1992; Sheth and Bodensteiner, 1994; Shuper and Mimouni, 1995; Finkelstein et al., 1996).

²⁴ “The fact that in the earliest phase of youth [ages 5-10] no ejaculations occur and that marasmus is a frequent result, made, according to some authors including Curschmann [?], that the weakness after spermatorrhoea was not attributed to this, but to a certain epileptic nervous thrill, that commonly accompanies such an act. A generalisation of this, however, is not most definitely erratic, since the nervous system of an eight-year-old boy reacts quite differently to an onanistic act, as compared to that of a twenty-year-old. We therefore have to consider the nervous thrill before puberty as having decidedly more impact than afterwards. [...] We might interpret the drawbacks of onanism for the nervous system as the negative influence of repeated convulsions. [...] in contradistinction to the postpubertal situation, because of the pollutions that usually occur after masturbation” [DJ].

²⁵ The girl “[...] provoked the voluptuous spasm by rubbing herself on the angles of furniture, by pressing her thighs together, or rocking backwards and forwards on a chair. Out walking she would begin to limp in an odd way as if she were lop-sided, or kept lifting one of her feet. At other times she took little steps, walked quickly, or turned abruptly left [...]. If she saw some shrub she straddled it and rubbed herself back and forth [...]. She pretended to fall or stumble over something in order to rub against it”.

known to occur in boys, but they regularly lack the quality of relief and relaxation that occurs in girls". Its relevance is further stressed with the hypothesis that "[u]nder certain conditions capacity for orgasmic discharge in childhood predisposes to favourable character development". Anyway, he presents two cases of infantile "masturbation" in girls, aged four and three years²⁶.

Conversely, some authors adopt a narrative that accommodates the hypothesis of a *perinatal* orgasmic capacity²⁷, while others argue that it may be "learned behaviour" (e.g., Kline-Graber and Graber, 1975; Jehu, 1979:31-40), and as such may prove modifiable by curricular and "non-normative" experience (Yates, 1982)²⁸. Others appear to have their own specifications. Well after Kinsey, yet without further explicit, Kriekemans (1968:p170) relates that orgasm is possible after age 7 ("sometimes earlier").

Some authors venture to discuss the existence of prepartal fetal orgasm (Brenot and Broussin, 1996; Giorgi and Siccardi, 1996). Brenot and Broussin (1996) describe the earliest-in-life observation of an erection at 26 weeks, and the earliest-in-life auto-urogenital stimulation at the same age. Giorgi and Siccardi (1996) report female fetal clitoral masturbation at 32 weeks gestation age. "The current observation seems to show [...] that the orgasmic reflex can be elicited during intrauterine life [and] doesn't need a full sexual maturity to be explicit". [One wonders about fetal pornography and fetal privacy (cf. Botkin, 1995).]

While true for "preorgasmic" adults, no data exist on the developmental prerequisites of such "orgasmic behaviour". Hence, within American psychiatric order no speculations can be made about precocious or retarded orgasmarche, since its occurrence is historically defined on the basis of coital functionality, or else takes into consideration only the far end of the age spectrum, not the proximate (APA, 1994)²⁹.

²⁶ Discussed by Frosch (1954)

²⁷ Gardner (1991, 1993/1996): "There is good reason to believe that most, if not all, children have the capacity to reach orgasm at the time they are born"; Sarnoff and Sarnoff (1979:p24): "Human beings are born with the capacity for orgasm [...]"; "Children are born orgasmic" (Mann, 1995); "[...] orgasm is possible at all ages [...]" (Litt & Martin, [1992:429]). Langfeldt (1980:p106) observed that spontaneous states of increased pelvic bloodflow in the newborn facilitate orgasm, which process "and the likelihood of the appearance of orgasm can be interpreted as that the child is born sexually active". Other authors, however, deny the existence altogether (Buxbaum, 1959:p54). One occasionally reads the impression that at a certain age, one was not "old enough to be able to have orgasms" (Jay and Young [1979:p92]). Gardner (1992:p612) concluded on systematic masturbation of a 4-year-old girl by a nonrelated busdriver that "except for a certain amount of sexual frustration that was not gratified [sic] [...] the 4-year-old had not been significantly traumatized by these encounters" (quoted by Dallam, 1998).

²⁸ Yates (1982:p483) observed that, in the context of incestuous "eroticization" of children, they are "readily orgasmic and also can maintain a high level of arousal without orgasm". She is referring to an "exaggerated learning process", causing a "hypertrophied responsiveness". See also Tracy (1982) who states that "[t]o construe a child's words to mean that he or she has orgasm is to invest that child with qualities of adult sexuality". Note that Gardner (1991) remarked the following: "Although orgasmic capacity is possible at birth, most young children under the age of nine or ten do not stimulate themselves to the point where they reach orgasm. Those who do may very well have been prematurely introduced into the pubital and post-pubital [sic] levels or sexual arousal. Certainly, such introduction can be the result of sex abuse. But this is not the only reason why a younger child might masturbate to orgasm. In some children it is a tension-relieving device, especially when they grow up in homes in which there has been significant privation and/or stress. In some it can serve as an antidepressant".

²⁹ "The diagnosis of Female Orgasmic Disorder should be based on the clinician's judgment that the woman's orgasmic capacity is *less than would be reasonable for her age*, sexual experience, and the adequacy of sexual stimulation she receives" (*ital.add.*). APA's negotiations regarding lower age limits for paraphilia categories are as interesting.

6 Freud on Infant Pleasure Potentials

With such an input from the psychodynamic industry, one might like to reread the classics. Freud (1896) claimed that since the pre-pubescent individual is incapable of experiencing the full cycle of sexual arousal and satisfaction, it is impossible for a person who finds himself in a sexual situation in childhood to experience anything like the kind of satisfaction that could allow the tension of sexual activity to be adequately dissipated. Therefore the sexual experience led to anxiety, and it was the anxiety that laid down the disposition to the neurosis.

In classical psychoanalytic approach erotic pleasures have been divided into those associated with increasing erotic tension (the fore-pleasures) and those associated with release of the tension (end-pleasures). Thus, fore-pleasure will be found denoting any activity functioning to increase the desire for end-pleasure³⁰. Another Freudian conception of pleasure is pleasure-in-movement (*"Lustcharakter der Bewegungsempfindungen"*), which consists in the (unimpeded) execution of an (imminent) activity.

Abraham (1907) considered fore- and end-pleasure (e.g., Balint, 1936) present in children seducing adults. From his reviewed article: "It is difficult to say which of the two kinds of pleasure plays the greater part in children. Undoubtedly there are marked individual differences in this respect"³¹.

Freud (1905), in following Lindner of the matter, commented on early orgasm-alikes in association to *suctus voluptibilis* (*"einer motorischen Reaktion in einer Art von Orgasmus"*)³², and two mysterious references to non-productive (?) pollution: (1) "The sexual excitation of the nursing period returns during the designated years of childhood as a centrally determined tickling sensation demanding masturbatic gratification, or as a pollution-like process [pollutionartiger Vorgang] which, analogous to the pollution of maturity, may attain gratification without the aid of any action". Thus, "[...] whenever the enuresis nocturna does not represent an epileptic attack, it responds to a pollution". (2) "In the school child, fear of a coming examination or exertion expended in the solution of a difficult school task, can become significant for the breaking through of sexual manifestations as well as for his relations to the school. Under such excitements, a sensation often occurs which impels him to touch the genitals, or it may lead to a pollution-like process [pollutionartiger Vorgang] with all its disagreeable consequences". It is not clear what Freud meant by these "proto-pollutions". He does refer to actual pollution in a discussion of accumulated semen, or "the sexual substance", allowing for sexual excitement, which is rejected partially on the argument that it would not allow for children's sexual excitement³³.

³⁰ Reber (1995)

³¹ *Selected Papers*, p53

³² Róheim (1945) agrees that orgasm, apart from being combined with a fantasied return to the womb, it is also associated with "a refinding of the first extrauterine pleasure, that of the union of mother and infant in the act of sucking and suckling".

³³ Sterba (1942:p56) has a similar argument, but "solves" the issue: "Many school children thus experience [anxiety provoked] sexual pleasure excitations, or at a corresponding maturity, real pollutions during school work or in examinations". Feldman (1951:p530-1) used Freud's argument to explain an 11-year-old boy's first seminal emission when for the first time pulling the trigger of a rifle, interpreted as the transformation of nonlibidinal excitement into the gratification of a repressed libidinal tension.

Criticisms on Freudian sexualising of the infantile sex life, including orgasm concepts, have been offered by many (e.g., Bautigam, 1991).

7 *Illegal Observations: Kinsey and Alike Cases*

Kinsey et al. today hold the most elaborate statements on the nature and typology of prepubertal orgasm. In their *Male* volume (1948:p149-80) the authors found themselves able to demonstrate up to 6 types of pre-adolescent orgasm including “extreme tension with violent convulsion”, “accumulating in extreme trembling, collapse, loss of color, and sometimes fainting”³⁴ and “pained or frightened at approach of orgasm”³⁵ with violent attempts to avoid or postpone orgasm³⁶. Critics (most notably Reisman and Eichel, 1990;

³⁴ The issue of fainting, or orgasmic loss of consciousness, has been reviewed by Needles (1953), though he apparently missed many references on alleged infantile orgasm when concluding that “orgasmic loss of consciousness is at most a very rare phenomenon [and that] it may be the indication of psychopathology [p517]” (he does cite Kinsey et al.). He did not gain much in twenty years (Needles, 1973:p317). As reviewed by Needles, Keiser (1949:p170, 171) attributed “unconscious” to early infantile orgasm when stating that genital sensations provoke “fear in the infant and part of that fear may be derived from the momentary black-out that occurs with the orgasm [...] [I] may be that a genital striving for orgasm may exist from early in life”. See further my paper, *Neurologists at a Loss*, op.cit.

³⁵ Féré (1905) observed crying and outcries accompanying dry-orgasm in young children. « Chez des enfants et même chez de très jeunes, au-dessous de trois ans, il peut se produire un spasme sans émission de liquide, mais qui s'accompagne de secousses vibrantes du pénis excessivement tendu, état douloureux capable de provoquer des pleurs et des cris. Les petites filles éprouvent quelquefois un orgasme analogue. Cette douleur persiste autant que l'érection, et elle interdit la répétition du frottement. Certains sujets n'éprouvent cette réaction que dans l'onanisme en commun, mais jamais dans la masturbation solitaire [p624] ». Moll (1912[1908]) remarked: “In exceptional, and doubtless pathological instances, and above all in cases in which, owing to the practice of masturbation, there has been excessive stimulation, instead of the voluptuous acme, a painful sensation may be experienced”. Moll writes: “But what is usually wanting in such cases, at any rate in young children, is the voluptuous acme which in adults occurs in association with the act of ejaculation. Cases have also been occasionally reported to me in which, even in infancy, a voluptuous acme has occurred; and still more frequently I have been told this in respect of somewhat older children, for example, at ages of seven or eight years. I believe, however, that this voluptuous acme is, at any rate in children, much less common than the equable voluptuous sensation which can be aroused by all kinds of manipulations and stimulations of the peripheral genital organs, and more especially of the glans, the penis, the clitoris, and the labia minora. The older the child, the more frequently is the voluptuous acme attained; in our own climate, during the last years of the second period of childhood, this occurs comparatively often; the voluptuous acme does not last so long as in sexually mature individuals, but is in other respects described in identical terms. It is experienced simultaneously with the occurrence of the rhythmical muscular contractions which have previously been described. It is possible, as I suggested before, that in such cases the ejaculation of a certain quantity of glandular secretion always occurs, although, as I have also explained, this secretion may sometimes be too small in quantity to be actually expelled from the urethra by the muscular contractions. This point is, however, still obscure. But it may be regarded as definitely established that the equable voluptuous sensation, and more particularly the voluptuous acme, may occur at an age at which, at any rate, secretion does not yet exist in sufficient quantity to be expelled from the urethra, and the existence of such secretion is therefore not unequivocally manifested. In exceptional, and doubtless pathological instances, and above all in cases in which, owing to the practice of masturbation, there has been excessive stimulation, instead of the voluptuous acme, a painful sensation may be experienced. In general, however, in children, just as in adults, the voluptuous acme is associated with a sense of satisfaction, and with the subsidence of the previously existing sexual excitement. *This much is beyond question, that the voluptuous acme and the sense of satisfaction associated therewith make their appearance subsequent to the development of erection and the equable voluptuous sensation in the genital organs. Mutatis mutandis, this is equally true of both sexes*”.

³⁶ This observation was also made by Ormezzano (1975)

Reisman, 1998)³⁷ have interpreted these “observations” as portraying sadistic abuse of the “observer”, trained personally by Kinsey. Among a row of objections to the academic value and ethical standards of the research, Reisman, “in a personal Odyssey”, doubted the interpretations from these individuals. Kinsey and associates, however, were quoted on infant orgasm throughout decades without raising much ethical questioning (e.g., Ford and Beach, 1951:p179; Von Stockert, 1956; Lutz, 1957:p4-9; Eglinton, 1964:p15, 143; Broderick, 1970; Rutter, 1971:p261; Frölingsdorf, 1976:p28, cited by Thomasky, 1978:p27; Martinson, 1977; 1980; Katchadourian et al., 1979; Grassel & Bach, 1979:p106-7; Kolodny et al., 1979; Katchadourian and Lunde, 1980; Morrison et al., 1980:p15-6; Brongersma, 1987:p69-70; Serbin and Sprafkin, 1987:p170; Rathus et al., 1993:p381; Wyatt et al., 1993:p18; Cohen-Kettenis et al., 1995; Offer and Simon, 1976; Bancroft, 1989; Frayser, 1994:p187-8; Gijs, 2001:p226-7; Mah et al., 2001:p831; etc.).

Gagnon (1977:p84) pleads for caution in a footnote; however, “[...] the observations should not be ruled out simply because they emerged from illegal or stressful situations”. In fact, and not surprisingly, Kinsey and associates are the most quoted authors on the matter.

Similar ethically incorrect cases appear to have accumulated in the literature. Ormezzano (1975) seems to base his arguments on the “pederasts”, arguing: “Tout pédéraste vous dira que l’enfant, même impubère, s’éveille progressivement dans le plaisir, il connaît les mêmes mouvements du bassin avec accélération de la respiration qui s’y rattache” (p112). Equally explosive material concerning the relation of paedophilia and childhood orgasm are found in Sandfort (1979:p210-5), Sandfort (1981a:p58-60), Sandfort (1981b:p110); Sandfort (1986:p68-9), Pieterse (1980), Wilson (1981) and Borneman (1990:p202); see also Valles (1978).

Sandfort (1979, 1981, 1986; & Everaerd, 1990:p368) mentions dry orgasm (5 cases) and multi-orgasticity. Okami (1991) reported that responders with a positive attitude to age-disparate sexual interactions before age 16 admitted having been orgasmic “within 54.9% of their experiences”(N=51); no further data are available. Wilson records how Osborne notes a boy relating about himself masturbating from “[t]en to twelve. I went long enough but I couldn’t get it [ejaculation]. I would get an orgasm but I wouldn’t expel spunk. When I first came it was a wet dream at about twelve”.

8 Frequency: Numeric Studies

³⁷ For a selection of critiques on Kinsey’s orgasm experiments, consider Unmasking Kinsey from June 1997 Issue of CWA’s *Family Voice*; The Truth about Kinsey, *The Schwartz Report* 38,8(Aug., 1998):6-7; Muir, J. G. & Court, J. H. (1992) Fraud of the Century? *Cathol Med Quart*, May edition; “Acclaimed” book deserves our disgust, *Daily Oklahoman* on April 12, 1999; Reisman, (2000) Kinsey and the Homosexual Revolution, *Journal of Human Sexuality*, updated April 15, 1998, available at <http://www.leaderu.com/jhs/reisman.html>; Flynn, D. J., Professor Kinsey and the Last Taboo: An Accuracy in Academia Address, lecture delivered at Princeton University on October 10, 1998 as part of AIA’s John M. Olin Conference Series; The false foundations in the Kinsey report by Rachel Wildavsky in *R. Digest* 4/97, p59 ff.; Alfred in Wonderland, Family Research Counsel, June 3rd, 2001, by Kenneth L. Ervin II. See also the Kinsey Institute’s special site on the controversy, updated Jan 1st, 1998: <http://www.indiana.edu/~kinsey/controversy.html>.

Little appears to be known about nonhuman orgasmarche. According to observations by Wolfe (1978), ejaculation “with concomitant body movements indicative of orgasm” in Japanese macaques begins at age 4.5 years. However, an orgasmic (dry) pattern is noted in infant anubis baboons (Owens, 1973; cited by Hanby, 1977:p466).

Quantitative studies on orgasmic onset and childhood orgasm do exist (Green, 1985; Rennert, 1966, 1967; Alzate, 1977, 1978, 1984; Gebhard & Johnson, 1979:p178, 180,182,188, 201); Califia, 1979; Hite, 1981, 1994; Schnabel, 1973; Klein, 1993; Gundersen & Skår, 1977/ Gundersen, Melås & Skår, 1981/Skår & Melås, 1980; Gebhard et al., 1965; Hamilton, 1929; Davis, 1925, 1929; Kinsey et al., 1948; Bell et al., 1981; Okami, 1991; Fox, 1993; Weller, 1993; Schaefer, 1964; Gates [2000] 2001; Larsson and Svedin, 2002), so that the existence of a prepubertal and perhaps infantile occurrence seems not impossible. A large number of nonnumeric observations and speculations add to this³⁸.

Margulis and Sagan (1991:p86) note:

“Sexually immature, prepubescent boys enjoy a range of sexual response similar to that of adult women. Kinsey and his coworkers reported, “The most remarkable aspect of the preadolescent population is its capacity to achieve repeated orgasm in limited periods of time. This capacity definitely exceeds in the ability of teen-age boys who, in turn, are much more capable than older males”. The response of young boys, including multiple climax without losing an erection, “is”, according to biologist Donald Symons [1979], “perhaps similar to orgasmic women”. Neither prepubescent orgasmic boys nor women ejaculate sperm, and thus the “ability of females to experience multiple orgasms may be an incidental effect of their inability to ejaculate” “.

Note that Gordon and Schroeder (1995:p2, 3) observed that

“[d]espite the difficulty of conducting research on sexual development, it is now commonly accepted among professionals that the physiology and orgasm [...] appear to be present in children from birth or even before birth”.

³⁸ See for instance Schmidt (1880); Garnier; Stier (1910); Friedjung (1919:p11); Villinger (1926:p123); Guyon (1929:p63); Guyon (1950:p241); Sarnoff and Sarnoff (1979:p113-4); Edwardes & Masters (1961:references to orgasm on p81, 241, 250, 251, 263, 287, 290); Greenacre (1941?); Bornstein (1953:p70-1); Barnett (1968:p590); Reng (1968:p20); Clower (1975:p113/1977:p116); Geissler (1959:p24), quoted by Borneman (1985:p61); Yates (1978:p13,15,117) ; Levine (1951 :p119, 121,122); Martinson (1973; 1977; 1980a; 1994; 1997); Morrison et al. (1980:p3); Money and Sirncoe (1986:p45); Friday (1973 [e-book, p240]); Friday (1980); Friday (1991 [1992:p37, 281, 358, 384; see also p253 and statements on late first orgasms]); Bakwin (1952:p676, 677); *Our Bodies* [...] (1970:p13); Bieber, 1975:p168; Boyer (1979:p68); Elias and Gebhard, 1969; Garnier, cited by Haire (1937); Kris (1951:p113); Tollison and Adams (1979:p339); Oliven (1974); Halpert (1973:p536); Caprio (1955 [1962:p79]); Holt (11th ed., 1940:p943); Silva (1990:p467). Kleeman (1966), who reported on a two-year follow-up on a single boy's genital behaviour, did not note mother's observation of orgasm [p389]. Later (1975:p98), she writes: “My observations do not include any climax type of excitement in [...] normal children during the first two years which can clearly be called orgasm”. The observation by Holt is remarkable since in the preceding edition (10th, 1934) the authors remarked that “[...] before the onset of puberty orgasm does not occur [p779]”. Kleeman (1976 [1977:p20]) argues that orgasm would not normally occur in the first two years of life. Isaacs (1933:p154) “Neither in the case of infant boys nor of infant girls have I seen masturbation carried to the point where the orgasm takes place (it must be remembered that the orgasm can occur without ejaculation before the age of puberty is reached”. The percentage of orgasm prior to age 12 was reviewed as being more than 10% (Wanderer and Radell, 1982). Janus and Bess (1976:p344/1981:p81) remarked that in 6th-graders, “[m]asturbation to orgasm is prominent in both boys and girls”.

A number of studies thus provide an indication to the timing of its occurrence (see also Tables 1 and 2 below).

Merrill (1918) was quoted by Kinsey et al. (1948) as a study with the most definitive statements on preadolescent orgasm (6 boys, masturbatory). This survey is probably the first with quasisystematic data.

Studies providing range values suggested various bottom limits: 3 (Davis, 1929; Califia, 1979), 4 (Schaefer, 1964; 1973 [1974:p133-4]), 5 (Delvin and Webber, 1995), 7 (Chilton, 1972) and 10 (Savin-Williams, 1995). Knorre (1981:p304) did not seem to find any orgasm under age 15.

Some studies provide mean ages of orgasmarche (Table 1). Green (1985:p172) reported a mean age of first masturbatory orgasm at 12.87 (SD 2.01) for males and 12.25 (3.12) for females, a significant difference ($p<.01$). Savin-Williams (1995) reported a mean age of 12.6 ($N=83$, $SD=1.4$, range=10-16) for first orgasm in a sample of gay and bisexual male youths. Bardeleben et al. (1995:p54) reported mean orgasmic ages of 15.1 (males) and 17.0 (females). "Less than 1% of girls, as opposed to about 4% of boys, become so intensely involved in prepubertal homosexual contact that they reach orgasm [while] [m]ore than 25% of boys, as opposed to 10% of girls, masturbate to orgasm before puberty" (Van Wyk and Geist, 1984:p535). Gates (2001) found an average *masturbatory* orgasmarchic age of 12.59 ($N=171$; range 1-27) in a sample of male balloon fetishts. Alzate (1977, 1978) found an average age of male orgasmarche at 14.1 (which equals mean age of masturbarche; notably, Alzate, 1984, found an *ejacularche* of 13.1), and a female orgasmarche at 17.0 (1978) to 18.1 (1984). The difference between ejacularche and female orgasmarche was significant ($p<0.025$). Califia (1979:p258) found a mean age of 16.5 ($N=286$, 7 nonorgasmic). Hertoft (1970:p79) found a percentage of 1 for first petting with orgasm at or before age 12; the figure for ejacularche was 19. Davis, (1929:p114-5) found a percentage of 17.7% (65/368) of orgasm in girls 11 years and under. Miller (1958:p614) found that in his sample of 55 effeminate homosexuals, "[m]ost experienced their first orgasm by the age of 12 [...]".

Kinsey et al. (1948:p157-61; Dutch transl., 1951:190-7), who, surprisingly, did not systematically inquire for first orgasm, found an accumulative total 172 cases of preadolescent orgasm in 269 males. Data suggested a minimum age of 2 months (male), minimum time to single orgasm of 10 seconds, and up to 3 in 70 seconds (boy, 13 years) and 14 in 38 minutes (boy, 11 months). Total data include would have been available on orgasm in 604 preadolescent boys³⁹. Subsequently, Kinsey et al. (1953:p102-7) report a total of 659 cases of preadolescent female orgasm: accumulative estimates are 9% at age 11 and 14% at age 13. Four cases referred to ages less than one year. Using Kinsey data, Gebhard and Johnson (1979) provide information on source of first prepubertal [pre-ejaculatory] orgasm (Table 129), age of first postpubertal masturbation resulting in orgasm (T152), age at first prepubertal orgasm in masturbation (T131), age at first prepubertal orgasm in heterosexual (T133) and homosexual (T139) contact, and orgasm in first prepubertal sexual acitivity with adult males (T150). Most data are specific for male-female, white-black, and white college-non-college comparisons. Within the Kinsey sphere, original co-author Gebhard et al. later (1965 [*Bantam*, 1967:p460-1]) found percentages of 25 to 62% of prepubertal orgasm in various groups of male sex offenders.

³⁹ Kinsey et al. further reported on petting to orgasm (0.2% at age 11, 1.0% at age 12, $N=2304$).

Hite (1981 [1982:p868]) reported a pre-ejaculatory orgasm in 36% of questioned males; 24% within one year before ejacularche, and 12% not specified (cf. anecdotal material on p506-12, with eight unambiguous instances of dry orgasm)⁴⁰.

In Hite (1994a, Dutch transl.:p339) 45% of girls claimed having experienced orgasm by age 7, and more than 60% at age 11 or 12⁴¹. Hite (1994b:p24) notes a difference in gender: "While most boys first masturbate or [to?] orgasm with ejaculation between the ages of ten and 12, girls usually masturbate to orgasm much earlier, with almost half starting by the ages of five to seven" [?].

Retrospective data suffer from distortions pertaining to the question of comparability of early and contemporary orgasm. As noted *supra*, observations are rare. However, Gundersen, Melås and Skår (1981:p56) reported, that "[t]wenty-three percent of the preschool teachers [N=60] had observed orgasm in masturbating children, while 70 percent said that they "did not know"". On the other hand, Schuhrke (1994:p118) found only one description in a group of parents commenting on 26 children aged 2 years suggestive of orgasm⁴². With a low response rate, Klein (1993:p48) found that teachers of preschools had never observed orgasm in 83% (Bs) and 80%(Gs). It would be often or repeatedly observed in 13% (Bs) and 17% (Gs).

Recently, Larsson and Svedin (2002:p266) found that of senior high school students, 6.3 (Bs) and 7.0 (Gs) claimed to have masturbated to orgasm at ages 6 through 10; for ages 11-12, these figures read 42.5 and 20.4, respectively. The latter figures are significantly different ($p<.001$). López Sánchez (2001)⁴³ refers to a numeric study on childhood sexual behaviours carried out by López et al. (1997): "Estas conductas tienen para los niños un claro significado sexual hasta el punto que el 5% de ellos cree haber llegado a tener orgasmos antes de la pubertad" (2001:p276, 279). The original work [received from the author, entitled "Sexualidad Prepuberal"]⁴⁴, however, claimed that a total 9.4% experienced orgasm, or 5.4% of females and 18.0% of males [p20, 32 of accompanying Engl. transl.]. Ryan et al. (1988) found in their sample that by age 12, half of the males had experienced ejaculation and over half of the females remembered orgasm (reported by Ryan, 2000:p38).

Less reliable data are gathered in large online surveys. In one such survey (Jackinworld, 1997b) 26.6% of self-selecting respondents indicated having had orgasm at 11 or younger and 34.8% at 12. An earlier survey (1997a) found that 3.1% of boys aged 11-15 had dry orgasms. Jackinworld (1998) found a pre-ejaculatory orgasm in no less than 45.7% of male responders under age 19 (N= 2,476). Another online questionnaire (Q Tip, January 29th, 2001) gives a mean orgasmarche at age 11 years or under of 49%, as opposed to an implausibly high mean ejacularche age of 18 (based on 95% of male respondents).

⁴⁰ "The powerful emotions boys undergo when denying the mother – yet loving her – are experienced traumatically at the same time as first full orgasms for boys, creating in many men a sort of love/hate relationship with their sexuality, with women's sexuality, with women, and with love. This is one of the most important and unexpected findings of this research (Hite, 1994:p231)".

⁴¹ Orgasm before 13 or dry orgasm is suggested in the Dutch translation on p86, 106, [107,109], 111, 356, 357, 363, 364, and 367.

⁴² "Nur bei einem Mädchen scheint das Erleben derart intensiv, daß wir von Orgasmen ausgehen können".

⁴³ López Sánchez, F. (2001) Intervención en la sexualidad infantil y adolescente, *Boletín de la Sociedad de Pediatría de Asturias, Cantabria, Castilla & León* 41(177):275-89

⁴⁴ López, F., Campo, A. del & Guijo, V. (nd) *Sexualidad Prepuberal* [unpaged paper received from author 141102. From an additionally received translation, López, F., Campo, A. del & Guijo, V. (nd) *Prepuberal Sexuality*, paper received from author 141102

9 Psychoanalysts Doubting and Pathologising the Matter

Within selected psychodynamic curricula, orgasm timing has been discussed in the light of pathology. Greenacre (1960/1971, I: p172) doubted the existence of early infantile (<2.5y) orgasm except for pathological cases. "The early orgasmic response (in the sense of excitement reaching a pitch and then rapidly falling off) may not [...] involve the same feelings as those in a full adult orgasm with ejaculation. But these appear to me as but different steplike stages in the development of genitality, and it seems important to understand their intrinsic developmental relationship. Under ordinary healthy conditions genital excitation does not show any great pitch and does not "take hold" during the first two or two and a half years of life". However, Greenacre (1954/1971, I: p54) had observed: "[From the last half of the first and much of the second year] genital orgasm may occur and has been observed from about the eight month on; usually however, only in situations of stress" [thereby referring to Kinsey data?]. This premature stimulation of genitality to an "orgiasticlike response" "has been observed a number of times by pediatricians as appearing as early as the second half of the first year in infants severely damaged at birth" (1960/1971, I: p178). A similar distinction is made by Tramer ([1945:p96]) who remarks: "Orgasmusartige Erscheinungen, wie sich auch E. Leer schildert⁴⁵, kommen nur bei pathologischen Kindern vor". Bühler (1931a:p622, 639) grants the child *Voluptas*, but sees orgasm "nur im Falle der Früreife beim Kinde". She (1931b:p193) heard from one E. Lazar that he saw "orgasmusartiger Erscheinungen" only in morbid cases, and prefers to think of the child's physiology as including "ein Zustand wohliger Versunkenheit".

10 Orgasm Equivalence and Symbolism before Puberty: Non-, Nongenital and Pre-Organismic Orgasms

Some analytic authors discuss the *genital nature* of orgasmic states in young children. Kestenberg (1968:p467) argued that:

"Direct observation of masturbatory practices suggests that much of infantile genital handling is performed with rhythms which only rarely lead to orgasm comparable to that of an adult. Light tapping or pulling of genitals has the character of an "oral" rhythm; playful tensing and releasing of perineal muscles evokes genital pleasure, associated with rhythmic sphincter contractions; prolonged contractions culminating in an explosive release may simulate orgasm, but this turns out to be an anal-sadistic discharge [...]. An "inner genital" rhythm of discharge, is characteristic between two and a half and four years of age [etc]."

Others have doubted the *sexual* nature altogether. Hirschfeld (1910 [1952:p52]) observed that "[t]he stimulation of the erotic zones induce in the child an initial orgasm that is different from that of the post-puberty period in that the infantile initial orgasm is not combined with

⁴⁵ Leer (19??)

tension. This is [an] indication that the pleasurable sensations of the infant are not sexual". Löwenfeld (1911:p524-5) also doubted a full orgasm before puberty, but seems to date ejacularche before spermarche [p529].

Bornstein (1953) observed that avoided orgasmic sensations are "nevertheless symbolically manifested". Other authors refer to suborgastic states, which would be a transitional (developmental) intensity level between preorgasmic and "full-orgasmic" potential. Sarnoff (1976:p39-84), who speaks of proto-orgastic sensations [p48], relates:

"Apparently a physiological potential for the use of the genitals for achieving sexual pleasure, though minimal, is usually present in latency age girls. It is variable in extent as well as in character. Sensations range from orgasmic responses and sensations of excitement to soothing sensations"⁴⁶.

However, "Latency age children are, with few exceptions, maturationally incapable of achieving orgasm and ejaculation. Those with orgasmic capabilities are limited by social pressures or internal inhibitions. Children of the [latency] age period are therefore unable to express sexual drives effectively. In the absence of a primary organ and physiological apparatus for discharge, regressions and defences guide the child to outlets compatible with socially approved guidelines" (Sarnoff, 1976:p153). Sarnoff observes that under the pressure of masturbatory inhibitions, direct motor stimulation of the genitalia is transformed to "an expression of drive activity utilizing movement of the entire body" (p55), such as disorganised jumping, organised athletic activities, and organised total body movement in play.

Martinson (1994) related that "[r]egarding a baby's physiological sexual responses to breast-feeding, babies possess a capacity for oral orgasm, a quivering of the lips and tongue in connection with breast-feeding followed by relaxation of the face into sleep. Oral orgasm can be frequent in occurrence during breast-feeding (Baker, 1969). Baker observed that oral orgasm does appear to have a sharp peak similar to the genital orgasm following puberty". A sharp peak?

Winnicott (1947:p328, 329) offers the following:

"The climax or detumescence [in sex play] is often represented more by the aggressive outburst that follows frustration than by a true relief of instinctual tension such as can be obtained by an older person after the onset of puberty. In sleep the dream life rises at times to excited states, and at the climax the body commonly finds some substitute for full sexual orgasm, such as wetting, or waking in nightmare. Sexual orgasm is not likely to be as satisfactory as such in the little boy as it can be after puberty, with emission added; perhaps it is more easily got by the little girl who has nothing to add as she matures, except being penetrated. These times of recurring instinctual tension must be expected in childhood, and substitute climaxes have to be provided- notably meals- but also parties, outings, special moments. Parents know well enough that they often have to step in and induce a climax by a show of strength, even a smack producing tears. Mercifully, children get tired in the end, and go to bed and to sleep. Even so, the delayed climax may disturb the calm of the night, as the child wakes in a night terror [...]. Excitement calls for climax. The obvious way out for a child

⁴⁶ For a discussion of lulling vs. orgasmic rhythms, see Greenacre (1954/1971:p51-4).

is the game with climax, in which excitement leads to something, “a chopper to chop off your head”, a forfeit, a prize, someone is caught or killed, someone has won, and so on”.

Sperling (1978:p235-6) described tic phenomena as a masturbatory equivalent in a 6-year-old boy. Infantile proto-orgasms as orgasm equivalents, a concept appearing in a posthumous note by Freud⁴⁷ (1938:p152), include, as Kramer (1954:p134) recalls, trancelike states, “convulsive” crying, and motor phenomena described as terrifying shaking or twitching of various muscle groups [...]” (*ibid.*). Also, first orgasm may be experienced as threatening, and subjectively continue “endlessly” [p136]⁴⁸. Garnier⁴⁹ described a one-year old girl with violent movements of the lower body, with an acme of opisthotonus, screaming, recovery, and recommencement; when interrupted, she cried.

A number of psychoanalysts have suggested physical orgasm analogies, or substitutes, in children as a result of behavioural masturbation equivalents. Many authors label whole-body movements in children as paroxysmal⁵⁰. Brody (1960) classified the appearance of self-rocking in infancy as either normative (“a rhythmic activity vaguely analogous to that which adults know in the course of genital gratification”), repetitive (“in which the infant looks rather withdrawn, lost, in the sensation”) or agitated (in the action of which “he seems to be beyond external influence for the time being”). The last two types had “a quality of stereotypy and of excessive detachment from external stimuli”. Spitz (1949:p102, 110) remarks that “[i]n the case of rocking, whether supine, knee-elbow, or standing, the children’s expression was one which could go up to the point of orgiastic delight [...]. [Rocking is] one of the few autoerotic activities at this age in which the child frequently manifests a wild delight, an orgiastic pleasure”⁵¹. Haroian ([2000]) remarked that “[d]ropping or casting is the neurological forerunner of counting, bowel and bladder control and orgasm”. Niemann (1920:p875) points to orgiastic but “non-sexual” peripheral sensations. Spruiell (1985) observed that

“[i]n “harmless” jokes, the pleasure is like the “harmless” play with words in childhood and the more obvious forms of “harmlessness”, i.e., the supposedly non-sexual play of older children and adolescence. In “tendentious” jokes, which always have to do with more genitally organized erotic and aggressive sources, there is a sudden organization of the pregenital components into foreplay, with a surprising, even shocking, climax, an orgastic-like discharge. Such jokes allow access to ordinarily suppressed unconscious fantasies, and combine them with preconscious fantasies on other levels. The result is a discharge and a

⁴⁷ Freud regarded the clitoral orgasm, as a result of clitoral masturbation, as infantile, immature (e.g., Walter, 1988) which was, as Angier (1999) perceives it, “a blot on history’s understanding of female sexuality”. Freud asserted that as girls reach puberty, sexuality is repressed and excitability is transferred from clitoris to vagina, the “supposed opposite” of the penis. This repression would excite male libido, encouraging monogamy and stability of family. There is no analytical or physical evidence for this putative transfer.

⁴⁸ No reliable data are available on the duration of orgasm in children. Levin and Wagner (1985) found a mean measured adult orgasm duration of 19.9 seconds (SD, +/- 12). Kratochvil (1993) reviewed the literature, and suggested the existence of long (up to one minute and longer) and short orgasm in adult women, in concordance to the wide variation found in women found by Bohlen et al. (1982).

⁴⁹ Cited by Thompson (1964 [1968]) *De seksualiteit van het kind*, in Willy, A. & Jamont, C. (Eds.) *La Sexualité*. 1968 Dutch transl., *De Seksualiteit*. Utrecht / Antwerpen: A. W. Bruna & Zn., Vol. 1, p202-9, at p204

⁵⁰ In neurology, a number of these phenomena are called *nonepileptic seizures* (NES), *non-epileptic paroxysmal events* (NEPE), *nonepileptic events*, *psychogenic seizures*, *pseudoseizures*, *psychogenic pseudoseizures*, *hysterical seizures*, *pseudoepileptic seizures*, *neurogenic seizures*, *paroxysmal nonepileptiform disorders*, and even a *psychogenic status epilepticus* (“*pseudostatus epilepticus*”).

⁵¹ See also the notion of “lulling rhythms” in Terr (1984:p639).

saving of energy equivalent, Freud thought, to the forces ordinarily maintaining the repression. "Harmless jokes", according to Freud, resemble the non-orgastic play of children more directly".

Symbolic orgasmicity is probably in part a culturally acquired orientation in humans (bio-agogism). Examples are numerous, spreading an area of "orgasm" motivated behaviour and "orgasm" attitude (appraisal). In studying the culturally shared structure of narrative form, Reid (1999) observed that in children's narratives, "[t]he high point- the hinge-pin of mature narrative discourse- was found to be typically indiscernible in 4-year-old speakers; however, by age 11, the high points, or climactic moments of the narratives, were identifiable in 100% of the sample". In contrast, Hudson et al. (1992) found that in 4-year-olds, stories about anger and fear resembled "traditional "plotted" stories, in which dynamic actions rise to a climax or high point that is followed by falling action and resolution". Blyler (1966), concluding on children in grades 2-6, suggests that the subjects prefer songs melodies possessing "strong melodic movement, strong climaxes, and definite points of repose".

11 Tension and Discharge Multimodality: Synerotics, Erotoplasticity and Synattractivism

The nature of orgasm equivalence is that its authentic (genital) occurrence is brought about by an autonomic response to nonclimactic, but *climax motivated* behaviour. Orgasm has to be conceptualised as a passive experience brought about (eventually) by active, orgasmically motivated behaviour. In the hypothesis that orgasmic motivation is reinforced solely the reward of orgasm (orgasm equivalent), its initial experience has to be accidental (nonmotivational), or suspected on the basis of suggestion (experimental), which implies that orgasmicity would have to be communicated either verbally, visually or interactively. As outlined above, psychoanalysts have suggested that the discharge of tension associated with a certain organ can be "displaced" to other sites in the body, or through the body as a whole, warranting the term masturbation and orgasm equivalence. Specifically, genital arousal (eroticity) could be held accountable for various general acting out patterns aimed at and effective for discharge. In the child, who, on the basis of this survey, may at any time prove orgasmic, secondarily anorgasmic or suborgasmic, or pre- (perhaps non-) orgasmic, this hypothesis may prove valuable in explaining specific "discharge disorders" (ADHD, etc.) and neurotic dysfunctions, such as compulsivity. Further elaboration of this point may have to await a moral climate that permits its testing.

12 The Experience of Orgasmarche: Anecdotal Materials

Orgasmarche as a psychological milestone has not been explored in depth. Five classic attitudinal studies on seminarche (Levin, 1976; Gaddis & Brooks-Gunn, 1985; Downs &

Fuller, 1991; Adegoke, 1993; Stein & Reiser, 1994)⁵² proved uninterested in the psychological appraisal of the *orgasmic* component; the routine analogy with menarche, then, is suspect phenomenologically. This subject of ejacularche has recently been studied by Frankel (2002a,b), but he, likewise pretty much skips over orgasmarche. Authors refer to the experience, as occurring before puberty, as possibly threatening (Kramer, Barnett, Kestenbergen) and overwhelming (Fraiberg), painful (Féré, Moll, Kinsey et al.), ecstatic and biographically superior⁵³, as well as “endless” (Fox, Stekel), and accompanied by various degrees of alteration of consciousness, including temporary black-out.

Most informative cases have been incidental ones. Behavioural psychologist Skinner described his own dry orgasm around age 11⁵⁴. “Meinen ersten Orgasmus hatte ich mit vier”, opens Swiss Nella Martinetti’s biography⁵⁵. Rare clinical observations of female orgasm at age 6 or 7 were reported in detail by Frenkel (1993:p180) who previously reported an anamnestic case (Frenkel, 1991). Again, this case suggests withdrawal of environmental awareness, with a postorgasmic state.

Hall (1904:p438) observed:

“The first orgasm, especially if forced at premature age, consists in a general and diffused glow and exhilaration of the sense of well-being even before emission is possible. This gives a heightened sense of the value of life, and a flush of ecstasy and joy that tinges the world with a glory that is far more than sensuous. But before this function is well developed the Nemesis of depression follows hard after these exaltations, and both states arouse thought and fancy in new directions and with a vividness unknown before”.

Another case:

“I remember the shock and fear that followed my first orgasm. Without knowing it, I had been masturbating in the attic of my aunt’s house where I had discovered a pile of girlie magazines. The unexpected orgasm was astonishing and thrilling, but at the end of it, I discovered, to my shock, that my shirt and the magazine were covered with a substance I hadn’t known existed. I cleaned myself up (even at that early point I was clear that for my relatives—especially for my mother and my aunt—the mysterious substance would be seen as a form of dirtiness), and I spent the remainder of the day walking around with my arms and hands in odd configurations in front of my shirt in the hope of avoiding detection. From that time on, I was alert to the fact that every indulgence of my desire for sex would produce evidence the discovery of which, I was sure, could be humiliating” (MacDonald, 1999:p197).

Another case:

“My God. I can recall my first orgasm at age eight, the sudden surprise of tipping over into new space, new muscles doing new dances, all of it” (Slater, 1998:p153).

⁵² See also Leite and Buoncompagno (1995) and Brongersma (1986:p147-55)

⁵³ Other cases, such as reported by Bernard (1975:p24) claim equality in productive and non-productive orgasmic quality.

⁵⁴ Skinner (1976:p64-5). “[...] although I was too young to ejaculate, I had my first orgasm. The only effect was that my penis began to hurt badly. I was panic-stricken: I had broken it! I got up and walked down to the ledge of rocks alongside the creek in despair”. Also quoted in Allgeier & Allgeier (1984:p411)

⁵⁵ Baumann-von Arx, G. (2000) *Fertig Lustig, Eine Nahaufnahme*. Bern: Zytglogge Verlag

Another case:

"I cannot recall the exact date of my first masturbation or the circumstances leading to it, but I remember vividly the traumatic moments after I had completed the act. I didn't know what I had done or what had happened. Boy, was I scared!" [note the orgasmic definition of masturbation, or masturbatory definition of orgasm] (Martinson, 1994).

Orgasm may form the anticlimax of an otherwise agreeable "primal scene". Rather than fascination (Sandfort, 1980:p191), a boy may be frightened by his (first) observing (adult) orgasm (Oskamp, 1980:p96, as cited by Brongersma, 1990 [II], p279-80): "I thought it was a kind of disease".

Quoted in a study by Perkins (1991):

"My very first sexual experience was with this little girl over the road. We used to go down into this huge garden where we lived and we used to do this fantasy masturbation theme with hoses and stethoscopes. I can remember having orgasms at five. They were definitely orgasms, and she did too. They were definitely sexual because we would take our clothes off and both reach orgasm. Then we weren't interested in the game any more. We used to play these games two or three times a week".

Morrison et al. (1980:p3) quote a male: "I was an avid masturbator from about age ten on. Climax back then was unreal. The intense feelings kept building until I could no longer bear to manipulate my penis". Villinger (1926:p124-5) reported on orgasm from early childhood:

"Merkwürdig wird sie keineswegs immer im Genitale selber empfunden, sondern von guten Beobachtern ins Becken und die Gesäß- (nicht speziell Anal-) gegend verlegt, wo ein Gefühl von wohliger, eigentlich kitzelnder und erregender Wärme und Dehnung "wie von einschießendem Blut" entsteht. Dies bildet den Höhepunkt, der nur unter energischer mechanischer Genitalreizung erreicht wird, sich nicht festhalten läßt und langsam wieder absinkt. Von männlichen Individuen weiß ich, daß diese Form sich bald nach eintritt der ersten Ejakulation ändert und von da ab immer mehr dem bekannten Erlebnistyp gleicht".

Fox (1993), on the basis of an informal and unstructured survey of 100 men's accounts concluded positively on the existence of male prepubertal multiorgasticity. Relating to age 3 and onward, 82% of males described what Fox from personal experience identifies as "boyhood bliss". Including "ripples" of continuous, smaller climaxes preceding the major ending or quiet cessation of the activity" (p24), 63 males would report a disappointment in the onset of ejaculation regarding these prolonged orgasmic states.

These resemble one of the two types of orgasm proposed by Stekel⁵⁶ (1950 [1961:p22-4]). In Stekel's typology, "We may recognize two forms [of childhood orgasm]: a progressive orgasm followed by release of tension or a lightly accentuated but more or less permanent orgastic state". It was not identified how Stekel got to this classification.

⁵⁶ Stekel's sources remain unspecified. He also knew that some "Kinder beim Orgasmus tierische Laute ausstoßen, z. B. Bellen oder Krähen" (1922:p55).

In a study by Brackbill and Brackbill (1963), people were asked about their first orgasmic experience. The most frequently reported affect was said to be *bewilderment*. As a disappointment feature, ages are not offered, and the results are not systematically presented. Martinson (1973:p95) quotes an autobiographical case (age 12), [strongly suggestive of multi-orgasticity]:

“Well, he [other boy] began to manually stimulate me, and the sensation was so great at orgasm I honestly remember that I made him stop for a second. Then I asked him to start again and the sensation came back and I made him stop again. I was too young to ejaculate anything, but it sure felt good. We repeated the cycle at least ten times before we quit”.

13 Knowing Orgasm (Together with Some Ethnographics)

Gagnon (1977:p83-5) writes:

“It is possible to imagine a social order that does make orgasm an early and constant activity on the part of the child, an activity as important as eating, running, jumping, getting good grades, learning to read and to smile. It could even be made gender-specific [...]. In such a society it is likely that orgasm and orgasm seeking would be characteristic of most children; however, it would be so not because of the innate desire to have orgasm, but because the activity was socially highly valued”.

The average age of *orgasm knowledgability* has been researched only scantily. The average age of first knowledge in an online sample of male balloon fetishists was 12.05 (Gates, 2001). Sarnoff and Sarnoff (1979:p112-4) provoked that “true awareness of the orgasmic experience” is possible first in early childhood, while earlier orgasms may be forgotten.

Only a very limited number of ethnographers refer to early orgasm and orgasm knowledgability, as I have argued elsewhere (Janssen, 2002). Some authors mention it en passant. Pangkahila and Pangkahila (1997) note on **Indonesia**: “Although some parents report that they watch their *children* pleasuring themselves *to orgasm*, many parents are afraid when they discover their children self-pleasuring because they believe this to be an abnormal act” (*ital.add.*). “To the Polynesian, sex is life itself: the entire cycle of birth, love-making, death- and then eternal life through one’s seed. It is all-embracing, like the weather or the sea, and it is talked about as freely. Even the small children on **Ra’ivavae** know that *navenave* means to experience the orgasm, and they understand that both men and women are capable of it. According to Marshall (1962:p241)⁵⁷, Ra’ivavae children have an understanding of orgasm, but, possibly not of their own ability: “Even the small children on Ra’ivavae know that *navenave* means to experience the orgasm, and they understand that both men and women are capable of it”. Suggs (1966:p45) writes:

“Young [**Marquesan**] boys from the age of six or seven upward gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation contests. The object of these contests is too see who can experience

⁵⁷ See also Van Ussel (1975:p90-1)

orgasm and/or ejaculate (*manini, haka te'a*), first. Naturally, the younger members of these groups are physiologically incapable of ejaculation, and their participation evidently is based on their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the actual manipulation of the genitals and from observing the behaviors of others".

Devereux (1951 [1967:p98]), although hesitatingly, agreed to the fact that, "because of the child's inability to achieve a true orgasm, the entire tension [associated with a primal scene experience] cannot be abreacted in a massive and climactic manner, and that, because of the oedipal fantasies which accompany it, the defensive masturbatory act itself may, in some instances, further increase anxiety and tension". He continues to observe that the **Mohave** believed in dry orgasm in small children. He also seems to infer that "because of cultural conditioning and the absence of a latency period, the Mohave child has a somewhat greater orgasmic capacity than has the occidental child, although there can be no doubt that this capacity is still considerably inferior to that of the adults, and does not suffice therefore to release in a massive and climactic manner *all* tensions generated by the witnessing of the primal scene" (*ital.in orig.*). Edwardes and Masters (1961:p81) commented on **Oriental** children that "orgasm is achieved easily and rapidly at each contact, because the mind and senses of the child are not disciplined like those of the adult".

14 *Anxietas and Orgasmarche*

The element of anxiety is interesting, at least from a psychodynamic point of view. Laforgue (1931) wondered: "Is it possible that the erotic fear (*l'angoisse*) may be the infantile form of orgasm, and may account for erotic dreams?" Root (1962) observed that

"[I]n children are more unwilling than adolescent children to bring anxiety dreams into analysis. The anxiety dream is an attempt to achieve orgasmic discharge that fails to materialise. These children seem to become addicted to anxiety excitement. The anxiety dream may also be viewed as a "somasochistic discharge" like a temper tantrum. Anxiety inhibits full discharge which is hungered for but fantasized as total destruction. Being overwhelmed by anxiety in the dreaming or waking state represents failure of mastery over the excessively stimulated sexual and aggressive drives".

Rosen (1979:p39) wrote that

"[i]n early childhood, pre-genital sexual seduction is traumatic because the intensity of the experience is beyond the infant's capacity to endure it. The ego anxiety aroused by being out of control is countered by the hyper-libidinization accompanying the pleasure in the experience".

Anorgasmia has been widely suggested as a source of tension caused by masturbation. Anxiety provoking qualities of first orgasm may postpone orgasm regularity. Little, however, is known about this attitude. Keiser (1947) enumerated some adult fears as occurring in the preorgasmic state: overfilling, evisceration (overemptying), convulsion, death, incontinence, addiction, commitment, etc. Secondary reading provides clues that some of these fears are indeed encountered in children as well as postpubertals and that they might indeed postpone a postinitiatory second orgasm attempt. The delay of an "orgasmic identity", thus, may be tentatively regarded as normative in the industrial West. Apart from the fact that virtually all verbal and practical socialisation is absent, at least *before* orgasmarche, it could

be assumed that parents fear infant and childhood orgasm for its presumed negative qualities, probably addiction⁵⁸. Simultaneously, the first and subsequent orgasm, as it is most often experienced *ex masturbationem*, is coupled with, above all, an active and personal identity.

15 Further on Pathogenesis

Orgasmic or tensional conditioning has been cited as a contributing cause of erotic preference by Binet, Schrenck-Notzing, Kreft-Ebing, and many others. Hardy's appetitional theory of "sexual" motivation decided that in childhood, the affective fundament of this motivation lays in preorgasmic arousal, that is, "without the potent affect associated with orgasm" (1964:p8, 16). However, he is not sure about the timing of "true sexual arousal (lust)" (p10-1). MacGuire et al. (1965)⁵⁹ suggested that the nature of the first sexual experience followed by orgasm is critical for the establishment of erotic orientation. Montagu (1986) quotes Oliven (1955) in pointing out that "[...] spanking on the buttocks may produce distinctively erotic sensations in children, including sexual orgasm. Children have been known to misbehave deliberately in order to receive such desired "punishment", pretending to be distressed while experiencing it" (cf. Johnson, 1994). A possible equivalent of this was provided by Denko (1976, case 7) in which a later klismaphiliac recalls his first remembered enema being accompanied by "an erection and a tingling sensation in his anus that ran all the way up to the base of the skull, which he now calls a "mini-orgasm" ". The normative role of orgasmic conditioning for erotic orientation has not been established.

16 Prespermarchic Ejaculation? On "Prostatarche"

Eighteenth century European parents probably knew the difference between a "Leerlaufstadium" (ejaculation without sperm) and the subsequent "Funktionsstadium" (Van Ussel, 1967:153/1968 [1971:p173])⁶⁰. Evans-Pritchard (1974:p19) on the Azande's concept of ejacularche: "The first time a boy gets an erection with sperm in clearing a way in his penis it may trouble him while it makes a way. When it happens and he for the first time ejaculates sperm it is hot for him like fire. After that he begins to ejaculate coolly. The first sperm just comes like water for a long time, for about three months, then real sperm begins to come [...]" Evans-Pritchard (1932):

"Azande say that in the early stages of male puberty the seminal fluid (nzira) does not contain souls of children (mbisimo gude) and it is only when a boy blossoms into manhood that his semen becomes fertile. That the souls of children are connected by a simple inference with the presence of spermatozoa in the seminal fluid is shown by the statement that the fluid becomes fertile when it ceases to have the

⁵⁸ Biosophical pathologising of masturbation throughout the centuries has focussed on the presumed neurological consequences of, and this is not often made explicit, orgasm. Another problem in the masturbation literature is that ages were not always regarded as crucial factors, and were omitted or vague in the discussion of the orgasmic pathology of the nervous system.

⁵⁹ They do not cite prepubertal cases. See further a discussion by Stoller (1985:p117-9,120).

⁶⁰ Van Ussel refers to Zeller, and among "vele natuurvolkeren".

appearance of water and becomes thick and slimy like the yolk of an egg [...]. Semen is thought to cause a boy's first ejaculation by collecting at the root of the penis and forcing its way out. This first ejaculation of semen is somewhat painful since the semen 'burns like fire' but afterwards the boy ejaculates without difficulty though for a long time his seminal fluid is like water. A boy of about 12-14 years of age is said to have orgasms without emissions; from about 14 to 16 his emissions are 'merely like urine' and contain no mbesimo gude; at about 17 years of age they contain mbesimo gude⁶¹. A man considers himself capable of procreating children so long as he is able to ejaculate sperm".

Some older authors mention the expulsion of fluid before a genuine "ejaculation", implying sperm, is noticed. Kormann (1872:p293) mentions that boys manipulate their genital organs so long, that "der Erguss einer in früheren Jahren rein schleimigen Flüssigkeit, später wirklich Samens stattgefunden hat, wornach entweder das Befriedigungsgefühl eines natürlichen Coitus oder ein Zustand höchster Ermattung zu folgen pflegt". Vogel ([1887:p451]) mentions that "Knaben die über 10 Jahre alt sind, bringen es durch längeres Onaniren endlich zur Ejaculation einer schleimigen Flüssigkeit; ob dieselbe schon Samenfäden enthält, ist meines Wissens noch nicht untersucht worden, es könnte möglicher Weise auch prostatistischer Saft sein". Steiner ([1873:p334]) also mentions the slimy fluid. Albert Moll (1898:p48) found that a mother of an 11-year-old boy frequently caught him in the act of genital play, and often found an efflux of "Feuchtigkeit". Moll had the stains examined by one Dr. Kutner, who found no spermatozoa. "Ungewiss ist, ob es Prostatasekret ist; wahrscheinlich aber scheint es Herrn Dr. Kutner, das es sich um einen Ausfluss aus der Harnröhre handelt, die durch die vielen manuellen Reizungen entzündet sein dürfte". Moll (1908 [1912:p56-9]) later discussed this issue in extenso.

"In my own investigations on the subject, I have been able to learn nothing regarding the occurrence in children of any *urethrorrhoea ex libidine*; and my information relates only to the true ejaculation of a fluid. I have seen a few cases in which such ejaculation occurred in boys at the early age of twelve years, although this is quite exceptional, and, as already mentioned, in such cases the ejaculated fluid contains no spermatozoa.

In the case of women, what has been said of the glands of Cowper applies equally to the glands of Bartholin, the homologues of the former both as regards significance and development. The glands of Bartholin also begin to secrete in sexually immature girls, and even in children. It must be added that when ejaculation occurs in sexually immature girls, the products of other glands are probably intermingled with the secretion of the glands of Bartholin (mucous glands of the uterus, of the cervix uteri, the vagina, the vulva, and perhaps also of the urethra). I have distinguished the simple outflow of secretion from its forcible expulsion—from true ejaculation. This latter demands the rhythmical activity of certain muscles, such as takes place during coitus. The question arises, whether such muscular activity can occur before any fluid has been formed capable of being ejaculated. When I compare what is published in the literature of the subject with what I have myself observed in this connexion, I regard the following points as definitely established. There are certain cases, and these in young persons of both sexes, in which typical rhythmical muscular contractions take place in the child, although no ejaculated fluid is discoverable. It remains doubtful, however, whether a small quantity of secretion, overlooked by the observer, and perhaps not even recognisable, may not, after all, be ejaculated. I consider it probable that this is so. Moreover, we must not forget that the rhythmical muscular contractions, which in the adult effect ejaculation, are able to expel the fluid from the urethra only when this fluid is present in sufficient quantity. When the quantity is minimal the fluid is retained for a time in that

⁶¹ The Zande does not speak of people as of so many years of age. The ages given above are my estimates for actual persons designated as examples by my informants [orig. footnote]

passage, owing to the frictional resistance of the urethra, and is perhaps not expelled until the next act of micturition. Some may, of course, object to denote such a process by the word ejaculation; but I myself see no reason why the term should not be extended to include the rhythmical muscular contraction both in the child and the adult, even in cases in which there is not sufficient fluid secretion in the urethra for this to be visibly extruded by these contractions⁶².

Stier (1910:p326) found reported on a mentally retarded boy, aged 7 years, whose mother found “gelbliche Flecke”, which Stier interpreted as an ejaculation, “eine Erscheinung, die im 7. Lebensjahre relativ selten ist, und für gewöhnlich erst am Beginn oder kurz vor der Pubertätsentwicklung aufzutreten pflegt”⁶³. Ziehen (1917:p363) remarks in a footnote: “Ausdrücklich sei bemerkt, daß im Ejakulat bei dieser Onanie des Kindesalters bis in die Pubertät hinein Spermatozoen in der Regel ganz fehlen”. Clearly citing Freud, Noorduynd (1915:p7) notes [tentative translation footnoted]: “De sexueel prikkeling uit den zuigelingentijd keert terug in der kinderjaren (de tijd is nog niet met juistheid aan te geven) als een zekere jeukprikkeling die tot onanie voert, of geeft pollutieachtige uitvloeiingen, analoog aan de later geregeld optredende polluties, welke slijmafscheidingen vooral bij meisjes optreden”⁶⁴. Sandfort (1986:p68) also describes this *ejaculatory transition phase*, as observed by adult males, in 13-year-olds; here, the “transparent” fluid is not ejaculated, but oozes out.

As reported many times, infant and toddler lubrication led parents to search for stains as an indicator for masturbation⁶⁵. Garnier (p241, as quoted by Guyon, 1929:p61) noted “émission d’un sperme liquide et mal préparé” in nine or ten-year-olds. Moreau (1888), writing on childhood nymphomania, included the example of a girl with “furniture masturbation” at 3 “with strong ejaculation”; the age at which this begins does not become apparent. On the basis of interviews with people incarcerated for sexual offences against minors, Borneman (1990:p202) stated that “[b]oy’s ejaculatory discharge develops prior to polluarche and masturbarche”.

17 A Sidestep: Spermarche

“Normal figures for semen volume, semen liquefaction, spermatozoal concentration, and morphology are observed 12-14 months after first ejaculation. The percentage of normally motile spermatozoa becomes standard 21-23 months after first ejaculation. There were

⁶² Moll was quoted on this subject by Klinger (1939): “Ejaculations also appear in boys even before puberty, that is, when there are as yet no spermatozoa in the seminal fluid. Sperm in a boy’s ejaculate appears for the first time between the 13th and 16th year of life, while the earliest ejaculations observed during boys’ masturbation have been noted already at the age of 10. Such early ejaculate consists of excretions of ducts and sex hormones (Cowper & Littre’s) without sperm and without the products of the prostate gland, which is not yet functioning at this stage”.

⁶³ More stains on p329.

⁶⁴ “The sexual stimulus of the infantile period returns in the childhood years (a period which can not as yet be indicated with precision) as a species of itching causing masturbation, or pollution-like expulsions, analogously to the later frequent pollutions, which mucous secretions mostly occur in girls” [DJ].

⁶⁵ Edwardes and Masters (1961:p138-9), however, argue that “there is no secretion of lubricating fluid in prepubescent children”. This would explain the use of saliva, and vaginitis in case of repeated coitus.

changes in semen characteristics from azoospermia through cryptozoospermia, oligozoospermia, and asthenozoospermia to normospermia. Azoospermia dominates until the fifth month after the first ejaculation, oligozoospermia from the sixth to the eleventh month, asthenozoospermia from the twelfth to the twentieth month, and normospermia from the twenty-first month" (Janczewski and Bablok, 1985).

Guizar et al. (1992) found that in Mexican boys, spermaturia occurred at median age of 13.4 ($SD= 1.01$) year, at median height of 155.2 (8.9) cm, and at Tanner stage G2P1. Nielsen et al. (1986) also found a median 13.4 (range=11.7-15.3, median P2.5), while Schaefer et al. (1990) found a median spermaturistic age of 14.1. Bornman et al. (1990) found a mean age of Tswanan boys with spermaturia of 14.95 +/- 0.85.

None of the spermaturia studies, however, report ejacularche. Indeed, spermarche analysis is done with repetitive morning urine samples because "[e]stablishing spermatogenesis by masturbation in maturing boys may be considered inappropriate" (Hirsch et al., 1985). In cryptorchids the first ejaculation may be slightly later and the frequency of nocturnal emissions in pubescence may be lower (Raboch et al., 1977).

Pedersen et al. (1993) found that spermaturia was not associated with secondary sex characteristics; neither is ejacularche (Naron et al., 1980). "Spermaturia in non-virilised boys is probably a result of spontaneous, continuous, or intermittent flow in contrast with the peristaltic flow in ejaculations and nocturnal emissions", "occurring at a later stage of puberty when androgen levels become high enough to allow ejaculation" [p386]⁶⁶. Nysom et al. (1994) likewise reported spermaturia in two normal boys with testicular volumes of 3 ml and no other signs of puberty. "This supports the hypothesis that spermatogenesis can begin before any other signs of puberty and indicates that the definition of start of puberty as testicular volumes of 4 ml or more may be too rigorous".

Spermarche age is informative in sperm retrieval issues related to iatrogenic infertility. For instance, Schmiegelow et al. (1998) described semen retrieval methods applicable in pubertal boys with a fertility potential, although not "psychologically ready" to produce a semen sample, who are likely to become infertile because of anticancer therapy. Self-applied penile vibratory stimulation and electroejaculation (in general anaesthesia) are techniques successfully used in boys aged 13 and 14 years. Muller et al. (2000) further report that they only considered boys of Tanner stage 3 or more "able to deliver a semen sample"[p192]. "Presence of spermatozoa in the urine is not tantamount to the ability to produce a semen sample". In a sample of Kliesch et al. (1996), the lowest age was 14.

Kim et al. (1997) found that more parental marital conflict in early childhood, less emotional closeness to father throughout childhood, and more aggressiveness, unruliness, and externalizing symptoms (aggressiveness/unruliness) in late childhood were associated with earlier spermarche. Earlier spermarche was associated with earlier age at dating women, more girlfriends, higher likelihood of having had intercourse, and more intercourse partners.

18 The Pollution Enigma

⁶⁶ The authors do consider two reports on ejacularche, but do not discuss orgasmarche.

The function of male pollutions, and ejaculatory masturbation, Levin (1975) argues, may lie in the avoidance of teratozoospermia. Likewise, male postejaculatory masturbation is a way of titrating sperm quality so as to optimise it for next copulation (Baker and Bellis, 1993; Bellis and Baker, 1995) [a legitimisation for pre-ejaculatory masturbation thus reads that it precipitates *perpubescent* continuance]⁶⁷. So, after legitimising these phenomena biologically, does their *sociology* suggest a problematisation curriculum? In pre-1900 studies, pollutions were considered symptomatic, diagnostic, and prognostic for Onanist disease. According to Money (1999), Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris and Dean of the Cathedral School of Notre Dame, was one of the first to publish information concerning nocturnal wet dreams and boyhood masturbation. Since then few if any papers have been dedicated to the phenomenon, and few if any clinical studies are available on its normative occurrence. Whether polluarache accounts as orgasmarche, thus remains debated, since the psychological, behavioural and physical nature of pollution remains speculative. For instance, does it entail hypnopompic *frictio membri*? This would be problematised when “pollutions” would occur diurnally (suggested by Furman, 1975:p227-8), and when giving attention to such clinical oddities as *female* prepubescent nocturnal orgasmic dreams (suggested by Moll, 1909:p86 [1912:p95] and Hamilton, 1929:p313).

Polluarache age, as is the timing of “erotic” dreams, has been researched at a minimum. Wulffen (1910:p184; 1913:p255) stated: “Die schon im Kindesalter eintretende Pollution ist ein Symptom für einen früh erwachten, gewöhnlich dann auch starken Geschlechtstrieb”⁶⁸. Adolescents have commonly been plagued by emissions, possibly due to insufficient parental preparation (e.g., Paonesa and Paonessa, 1971; Hockenberry et al., 1996).

Adolescents may confuse emissions with enuresis (Sugar, 1974), or be otherwise concerned over their occurrence (Raymond et al, 1968). Stein and Reiser (1993:p377) reported a 31% initial confusion of first semen with urine. In a Tanzanian study (Leshabari, 1988), 10% of boys initially interpreted ejaculatory as injurious.

The psychological correlates of ejaculation and pollution phenomena in precocious puberty cases are not clear. Money and Alexander (1969:p117) report on “erotic imagery in dreams and daydreams” in cases of male precocious puberty followed longitudinally (N=18). “The earliest reported dreams with sex content and nocturnal emission occurred in one boy at age 5”, and at age 6.5 in another two.

19 Early Non-Orgasmia Pathologised

The concept of sexual dysfunction in children is rarely acknowledged in the literature. Haroian (1986:p321-2) briefly touches upon childhood “psychosexual dysfunction”, when writing:

“Psychosexual dysfunctions, characterized by inhibitions in sexual desire or the physiological changes that characterize the sexual response cycle, are undiagnosable in children, although there is reason to

⁶⁷ For a discussion, see also Thomsen, R. (Oct., 2000) *Sperm Competition and the Function of Masturbation in Japanese Macaques (Macaca fuscata)*. Dissertation, Fakultät für Biologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München [edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/archive/00000105/01/Thomsen_Ruth.pdf]. The discussion does not address ejaculatory or masturbatory.

⁶⁸ Wulffen (1910:p63) quoted Freud’s “pollutionartiger Vorgang”.

assume that they may be manifest. There is no help for children who have developmental sexual problems (i.e., arousal, orgasm, pain, guilt, low sensation, etc.). [...] Although there are no studies on sexual dysfunction in childhood, retrospective sex histories of adults and case histories of children in psychotherapy suggest that all is not well [...]. Until we better understand the development of the erotic response through childhood and adolescence, and until normative behavior gradients are established, children's sexual needs will not be properly addressed by the mental health community".

Fraiberg (1972) finds that "[t]here is strong evidence [...] that there may be a prototype for frigidity in the genital anesthesias of [the] latency [period]. These observations suggest that dread of penetration and the fear of the orgasmic explosion encountered in many frigid adult women may have antecedents in infantile experience" (p465) due to a fearful reaction to vaginal discharge⁶⁹. According to Fraiberg, this explosion is better referred to as "peaks of excitement", or "an explosive discharge that has the characteristics of orgasm, even if it may not be identical with orgasm" (p474). A male equivalent is also suggested (Fraiberg, 1962). This *horror orgasmicus* could lead to what Rohleder identified as *masturbatio interrupta* (no orgasm) or perhaps *incompleta* (i.e., orgasmus sine ejaculatione).

A surprising exception to the exclusion of the child in the sex therapy curriculum is made by Thore Langfeldt, a Norwegian sexologist who in the late 1970s issued the existence of child sexual dysfunction⁷⁰. He states:

"It is quite a new area in sexual pathology to even talk about sexual dysfunction in children. From a theoretical point of view there is no reason to assume that sexual problems originate only in adulthood [...]. One of the most typical sexual dysfunctions in children is hypermasturbation. No effort so far has been made to analyse what hypermasturbation is all about. Clinical studies so far [Langfeldt, 1986; unpublished] have demonstrated that hypermasturbation is a symptom due to an inability to achieve orgasm in children who have previously experienced or nearly experienced orgasm, or in children who have retarded orgasm. Careful interviews and observations with these children down to 3 years of age showed clearly the inability to achieve orgasm"⁷¹.

Langfeldt suggests changing masturbatory techniques and patterns, using vibrators in multi-handicapped children and adolescents, and model learning, or using film or video. He also comments on early impotence [at age 12]. Langfeldt (1981b) sums up what would be 6 *widely experienced* sexual problems of children: difficulty in achieving a proper erection or lubrication, delayed orgasm, anorgasm (in spite of masturbatory activity, muscular pain during orgasm, depression, anxiety or guilt feelings after masturbating to orgasm, and repressed sensation, little or no feeling about masturbation to orgasm (p71).

⁶⁹ Kramer and Rudolph (1980:p113) agree that in some latency girls, "the intensity of the orgasmic experience with transient loss of ego boundaries is so frightening that inhibition of masturbation follows [...]. Boys may also be disturbed by the intensity of their response to masturbation [...]".

⁷⁰ In 1980, he writes: "The child seems to consider its sexuality with the same importance as do adults. Loss of the sexual ability in children or development of sexual anxiety creates big problems in the child as it does in adults. But children lack the social linguistic structures in order to both formulate their problems and to get some support for solving their problems. Children are mostly left alone with their sexual problems and therefore we do not know the extend of these [...]. Childhood sexuality should not only be seen as a developing process but as a value itself for the child. When children get sexual problems they put as much effort in solving their problems as do adults, but children mostly have to fool around with their problems, alone and often without conceptual structures [...]".

⁷¹ Ormezzano (1975) anticipated this hypothesis.

20 Anorgasmia, Pathological Masturbation Categories and Pathogenetic Experiences

This (*secondary anorgasmia*)⁷² has proved a useful concept in the case presented by Janzen and Peacock (1978) on a 9-year-old girl with classroom public “masturbation”:

“Masturbation was accomplished by either rocking back and forth on the edge of her seat or rubbing herself with her hands. The intensity of such behaviour ranged from a casual rocking motion during which time she attended to her work, to a very intense and rapid motion at which time her desk moved, her eyes appeared to become glassy, her face became flushed, and her breathing became deep and rapid. It was never established whether she actually achieved orgasm” (p303).

Langfeldt would have argued that she probably did not. This raises the question whether other instances of “excessive” masturbation are in fact cases of childhood secondary orgasmic dysfunction. A contemporary case was discussed by Ferguson and Rekers (1979) who treated a 4-year-old girl’s public (*and* “excessive”) masturbation, after school teachers feared that other children would learn the behaviour, and suspended her from school until remission of the public component would be effectuated [they claimed that it caused distraction]. Untreated frequency and duration in natural environments were not communicated. After discussing the possible paediatric and psychological dispositions, they add:

“It could be argued that this is a case of sex (genital) play rather than of masturbation. If so, it could be proposed that the child’s sexual activity was prolonged and excessive because she was not experiencing orgasm, if, indeed, she was capable of experiencing orgasm. If this was genital play rather than masturbation, some would question whether suppression of her “need” was better therapy than expression of it. Why not teach her to masturbate to orgasm? [...]. Masturbation was defined by the teacher and the parents. Consequently, no theoretical necessity prompted us to differentiate genital play from masturbation. A behavior was occurring that could be clearly defined and that was excessive [?], especially in the social setting. With this situation, it is incumbent upon therapists to intervene for the presenting behavior problem” (p220).

However, orgasmic cases of masturbation⁷³ all judged compulsive / excessive, have been recognised by McCray (1978), in an 11-year-old girl by Wagner (1969), in a 4.5-year-old girl by Bitter-Lebert (1956:p44) and in another 4-year-old girl by Pearson (1951:p223-37). A further dubious case of frequent public toddler (5y) masturbation is presented by Dutch professor Kamp (1971, case C): “It is not clear whether [he] attains an orgasmic climax while masturbating. When he begins, he usually continues a long time, sometimes a whole day” (p359; transl. DJ). However, there was transpiration and pallor. Mittelman (1955), lastly, presented a case of prolonged masturbation, in which the duration of the activity, including intercourse-like movements, was thought to be related to, amongst other factors, an inability

⁷² Perry (1992) does not specify age when coining the “syndrome” *preorgasmia*.

⁷³ Excessiveness could be facilitated by inefficient technique. Sank’s (1998) third case remembered masturbating from the age of 3 years. He would stimulate himself “until he urinated”, and then he would stop.

to reach “relief from tension (orgasm) because of the loss of the love object and his fears of abandonment and genital injury” (p250).

A most exhaustively researched association exists between female childhood sexual abuse and “adult” orgasmic dysfunction. This, however, may be an artefact in a cultural design that promotes the association of a psychiatrically stigmatised experience with subsequent arousal, libido, fantasy, cognitive, attitudinal and relational behaviour implicitly conform an “abuse script”. Due to cultural “priorities”, too little is known about these “environmental” processes to warrant any conclusion on possible (if any) causative mechanisms. Indeed, Adams (1953) concluded that, for his sample, the degree of sexual responsiveness depended almost completely upon “psychosexual conditioning” and that the most crucial factor in unresponsiveness was “learned repression and inhibition” having “their genesis in earliest childhood, perhaps as early as the first week of infancy”. It appears that causative speculations regarding female anorgasmia refer to “cultural” academic curricula more than they do to any rigors in the psychoneuroendocrinological discipline.

21 A Biosocial Apology for Early Orgasm?

Cocchi and Rocca (1977; see also Cocchi, 1977)⁷⁴ suggested that

“[c]hildhood masturbation is closely tied to depression [a presupposition contradicted by Landreth, as cited in Calderone, 1985] and has the function of impeding deeper depression and maintaining the integrity of the organism. Activities such as masturbation, as well as giving actual somatic satisfaction, reduce the activity of the reticular system. Orgasm in the child, as in the adult, is accompanied by an increase in arterial pressure and a discharge of adrenalin. The antidepressive compensation of masturbation may occur through a replacement of the noradrenergic component necessary in the maintenance of normothymy, which because of its temporary nature has to be repeated”.

22 Physiological Requirements: Prepubertal Phallic Response

Fürbringer thought that erections started at age 15, while providing an example of “masturbation” at age 5. We see here demonstrated that terminology, together with some degree of attitude, in childhood sexuality studies has been most critical in determining eroticism as a “developmental” concept.

There are innumerable accounts of so-called physiological, spontaneous, or reflex erections in children. Fifteen minutes of in utero “masturbation” have been documented ultrasonographically in a boy 28 weeks gestation age (Meizner, 1987), as is fetal erection (Sherer et al., 1990; Koyanagi et al., 1991; Shirozu et al., 1995), which is probably related to

⁷⁴ Data on the correlates of masturbation are rare. In “the first controlled study investigating the clinical and the developmental features of childhood masturbation”, Unal (2000) found that in children with masturbation, sleep difficulties were more frequent ($p < 0.001$) and breast-feeding was shorter than in paediatric controls ($p < 0.05$).

REM sleep. These observations, making Calderone's "scalp prickle" (1983; 1985:p700), have led French sexologists to re-issue the concept of "fetal sexuality" (Broussin and Brenot, 1994, 1995)⁷⁵, a hardly more sophisticated attempt than Calderone's.

Providing a normative baseline situating clinical presumptions⁷⁶, nocturnal phalloplethysmographic data on prepubertal subjects are very rare. Data from recordings using an apparatus detailed by Karacan (1969) described nocturnal penile tumescence in infants (Karacan, 1966; Karacan et al., 1968), boys from the age of three years upward, (Karacan et al., 1975; 1976; Jovanović, 1972) and during early puberty (Karacan et al., 1972). Data collected through other methods are presented by Halverson (1938, 1940) and Clarke et al. (1937). In diagnostic settings, a bottom age of 11 (Becker et al., 1989) is found. More observations are done by Blanton (1917), Conn and Kanner (1940), Pierce et al. (1961), Wolff (1966, cited by Fisher et al., 1965), Korner (1968,1969), and Dement (1966:p297) Questionnaire data are available by Ramsey (1943/1950), and Kinsey et al. (1948).

23 *The Vertical Politics of Orgasmarche: Input for a "Delay Theory" (cf. §12.4.1)*

Meyer (1996:p100) conceptualised orgasm as a behavioural tool mastered by the adult, in contrast to the child, and utilised in defining sexual reality of the child with this "superior orgasmic technology". Indeed, it seems that orgasm enters the stage of information hierarchies. Orgasm is rarely communicated to prepubescent children as an immediate possibility, even in "progressive" texts⁷⁷. Some books explicitly deny the possibility of prepubertal age orgasm (Stoppard, 1997) in answer to a specific question (p34). The possibility, however, is infrequently suggested to parents (e.g., Van der Doef, 1994:p57). A Dutch instructional guide to masturbation (Lammers, 1992), intended for 11 years and above, dry orgasm is described as possible, although perhaps "different" and less intense (p48); dry (p65, 66) and preschool (p71) orgasm are mentioned in personal retrospective accounts of adults. Two other Dutch children's booklets on ejaculation and masturbation, the issue of dry orgasm is not mentioned (Delfos, 1997, 1999; "research" by M. Gottmer). Orgasm is not a topic commonly discussed in books on sex education prepared for parents of children in U.S. society (Martinson, 1992; ref., 1994).

⁷⁵ Fetal "masturbation" was noted by Piontelli (1992:p46-7), and labelled as such by DeMause (1995). It is said that Liley (1965) was the first to report oromanual behaviour in utero. Postnatal exploration starts at a median of 23 weeks, with a lower extreme of 16 weeks (Kravitz et al., 1978). However, these data may be biased by "differences in the observational skills of the mothers", to put it lightly, and because some infants were kept in diapers constantly. Another study found a median of 24 weeks (Provence and Lipton, 1963:p73).

⁷⁶ Prepubertal erectile dysfunction may or may not be found associated with pre- or postoperative bladder extrophy (Woodhouse, 1998), meningomyelocele, myelodysplasia, pre- and postoperative tethered spinal cord (Boemers et al., 1995). Prepubertal erection is possibly unaffected in the case of micropenis (Reilly and Woodhouse, 1989).

⁷⁷ Reiss (1998) found that in instruction books for 14 to 16-year-olds "Ejaculation was mentioned in 12 of the 15 books; female orgasm in just five" [no mention of orgasmarche].

24 Conclusions

Insufficient data exist to warrant definite statements on the matter of prepubertal orgasticity (potentiality). Theoretically, there are as yet no verified psychoneuroendocrinological arguments against its occurrence or adult-equivalent nature before puberty. Future study, although particularly sensitive to ethical curricula, could add to the probability of suborgasmicity, developmental orgasm threshold level shifts due to hormonal influences, curricular multi-orgasticity, proto-orgasticity and pre-orgasticity. Some child psychoanalysts have suggested a frightening nature of the experience, resulting in both secondary masturbatory and orgasmic inhibition. However, the relevance of orgasm, and orgasmarche, in early “masturbation” remains speculative. As discussed elsewhere, early infantile orgasm and epilepsy, perhaps due to the possibility of “atypical” masturbatory technique, are prone to be confused by observers (Janssen, 2000 for a full review); a neurophysiological kinship, at least in some cases, cannot as yet be dismissed.

25 Tables

Table 1 *Orgasmarche: Age*⁷⁸

	Mean Age (SD)		Type Specification	Sample
	M	F		
Friedman and Stern (1980:p180); Friedman (1988:p196)	12.3 (hom) 12.0 (het)	-	25 mast., 3 noct.emiss., 6 mutual mast	Homosexual and heterosexual males, N=34; range 11-14
PARTNER II (1979/80) / etc.	15.657 (2.191)		[specific data available on ability to remember; mode of actualisation, age 10>]	German [DDR] students
	15.026 (1.652)			German [DDR] high school and academic students
PARTNER III (1990) / Weller (1993) /etc.	16.80 (3.24)		[specific data available on ability to remember; mode of actualisation, age [...]10>]	German [DDR] working people <44y
	13.366 (2.643)			German [DDR] homosexuals [range 6>]
	* (4.35 [1.338])			German [DDR] academic students
	* (3.962 [1.417])			Soviet academic students
Klausner (1961a)	-	14.18	-	Iraqi women
Klausner (1961b)	-	12.87	-	Israelese women
Davidson et al. (1989)	-	16.8 (N=753)	- (23.0 for orgasmarche in coitu)	Adult women
Green (1985)	12.87 (2.01)	12.25 (3.12)	Masturbatory	/
Bardeleben et al. (1995)	15,1	17.0	-	/
Gates (2001)	12.59	-	-	Balloon fetishists
Savin-Williams (1995)	12.6 (1.4)	-	-	Gay and bisexual youths
Califia (1979)	-	16.5	-	Lesbians
Alzate (1977, 1978)	14.1	17.0	-	Columbian university

⁷⁸ See reference list

				students
Chilton (1972)	13.6(0.56)	14.4 (0.85)	- (M+F =4.0 [0.51])	Monozygotic and same-sex dizygotic twins
Jackinworld (1997b)	12.8	-	Masturbatory	Online, self-selected
Alzate (1984)	-	18.1	-	Columbian university students

* Different scale

Table 2 *Orgasm: Early, Prepubertal and Pre-Ejaculatory*⁷⁹

	%		Specification ⁸⁰
	M	F	
Larsson and Svedin (2002)	6.3 / 42.5	7.0 / 20.4	6-10 / 11-12. Masturbatory
Klausner (1963/1971)	?	?	11,12,...; spontaneous: 9.8% age 11 and 12.2% age 12 in active Iraqi males; 5.2% and 10.5% for females [etc.]
Klausner (1961a)	2.4 (ejac?)	10.5	<12, spont. Petting to orgasm: none at age 11, 2.4(M) at age 12; and 5.2%(F) at age 11, which stays roughly the same till age 16
Klausner (1961b)	9.1 (ejac?)	10.5	<13, spont (0% at age 11); petting to orgasm: 0% (MF) at age 12
Kinsey et al. (1953)	-	9	≤11y
Kinsey et al. (1948)	26.6	-	≤11y
Yankowski (1965)	3.5;77.5	0.5;9	≤10y; 11-13
Jackinworld (1998)	45.7		Pre-ejaculatory
Q-Tip (2001)	49 (95%M)		≤11y
Davis (1929)	-	17.7	<11y
Gebhard et al. (1965)	25-62	-	Prepubertal, sex offenders

⁷⁹ See **reference list**

⁸⁰ Kaltiala-Heino et al. (2001) found that 16.9% of Finnish boys experience first ejaculation at or before age 11 ($N=18,510$), while only a few had so at or before age 10. Generalizing from this datum, dryness of orgasmarche could be considered a possibility in contemporary Scandinavian male orgasmarche before age 11.

Hite (1994)	-	>60	<11 or 12y
Hite (1981)	36	-	Dry
Eichner and Habermehl (1978:p58,203)	2 (<=12)	2 (<=13)	Orgasmarche in coitu
Van Wyk and Geist (1984)	25	10	Prepubertal, masturbatory

Table 3 “Ejacularche”: Age⁸¹

	Age (SD)	Specification
Klausner (1961a)	14.24	Mean
Klausner (1961b)	13.50	Mean
Chilton (1972)	13.7 (0.47)	Mean
Levin (1976:p178)	13.1 (0.16)	Mean; median: 13.17(N=142)
Kinsey et al. (1948:p184)	13.88	Mean; median: 13.77 (N=3,573)
Garcia et al. (1993)	14	-
Laron et al. (1980)	13.5 (0.5)	Bone age; range: 12.5-15.5
Ji (2001)	[14.3-14.7]	Median: 14.4 (urban), 14.6 (rural); 14.3, 14.6, and 14.7 for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd socioeconomic classes
Downs & Fuller (1991)	12.53	Mean
Gaddis & Brooks-Gunn (1985)	12.3	Mean
Vassilchenko (1980)	14.2 (0.13)	Mean (noct. emiss:51%; masturbatory:45%; in coitu:4%)
Manosevitz (1970)	12.59 (Ho); 13.44	-
Malina & Bouchard (1991) / Tanner (1990)	13	?
Kleinsorge & Klumbies (1959)	14	?
Ramsey (1943)	13.6	Mean
Asayama (1980)	11.7	Median
Knoth, Boyd & Singer (1988)	[12.4-13.1]	12.4; 12.6; 13.1; 12.9. Mean [4 samples]

⁸¹ See reference list

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13

*Bodies, Functions and Culture II*¹.

Instrumentalising and De-Instrumentalising the Coital Body

“Do you want me to be *Nyame ayewa*?”²

Summary: This chapter expands on the preceding chapter by demonstrating how (especially African) cultures actively promote or incapacitate the young body as an instrument for sexual use. The prosexual techniques include preparation of cunnus (beautification, elongation of labia pudenda), breasts (shaping, enlargement) vagina (introcision, artifical defloration, dilation), and extragenital areas (scarification, siccatriation, piercing, etc.); in males, techniques include phallopoesis and preputial preparation. The practices are self-directed or mutually, in other cases it is effected maternally, ceremonially or in less extreme informal age stratified situations. Morphological alterations demonstrate the degrees of instrumentalisation and authorisation of the coital body. Further, anatomical structures (e.g. foreskin) are appointed variable sexological *operationalisations* (definitions) which reflect culture’s tendency to intervene in and control developmental processes.

¹ For a full exposé on genital preparation and references, see a preparatory article, *Artefacts of Destiny: Anatomical Curricularisation of the Sexual Life Span*.

² Sarpong, P. (1977) *Girl’s Nubility Rites on Ashanti*. Tema, Ghana: Ghana Publ. Co., p16. “When I was a young boy, I remember noticing a girl rubbing clay on her chest, and, being curious about it, I asked why she was making herself dirty. She answered: “Do you want me to be *Nyame ayewa*? [i.e. ‘God’s little wife’—a euphemism for a perpetual spinster] I want my breasts to grow quickly”. Sarpong writes that parents, in the case of late spontaneous thelarche, would rather delay initiation rites than “face the humiliation of having to expose their daughter’s ugly breasts”.

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- 13.4 *Concluding Remarks*

13.0 Introduction: Anatomisation and “Unbodification” of Sexuality

This chapter surveys ethnographic variations in pre- and peripubertal genital preparatory customs. It should be noted that original rationales behind genital modification customs, often timed before puberty, can only be speculated upon, as it is lost in the mists of antiquity, or variably commented upon by dated sources. A range of 20th century societies practised anatomical modifications to prepare the genital either aesthetically or functionally for future use from a “sexological” perspective. In most of these cases, remarks on whether these customs were intended as prophylaxis or thought of as being curative may be absent. In these cases, their meaning for any phase-identified “sexuality” thus remains unclear.

It is incidentally adopted as a sexological narrative that the prepubertal body is somehow unfit for sexual practices on a routine basis, or on any basis at all. This refers to statements on potency, orgasmicity and size. The available data on these matters (see elsewhere)³ point to the contrary. Nonetheless, both artificial and genetically encoded anatomical transitions are frequently interpreted and utilised as signifiers of phase/sexual status. Anatomical modifications are noted for their association with a number of factors that may or may not coincide with rationale referring to “sexual” behaviour taboo or licence (e.g., tribal identity, general aesthetics, hygiene, medical considerations).

“Anatomising sexuality” renders the bodies construable, and controllable; it appoints authority, status and privilege. It also curricularises the body. Modes of anatomising sexuality / “sexual” phases are thus noted:

- (a) anatomical transitory timing used as an index to phase/sexual timing/stratification;
- (b) (intended) modification of anatomical transitory timing used as a means of determining phase/sexual timing;
- (c) anatomical modification used as a means of phase/sexual stratification.

The present chapter was focussed on the latter two categories (b, c).

³ Literature reviews by the author.

13.0.1 Preliminary Evolutionary Observations: Rationalisation and the Developmental Body

It seems that while sexual behaviour in pre-industrial communities has retained a definite anatomical interpretation / operationalisation (instrumentalisation, beautification, authorisation, curricularisation), sexuality in industrial societies is de-anatomised insofar the body does not compellingly signify status or maturity, and is not a site for preparation, celebrated transitions, nor (hence) for enforcement of authority or social recognition. This parallels the dissociation of sexarche and menarche / ejacularche. As the chapter demonstrates, these principles cannot be appreciated via a monocultural approach. Apart from practices associated with disputed medical claims, the contemporary preadult body is not to be interfered with texturally. Transitions appear de-anatomised, (hence) desexualised and (hence) desocialised, rendering the transitional body de-authorised as well as de-instrumentalised. This would facilitate continuity between the pretransitional and transitional body, if not already obsolete concepts. From here it could be argued that the postmodern developmental body is continuously being reinvented and commercialised. With or without anatomical means, this body is paced and timed (Jenks), regulated (Kamler), problematised (Van Ussel), civilised (Elias), restricted⁴, managed⁵, “postured”⁶, instructed⁷, protected⁸, revenged in “nostalgia” projects⁹, and otherwise represented¹⁰. “Body development”, thus, may take diverse forms, including coming to “know”¹¹ or becoming “aware”¹², being offered ownership¹³, “finishing”¹⁴, etc. The uncertain place of relative bodies in development as such is illustrated by the apparently problematic category of intergenerational touching¹⁵ in academically advanced societies (or is it America only?). The touched body is increasingly rationalised (“good”/“bad” distinctions being “taught in virtually every [late 1980s American] child sexual abuse prevention program”¹⁶; cf. **America**); the curricular “unbodification”, thus, is a spurious one.

⁴ Costa e Silva, J. A. (1985) Ethnopsychomotricité et identité: le rôle de la place du corps de l'enfant et de la mère, *Ann Medico-Psychol* 143,10:985-90

⁵ Spree, R. (1992) Shaping the Child's Personality: Medical Advice on Child-Rearing from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century in Germany, *Social Hist Med* 5,2:317-35

⁶ Nishimura, H. (1997) [Japanese Modernization and Children's Bodies: A Social History of the Sitting Body Technique during the Meiji- Taisho Era], *Soshioroji* 42,2:43-64

⁷ Thompson, B. W. (2001) Childhood lessons: Culture, race, class, and sexuality, in Satow, R. (Ed.) *Gender and Social Life*. Needham Heights, MA, US: Allyn & Bacon, p125-31

⁸ Canning, K. (1996) Social Policy, Body Politics: Recasting the Social Question in Germany, 1875-1900, in Frader, L. L. & Rose, S. O. (Eds.) *Gender and Class in Modern Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, p211-37

⁹ Consider Javeau, C. (1998) Corps d'enfants et émotion collective: essai de sociologie à chaud sur les meurtres d'enfants en Belgique (1996), *Education & Sociétés* 2:135-47

¹⁰ Duncum, P. (1999-2000) The Semiotics of Children's Bodies as Found in Popular Media, *Arts & Learning Res* 16,1:78-82

¹¹ Debold, E. (1997) Knowing bodies: Gender identity, cognitive development and embodiment in early childhood and early adolescence, *DAI-B* 57(7-B):4742

¹² Burstin, J. (1957) La représentation du moi physique dans la préadolescence, *Enfance* 2:143-63

¹³ Gunsberg, L. & Tylim, I. (1995) Ownership of the body and mind: Developmental considerations for adult psychoanalytic treatment, *Psychoanal Rev* 82,2:257-66

¹⁴ Lupton, D. & Tulloch, J. (1998) The Adolescent 'Unfinished Body', Reflexivity and HIV/AIDS Risk, *Body & Society* 4,2:19-34

¹⁵ Yamaguchi, H., Yamamoto, H. & Haruki, Y. (2000) The relationship between the frequency of touching by parents and children's psychological adjustment, *Jap J Health Psychol* 13,2:19-28; Weiss, S. J. (1990) Parental touching: Correlates of a child's body concept and body sentiment, in Barnard, K. E. & Brazelton, T. B. (Eds.) *Touch: The Foundation of Experience*. Full Revised and Expanded Proceedings of Johnson & Johnson Pediatric Round Table X. Clinical Infant Reports. Madison, CT, US: International Universities Press, Inc., p425-59

¹⁶ DeYoung, M. (1988) The good touch/bad touch dilemma, *Child Welfare* 67,1:60-8

13.0.2 Cross-Culturalists and Modification of The Developmental Body

Speaking of “sexological” implications or legitimisations, (intended) modifications may be rationalised by curative, prophylactic, preparatory, and provocative motives. Potentially important matters are the mode and timing of anticipation associated with (intended) modifications. Notably, four SCCS codes¹⁷ (which deal with operations in terms of “mutilation”, “deformation” and “pain”) measure occurrence and timing only and do not include data on this point. The following discussion, therefore, as yet lacks statistical elaboration.

13.1 Instrumentalising and Authorising the Sexual Apparatus

13.1.1 *Thelopoesis*

Breast themes are sporadically documented to enter the play of prethelarchic girls¹⁸. In some societies¹⁹, it is thought that the development of the female breast can be aided or should be induced by artefact²⁰. It is practised by mothers (**Timbira**), solitary or in peer groups, for cosmetic and functional (e.g., **Batetela**) purposes. Antithelopoetic measures are rarely described (**Burma, Amboa**). By contrast, the *stimulation*, as distinct from *simulation* of breast growth in **American** girls could not be further substantiated by Benedek et al. (1979:p543)²¹ than placing it between parentheses.

As detailed in §12.2.2, in these (especially African) cases the breast represents a central hallmark of maturity as well as a well-defined symbol of beauty. Maturity and beauty are collapsed into a single well-defined *desiderans* that the girls actively pursue; when “achieved” it is celebrated with *entitled* social transitions. This entitlement is closely related to need to intervene in and augment on natural *poesis*.

13.1.2 *Cunnius; Artificial Clitoromegaly; Vaginal Distension*²²

It has previously been noted that the cunnius may be subject to extensive preparation. Cosmetic or functional preparation in some way of another is practised in a large number of

¹⁷ v241: [timing of] male genital mutilations [Murdock]; v542.5/6: genital operation [and other pain] [Schlegel & Barry III]; v562: occurrence of [male] circumcision [Paige & Paige]; v931/2.9: deformation or mutilation of the [female, male] genitals, e.g., clitoridectomy, circumcision, sewing the labia together [Frayser]

¹⁸ E.g., Opie, I. & Opie, P. (1970 [1969]) *Children's Games in Street and Playground: Chasing, Catching, Seeking, Hunting, Racing, Duelling, Exerting, Daring, Guessing, Acting, Pretending*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p333; Martinson (1973:p59)

¹⁹ This seems to be the case for the girls among the eastern Chipita, Shona, Chaga, Ashanti, Tetela, Kai (New Guinea), Trobrianders, Aranda, Tiwi, Tzeltal, Timbira

²⁰ Cf. Ploss, Bartels, and Bartels (1965:p227-35). According to the authors, breast growth was affected in Uganda (Roscoe), Congo, and Angola (Pogge) (P,B&B, p231). In many more, the eventual shape was modified.

²¹ Benedek, E. P., Poznanski, E. & Mason, S. (1979) A note on the female adolescent's psychological reactions to breast development, *J Am Acad Child Psychia* 18,3:537-45

²² An elaborate bibliography on the matter was compiled in a preliminary draft.

(African and Oceanic) societies²³. The technique of preparing the nymphae is taught or performed by the mother (Marquesan, Hawai'i, Nkundo, Luba, Hottentot, Zimbabwe [vaRemba], Mangaia, Ra'Ivavae), by men (Ponape), by older comrades (Betchuans, Shona, Baushi) and attached to institutions such as puberty schools (Venda). There seems to be two major timing patterns: one in infancy (maternal), and one peripubertal, commonly peri-initiatory. In the latter case, the custom seems to be a social event, done in secret or semi-private congregations (Batetela, Nkundo, Betchuans, Luba), and also mutually ("Grand Lacs" [Great Lakes] peoples, Burundi, Bemba, Shona, Baushi, Dahomey).

The scene of labial elongation, traditionally typical for Southern African tribes, used to be one of mutuality, a joint venture for attractiveness and sexual identity, or at least a personal quest for future complementation. These practices were saturated with social significance, being colloquial, compulsory, and complementary²⁴.

13.1.3 The Cultural Hymen I

13.1.3.1 Introcision

Female²⁵ introcision (the enlargement of the vaginal opening by tearing or cutting the perineum)²⁶ was practised among some of the aboriginal **Australians**²⁷ (notably, *Pitta-Patta*, north-western Queensland) in order to facilitate the first experience of sexual intercourse (Head, 1978; Cook, 1979; Huelsman, 1976)²⁸. Bryk (1931:p243) states, in case of the **Arunta**, that this was done because of the broadness of the (subincised) virile member. The operator, an elderly man, enlarges the vaginal orifice by tearing it downward with three fingers bound with opossum string. In other districts, the perineum is split with a stone knife. This is usually followed by compulsory sexual intercourse with a number of young men. The timing was said to be neopubertally, but this should be interpreted with caution, at least historically, regarded the timing of aboriginal coitarche (→*Atlas*, Australia).

Introcision represents the most extreme example of enforced complementation within "coital roles". The (apparently inadequate) vagina is enlarged to accommodate and submit to a

²³ Pacifics: Marquesas, Trukese, South Carolines, Marquesans, Hawai'ians, Ponapeans; Africa: Nyakyusa, Mangaia, Ra'Ivavae, Nama Hottentot, Betchuans, Luba, Nkundo, Ngoni, Zimba, Baganda, Bagishu, Suaheli, Shona, Burundi, Zande, VaRemba, Bahemba, Venda, Lenda, Bapende, Bemba, M'wemba, Nkoya, Kgatla, Thonga, Tetela, Lamba, Beti, "Bamouns", Tikars, Mangbetu, Fan (Dahomey), Ila, "Grand Lacs" tribes, Chewa, Chaga, Makonde, Lozi, Baushi

²⁴ The Azande "take a little girl and rub the paste on her vulva and then pinch the eleusine [a riverside shrub dug up and sun-dried in] with it, saying: "You are medicine of eleusine. Eleusine, you expand like a woman's vulva which, be it ever so small, is sufficient for any man. Eleusine, you expand in the granary like a woman's vulva. Eleusine, you expand like *susu*. May not eleusine lessen. Let it be sufficient" (Evans-Pritchard, 1937:p457).

²⁵ Male "introcision" (*mika*, subincision) is never practised before puberty.

²⁶ Sanderson, L. P. (1981) *Against the Mutilation of Women: The Struggle against Unnecessary Suffering*. London, UK: Ithaca Press, p4

²⁷ The custom was said to be exclusive for these people (Gregersen). However, it was said to be practised in eastern Mexico, Brazil, and in North-Eastern Peru, among a division of the Pano Indians (Conibos). Unconfirmed sources speak of its practice in Somalia. At present, there seems to be little if any literature indicating the prevalence, timing or geographic distribution of this procedure (Ferguson and Pamela, 1995).

²⁸ Cook, R. (1979) Damage to Physical Health from Circumcision (Infibulation) of Females. A Review of the Medical Literature. World Health Organization, Regional Office for the Eastern Mediterranean, Egypt; Huelsman, B. R. (1976) An anthropological view of clitoral and other female genital mutilations, in Lowry, T. P. & Lowry, T. S. (Eds.) *The Clitoris*. St. Louis, Mo.: Warren H. Green, p111-61

(broadened) phallus. This interdigitates with the marginal autonomy of women in some traditional tribes, girls being betrothed before birth, exchanged, and acquired by capture.

13.1.3.2 Neonatal, Infant, Prepubertal and Pubescent Defloratio Artificialis

Parental defloration of the infant and initiation-associated defloration used to be occasionally practised across the continents²⁹. It is described as an old Swedish tradition, “worthy of adoption in other communities, since it protects young women later against many complexes and repressions”³⁰.

The widespread custom of artificial (noncoital, precoital, antecoital) defloration is frequently attributed to a need for “sparing the male”, and perhaps the female, of the horror of defloration, anatomically or socially speaking. Its actualisation is most often associated with initiation ceremonies after menarche, but it is regularly described as taking place at some time before puberty. As in ritualised coital defloration, artificial defloration is routinely described as ceremonial, but may also be practised informally. If not “symbolic” for coitus, its factuality marks a socially recognised and controlled procoital argument, as is the case with introcision. [note: defloration rituals are not recorded for the SCCS apart from under **153.1: Ceremonial (Normative) Rape [Roze-Koker].**]

13.1.4 The Cultural Penis

13.1.4.1 Phallopoesis

It has been noted elsewhere that masturbatory practices in some cases are related to an alleged effect of penile enlargement, particularly in the setting of early puberty. Artificial phallopoesis has been documented for many cultures³¹, whereas antiphallopoetic practices are rarely described (**Menomini**). Old Arab as well as medieval European physicians encouraged masturbation for this purpose. The practice may have been regarded as obligatory³².

Concentrating on the African case, the factual penis occupies a central patriarchal position as a fertiliser and successor of the male lineage. The functional penis (§s 12.3.1-2) as well as the anatomical penis is a site for preparation, signalling curricularised status and hence, power dynamics.

²⁹ Mid/South America (Mexico [Totonác], Bororó, Yanoama [Surára and Pakidái], Tukano, Pano, Arawak, Tupi, Cubeo, Shipibo, Chiwaro), Australian aborigines, Hindu Indonesia schismatic Copts, Africa, (Nubia, , Makonde, Lake Nyasa, Cewa, Akamba, Lozi, Hehe [debated], Bantu [Bemba, Yao, Makua], Lalia-Ngolu, Madagascar Fingo, Wakka); Babylonia

³⁰ Zum Kapitel “Der Hymen”, *Zeitschr Sexualwiss & Sexualpol* 16:353-5

³¹ Paraguay, New Guinea, New Hebrides, Malukula Big Nambas, Morocco, and Africa (Riffian Ambo, Ndembu, Akan, Baushi, Batetela, Mongo, Lamba, Warramunga)

³² “Ambo are convinced that he could not beget children or even perform the marital act if he omitted this doctoring”.

13.1.4.2 The Cultural Foreskin (Circumcision, Preputial Conditioning and “Male Defloration”)

The notion of male virginity is not widely recognised or valued, perhaps partly because it would lack an anatomical signifier. It is suggested that in traditional society, the prepuce, or rather its natural adherence to the glans penis, is recognised as an obstacle for sexual intercourse, and therefore *at least symbolises* behavioural and social virginity as well as taboo (particularly in Africa). The sexological reasons for circumcision are diverse³³ and its practice widespread (cf. Ploß and Renz, 1912, II:p137-235).

Cox (1995)³⁴ held that both the hymen and the foreskin represented obstacles to sex “and marriage” as these would interfere with “the learning process and make young adults less likely to be saddled with dependents before they are able to care for them”. He hypothesised [orig. footnotes]:

“Originally, [circumcision] was carried out on mature teenagers as a sign that sex would now be permitted to them. This is still the case in many societies³⁵, and it is clear that all circumcision traditions started in this way³⁶. In this way, the foreskin is allowed to carry out [...] its role of discouraging sex until the boy is ready for adulthood. Circumcision then removes the impediment to coitus, and also provides protection against infections such as balanitis during adult, reproductive life. By establishing a cultural condition that coitus is only permitted once the foreskin is actually removed, not merely retracted, the biological restriction on early cohabitation is made more effective”.

Kagura songs indeed seem to imply that circumcision is done to facilitate coitus. Less obviously, Cox also held that uncircumcised masturbation, “in the critical post-pubertal years”, represented a “specific alternative form of sexual release” also aiding to postpone coitus. However, Cold and McGrath (1999)³⁷ argued that

“Cox’s thesis is based on two erroneous assumptions, namely that masturbation is more common in males with foreskins, and that a foreskin delays sexual activity. Recent studies from the University of Chicago have shown both of these assumptions to be erroneous [refs omitted]. Although Cox is one of the few modern authors to hypothesise about the evolution of the male prepuce, no scientific research has demonstrated that the male prepuce is a factor in masturbation or delayed sexual activity”.

Drenth (1991)³⁸ argued that during childhood and early puberty, sexual experiments and masturbation effectively stretch the prepuce to its adult size. This view opposes that of Sir James Spence³⁹ who argued that

³³ E.g., Weiss, Ch. (1966) Motives for male circumcision among preliterate and literate people, *J Sex Res* 2,2:69-88

³⁴ Cox, G. (1995) *De virginibus puerisque*: the function of the human foreskin from an evolutionary perspective, *Med Hypoth* 45:617-21

³⁵ Crowley, I. & Kesner, K. M. (1990) Ritual circumcision (Umwetha) amongst the Xhosa of the Ciskei, *Br J Urol* 66:318-21

³⁶ Bryk, *Circumcision*

³⁷ Cold, C. J. & McGrath, K. A. (1999) Anatomy and histology of the penile and clitoral prepuce in primates, in Denniston, G. C., Hodges, F. M. & Milos, M. F. (Eds.) *Male and Female Circumcision*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, p19-29. An identical criticism appeared to be aired before in June 1997 issue of *Circumcision eJournal*, 2,1 [<http://faculty.washington.edu/gcd/CIRCUMCISION/v2n1.html>]

³⁸ Drenth, J. J. (1991) The Tight Foreskin: A Psychosomatic Phenomenon, *Sex & Marit Ther* 6,3:297-306

³⁹ Spence, J. (1964) On circumcision, *Lancet*, 2, [p902]. Quoted by Øster, J. (1968) Further fate of the foreskin, *Arch Dis Ch'h* 43:200-2

"[...] Nature does not intend it [prepuce] to be stretched or retracted [...] What looks like a pin opening at 7 months will become a wide channel of communication at 17 [...] Nature is a possessive mistress, and whatever mistakes she makes about the structure of the less essential organs such as the brain and stomach, in which she is not much interested, you can be sure that she knows best of the genital organs".

In the mean time, it could be assumed that (*spontaneous*) preputial adhaesiolytic continues *until adolescence* in order to protect the premature glans penis⁴⁰.

The fenum praeputii may actually play a role in masturbatory autodefloration (Grewel, 1958)⁴¹. Artificial denudation is found in Middle-Eastern and African societies⁴², practised by caregivers (infancy) or boys themselves (pre- to peripubertal); this includes "blowing" [Hawai'i], manipulation [Middle East], urinary ballooning [Tahitians], autofrenulotomy [Zulu], ligatures using cow hairs [Luo, Shona], caustic irritation [Crow, Masai, Nandi], etc. In most of the African and Oceanic cases, the practice is unambiguously procoital. Examples:

During the process of masturbating with caustic plants, **Nandi** boys call out, " *Suren suren, ce kwamon pek a metet*" (Become big and I'll give you something to eat). The blossoms of this plant are usually stuck into the hair, the separated milk serving as the agglutinant. Now the little fellow can go to a girl and try it" (Bryk). [Hargraves (1978)⁴³ relays Bryk's statement of this use of plant.] On the Polynesian island of **Tongareva**, denudation was performed by an older woman at puberty, before ritual coitarche with her (Danielsson). Jacobus X...: "The precocious *tane* [Tahitian youth] already prepares for the adventures of love in his eleventh or twelfth year, sometimes even his tenth. In order to get his glans free, he takes the foreskin between his thumb and index finger when he urinates, so that only a small opening remains for the passage of the urine; the urine, in collecting, forms a jacket around the glans under the foreskin, and since the lad repeats this several times a day, there is a regular mechanical distension of the opening. If that is not sufficient to free the glans, the lad cuts through the ligament with a large piece of flint and heals the wound without danger or pain by applying to the wound some cotton saturated with the juice of an arnica like plant. Immediately thereafter his intercourse with the feminine sex begins".

Lastly consider the case of South African monthly male virginity tests⁴⁴, allegedly informed by the inspection of the foreskin, urinary stream, and appearance of the knees ("If a man's knees are dark, he is not a virgin").

13.1.5 The Self-Prepared Body

In the case of preputial conditioning, artificial thelopoesis and cunnus preparation, practices are typically described as peer-organised performances. Not frequently mentioned in discussions by "genital mutilation" activists, these cases point to the active role taken or accepted by children to claim their influence within the "anatomised sexuality" discourse. In

⁴⁰ Kayaba, H. et al. (1996) Analysis of shape and retractability of the prepuce in 603 Japanese boys, *J Urol* 156,5:1813-5

⁴¹ Grewel, F. (1958) The frenum praeputii and the defloration of the human male, *Folia Psychia, Neurol & Neurochir Neerland* [Holland] 61,2:123-6

⁴² Hawai'i, Turkomans, Kurds, Uzbeks, Kazak-Kirghiz, Semi-hamites, Nandi, Luo, Shona Massai, Tahitians Tongareva, Crow [inferred]

⁴³ Hargraves, B. J. (1978) Killing and curing: succulent use in Chipita, *Soc Malawi J* 31,2:21-30

⁴⁴ Kwamashu Boys to Undergo Virginity Testing, *South African Press Association* Jan 30, 2002, pNA

the absence of formal morphology alteration, children may perform minor surgery on themselves⁴⁵. These observations counterbalance globalist and feminist attacks on genital surgery practices generalised under the heading of “mutilations” and measures of control.

Luo boys are said to practice a preputial conditioning at the age of 10 to 12 (Parkin, 1973:p335-6)⁴⁶. In this “auto-instigated sexual initiation rite”, “he might prise his prepuce attachment (*ondwong*) from his penis by means of a thorn, insert the hair of a cow and tie it tightly round the attachment. After a week or so, it is said that the tied attachment withers and “comes away”, leaving the sensitive part of the penis free to move. The practice is said to be useful in that, by removing the *ondwong* and enabling the fully unrestricted movement of the penis, a newly married man may achieve successful penetration without suffering bleeding when he has to force his bride (*miaha*) into allowing sexual intercourse- Luo girls are customarily expected to resist coitus in early marriage, as well as before marriage”. Also, it would facilitate penetrating a small vagina. There is no circumcision, and the practice is done without parents’ knowledge.

13.2 De-Instumentalising Bodies

13.2.1 Antimasturbation Measures

As reviewed by Spitz (1952)⁴⁷, anticheiromanic surgery was recommended in America and Europe until well in the 20th century (particularly in the third quarter of the 19th century) both from a therapeutic and preventative perspective. The operations included cauterisation (clitoris, labia), circumcision, clitoridectomy, and the application of a variety of specially designed devices. Male circumcision is by far the most widely practised operation intended to end masturbation before puberty, and it is often included as a collateral legitimisation for religious practice. Countless successful, and some frustrated, cases are mentioned in the medical literature.

13.2.2 Infibulation

The most obvious case of contrasexual morphology alteration is female infibulation (e.g., Ploss, Bartels, and Bartels, 1965:p153-9). Infibulation or Pharaonic circumcision is widely practiced in Somalia, Northern parts of Kenya, Djibouti, Eastern part of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Mali,

⁴⁵ Subincision is performed by **Samburu** herdboys around age seven to ten (Margetts). The boys operate on themselves, and sometimes on their peers. The operation is attributed to custom, to efforts to differentiate the male urine stream from the female (both sexes squat during micturation), and, according to five informants, to make ejaculation faster. In response of the patriarchal banning of clitoridectomy, **Meru** girls participated in *Ngaitana*, self-circumcision groups (Thomas).

⁴⁶ Parkin, D. J. (1973) The Luo living in Kampala, Uganda, Nairobi, and central Nyanza, Kenya, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p330-9

⁴⁷ Spitz, R. (1952) Authority and masturbation: some remarks on] a bibliographical investigation, *Psychoanal Study Child* 7:490-527

Upper Egypt and isolated areas of Nigeria. References to early male infibulation are rare, and would serve as anticheiromanic, antipederastic (Zulu Islands) [debated] or stimulant (Pintadas Islands, Borneo).

The consequences of infibulation on prepubertal sexual behaviour are, as far as can be expected, not investigated, in contrast to those on adult sexuality⁴⁸.

Infibulation demonstrates how sexual claims were negotiated and established at the level of anatomy rather than moral convention. Rather than being a case of a unilateral display of power⁴⁹, infibulation and defibulation practices concentrate, invest, communicate and exercise meaning via curricular (in this case mostly prepubertal) modifications of otherwise *potentially instrumental* bodies.

13.2.3 The Cultural Hymen II

13.2.3.1 The Authorised Hymen: Hymenorrhaphy

An exponent of the Islamic hymen cult is hymen reconstruction (*hymenorrhaphy*, *hymenoplasty*) said to occur in Turkey, Morocco, Egypt, and Jordan. Hymen repair is illegal in most Arab countries but is said to have been performed unofficially throughout the Islamic world, with specialists doing five or six a week. The matter presents ethical issues in non-Islamic countries⁵⁰. Of course, Islamic doctors are well aware of the fact that the coital truth of anatomical non-intactness is not a complete one (Talmudic sources mention this). At the Medical Jurisprudence Third Symposium on "The Islamic Vision of Some Medical Practices" held from 18-21 April, 1987 A.D., Sheikh M. Al-Ghazali argued: "I swear to God, girls have come to me, they only played with themselves, and I believe them because their tears were faster than their words [...]"⁵¹. El Saadawi (1980:p15-8)⁵² relates that girls may refrain from masturbation by fear for their hymen (on the other hand, they would be frequently "touched" by their brothers).

An absolute prerequisite for conjugal sexarche, the hymen is part of an unambiguous cult exercised at the unilateral level of the female's sexual biography. The body is operationalised (identified) as revealing this basis. Contrary to the many portrayals of hymen cults, the experience of girls is rarely explored within a cross-cultural setting.

⁴⁸ Of course, the timing of the practice would be important for judging the impact and psychodynamics of the operation in respect to preoperative sexual behaviour patterns. Since the postoperative girl lacks both clitoris and introitus vaginae, it seems that, theoretically, labial and anal play remains, in addition to play directed to the external "neomeatus".

⁴⁹ Constantinides argues that Sudanese women's sexuality and fertility are considered powerful and polluting, carrying with them the danger of dishonour and needing to be controlled and directed to their "proper" social ends by men. Men pay for their daughters' infibulation, retain the right to dispose of them in marriage, honour their wives after childbirth, and claim children of the union for their patrilineage. However, it is women who actually practice infibulation and who keep firmly within their hands all the ritual surrounding vital stages of their life cycle. Throughout, women symbolically assert the fundamental nature of their reproductive power. See Constantinides, P. (1985) Women Heal Women: Spirit Possession and Sexual Segregation in a Muslim Society, *Soc Sci & Med* 21,6:685-92

⁵⁰ [Various authors] (1998) Should doctors reconstruct the vaginal introitus of adolescent girls to mimic the virginal state? *BMJ*, Feb 7;316(7129):[459-62]; Usta, I. (2000) Hymenorrhaphy: what happens behind the gynaecologist's closed door? *J Med Ethics* 26,3:217-8

⁵¹ <http://www.islamset.com/bioethics/vision/salami.html>

⁵² El Saadawi, N. (1980) *Tschador: Frauen im Islam*. London. German Ed.

13.2.3.2 Culture and Hymen

Coitocentric societies have traditionally been distinguished in their cults or disregard of “virginity”, a concept variably invested in somatic factuality, and more commonly used as a synonym for first coital experience. In fact, hymen cults signify *coitarchal* (and therefore *coital*) cults, and represent a prime celebration of coitus as the sole real sexual activity. The social fate of coital curricula, thus, is variably fixed by the identity of the first partner. Of course, this concept is assigned different meanings in different social contexts⁵³ (as is most clearly demonstrated in the cultural challenge associated with migration⁵⁴) particularly those differing in their valuing of unambiguous paternity rights and conjugal exclusivity. This renders some coitarchal experiences as communal (SCCS v748: Customs surrounding Consummation of Marriage [Broude & Greene]).

It seems to require a psychology of its own⁵⁵. It could be argued that economic and cultural factors weigh heavily on a young women’s “ability”, and willingness, to “be” a virgin, and that virginity discourse is laden with (middle-class) assumptions about self-empowerment and achievement⁵⁶. Other sources conceptualise non-coitus as an active performance (“doing virginity”). Psychoanalysts, for their part, have stressed the disruption of patriarchal control of the daughter necessary for her transfer to her husband⁵⁷.

The subjective experience of “first sex” as “defloration” is explored in numerous articles⁵⁸. Individuals may conceptualise virginity as a gift, stigma, or part of a process⁵⁹. The way this may be a discussion of anatomical reality is variable. Carpenter, for instance, does not refer to hymens or anatomy (2001, 2002).

13.3 Ambiguous, Manufactured and Authentic Body Sexualities

According to Losonczy (1993)⁶⁰, for an **Embera** girl the beginning of menstrual cyclicity marks the opening of the feminine body to “a cosmic movement, focused on the capacity of childbearing”. The girl in the transitional phase between childhood and maturity is represented in initiation rites as an accomplice, seductress, and nurturer of supernatural

⁵³ Berger, D. C. & Wenger, M. G. (1973) The Ideology of Virginity, *J Marr & Fam* 35,4:666-76

⁵⁴ Mouthaan, I., Neef, M. de, Rademakers, J. et al. (1997) *Twee Levens. Dilemma's van Islamitische Meisjes Rondom Maagdelijkheid*. Delft [Holland]: Eburon [Dutch]

⁵⁵ Wile, I. S. (1937) The psychology of the hymen, *J Nerv & Ment Dis* 85:143-56

⁵⁶ Lichtenstein, B. (2000) Virginity Discourse in the AIDS Era: A Case Analysis of Sexual Initiation Aftershock, *NWSA J* 12,2:52-69

⁵⁷ Yates, S. L. (1930) An investigation of the psychological factors in virginity and ritual defloration, *Int J Psycho-Anal* 11:167-84

⁵⁸ E.g., Holland, J., Ramazanoglu, C. et al. (2000) Deconstructing virginity--Young people's accounts of first sex, *Sexual & Relat Ther* 15,3:221-32; Amuchastegui, A. (1998) Virginity in Mexico: The Role of Competing Discourses of Sexuality in Personal Experience, *Reprod Health Matt* 6,12:105-15. Cf. Amuchastegui, A. (1999) Dialogue and the Negotiation of Meaning: Constructions of Virginity in Mexico, *Culture, Health & Sex* 1,1:79-93

⁵⁹ Carpenter, L. M. (2001) The ambiguity of “having sex”: The subjective experience of virginity loss in the United States, *J Sex Res* 38,2:127-39. Cf. Carpenter, L. M. (1998) “Virginity Is a Gift”: A Distinctive Approach to Early Sexual Experiences. Paper for the American Sociological Association; and Carpenter, L. M. (2000) Virgin Territories: The Social Construction of Virginity Loss in the Contemporary United States, *DAI-A* 60, 7, Jan, 2692-A

⁶⁰ Losonczy, A. M. (1993) La Nourrice d'Esprits. La Jeune Fille chez les Indiens Embera du Choco (Colombie), *Cahiers Litt Oral* 34:157-76

beings. This transitional status must culminate in marriage and maternity to sustain the cosmic movement of production and reproduction.

In postmodern societies bodies gradually enter a range of sexological discourses, but these do not seem to be synchronized with sexual transitions. This in effect “ambiguous sexual scripting and conflicting sexual messages”⁶¹ in the identification of bodies render *changing* bodies ambiguous⁶², as demonstrated in the contradictions and ambiguities encountered in the “performance of body matters in identity”, within the domains of language and culture, and within such situational sites as gender and race⁶³. The resolution of discursive ambiguities (bodies, sexualities) would encompass the essential identity of “adolescence”⁶⁴ (cf. §3.1.4).

Kelle⁶⁵ notes that by German 4 to 6-graders, ambiguously, “development is understood as a natural process and as an aim to be achieved at the same time”. The author concludes that “children contest the age appropriateness of activities and the authenticity of self-presentation, thereby presenting development as social praxis”. The case defended here is that parenting cultures may or may not introduce discourses of body-development-as-praxis and sexual-maturity-as-praxis, while children themselves may elaborate upon, reformulate or rework such entries when non-monovalent.

13.4 Concluding Remarks

The anatomical interference with genitalia for aesthetic or functional purposes is motivated by two distinct attitudes toward (specific) sexual interactions, those opposing it and those facilitating it. The curricularising effects of these alterations of appearance or functionality are very immediate, irreversible and powerful emblems of sexual legitimacy, or, conversely, stigmata of suppression. As such they represent the rare *material* signifiers of cultural attitudes toward potential sexual behaviour trajectories. The *potentially coital* apparatus is instrumentalised in a specific *procoital discourse*. In selected cases, children are known to claim their position in the anatomical order, or effectuate their own anatomised sexual discourse.

⁶¹ E.g., Houts, L. A. (2001) “But Was It Wanted?” Women’s First Voluntary Sexual Intercourse. Paper for the Southern Sociological Society

⁶² E.g., Yates, A. (1986) Discussing sex with adolescent patients, *Med Asp Hum Sex* 20:150-5; Lee, J. (1997) Never innocent: Breasted experiences in women’s bodily narratives of puberty, *Feminism & Psychol* 7,4: 453-74; Moore, S. M. (1995) Girls’ understanding and social constructions of menarche, *J Adolesc* 18,1:87-104

⁶³ Massey, C. (1996) Body-Smarts: An Adolescent Girl Thinking, Talking, and Mattering, *Gender & Psychoanal* 1,1:75-102

⁶⁴ Wiltzer, P. (1981) La crise de l’adolescence, une ambiguïté, *Ann Medico-Psychol* 139,4:423-7

⁶⁵ Kelle, H. (2001) The discourse of “development”: how 9- to 12-year-old children construct “childish” and “further developed” identities within their peer culture, *Childhood* 8,1:95-114

14

Curricular Subjectification/Objectification of Erotic Personhood. Renegotiating Performance and Participation¹

A Biosocial Entry to Cultural, Subcultural and Sporadic Operationalisation Illustrated on the Basis of
“Age-Stratified” Sexual Behaviour

“Quod licet puerulo, non licet puero und umgekehrt”²

Abstract: This paper explores eroticisation processes in age-stratified settings. It is suggested that the cultural erotological meaning attached to childhood and puberty is associated with curricular recruitment into adult sexual cultures. This defines whether the child is in any sense a participating agent (e.g., “participating victim”) in (hypothetical) contacts with the ruling age class, and if so, what role it is granted. The data suggest that ruling age classes, opposing a universal taboo, may normalise age-stratified contacts by the advocacy of a given basis of exchange or application of pedagogical principles. In other cultures, where *recruitment* occupies a marginalized status because of the need for such recruitment being incidental rather than pervasive, such functions are (possibly correctly) interpreted as symptomatic of individual, *curricular* failures to accomplish (*curricularised*) social agendas, the result of which falls subject to pathologising. The tentative conclusion reads that cultures (as do individuals) operationalise children as erotic “objects” when such may be facilitated or required by teleiosocial blockages or lateral interests; if not required, children are *counter-operationalised* as “victims” of such (individual) operationalisation. The result is an individualised (as opposed to a culturally or subculturally peer-shared) *operationalisation* (legitimation) *conflict*. More generally, *complementation arguments* are being used variably to legitimise given social imperatives. If not, *identification* processes are embraced to legitimise social recognition of nascent erotic citizenship. This complementation / identification duality can be used to study cultural legitimisation (operationalisation) principles from a child’s perspective. A constructionist study of age stratified sexual affiliation, however, is not available in most cases; for the contemporary American situation, ethical implications compromise the methodological soundness of past and future study.

¹ See supplementary **Ethnohistorical Bibliography** and **Social Constructionist Bibliography** at the conclusion of the chapter.

² Friedjung, J. (1923) *Die Kindliche Sexualität und ihre Bedeutung für Erziehung und Ärztliche Praxis*. Berlin: Julius Springer

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14.0 Introduction

This paper departs from the assumption that erotic identity is subject to a culture-identifying process of agenda assignment, a process shaping trajectories toward an “ideal chronology” of events (“curricularisation”), and specific as for the responsible authority, degree of interference and functional aim (cf. **chapter 3**).

Goodwin and Cramer (2002)³ discuss how the definition of “inappropriate relationships” is likely to be “highly dependent on the cultural and subcultural setting in which it occurs”, and that “any comprehensive account of inappropriate relationships needs to explain historical and cultural differences”. This formulation would leave room for a discussion of “avengers, conquerors, playmates [or] lovers”⁴ all being “perpetrators” historically and cross-culturally speaking. The application to “paedophilia” (e.g., Howitt, 2002)⁵ is imperfect to say the least. Applying our ethical axiom to age disparate⁶ sexual contacts, today’s references to these settings are hardly “comprehensive”, or, if trying, rather theoretical⁷. This may in the past have been legitimised by its, as a Dutch translation of a gone-by German work reads, “voor ons bijkans onverstaanbaren aard”, roughly, “to us incomprehensible nature”⁸. Or, as Louis MacNeice says, “so unimaginably different / And all so long ago”⁹. Within age disparate sexual confrontations, the role of the younger individual is subject to a discussion via the hegemonic concept of “abuse”. In Western discourse, such hybrid concepts as “participating victims” or “victim-precipitation”¹⁰ in the context of these contacts

³ Goodwin, R. & Cramer, D. (2002) Inappropriate relationships in a time of social change...some reflections on culture, history, and relational dimensions, in Goodwin, R. et al. (Eds.) *Inappropriate Relationships: The Unconventional, the Disapproved, and the Forbidden*. LEA’s Series on Personal Relationships. Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, p247-63

⁴ Gilgun, J. F. (1994) Avengers, Conquerors, Playmates and Lovers: Roles Played by Child Sexual Abuse Perpetrators, *Families in Society* 75,8:467-79

⁵ Howitt, D. (2002) Social exclusion--Pedophile style, in Goodwin, R. et al. (Eds.) *Inappropriate Relationships: The Unconventional, the Disapproved, and the Forbidden*. LEA’s Series on Personal Relationships. Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, p221-43

⁶ The author will refrain from distracting moral classifications.

⁷ E.g., Kelly, R. J. & Scott, M. M. (1986) Sociocultural considerations in child sexual abuse, in MacFarlane, K. et al. (Eds.) *Sexual Abuse of Young Children: Evaluation and Treatment*. New York & London: The Guilford Press, p151-63

⁸ Schwarz, H. ([1830]) *Geschiedenis der Opvoeding* [...]. 2nd ed. Utrecht: S. Alter. Vol. I, p355

⁹ Louis MacNeice, “Autumn Journal”, section ix, as cited by Arkins, B. (1994) Sexuality in Fifth-Century Athens, *Classics Ireland* [<http://www.ucd.ie/~classics/94/Arkins94.html>]

¹⁰ The former term, initially proposed by Rogers and Weiss (1953), appealed to child initiative or contextual willingness as a part of the “interactive” “victimising” sequence. It was issued by a number of authors including Mohr and Turner (1964:p34-5), Potrykus and Wöbcke (1974 [1976:p65-9]) citing research by Schönfelder (1965, 1968), Silverman (1974), Virkkunen (1975, 1981), Ingram (1979/1981), MacVicar (1979), Sandfort (1981:p45-8) and Bryant (1982:p313-4). Some authors equally suggested that children and adolescents may “seduce” those considerably older than themselves (e.g.,

have surfaced in the 1970s. It was argued that these arguments were phrased in a timeframe that “downplayed the seriousness of the problem”¹¹ when arguing, for instance, that “For children the sexual act was a means of imitating adult personality and of participating in those activities specifically associated with adulthood”¹². Studying these situations cross-culturally, one encounters a wealth of life phase-stratified homosexual patterns, including so-called mentor¹³ and, apparently, non-mentor systems¹⁴, as well as cases of rather fluid cross-generational boundaries, which are generally heterosexual¹⁵. One also encounters prepubertally consummated age stratified marriages, temporary age stratified sexual alliances in age-set societies, semi-institutional child prostitution, etc. These cases, reasoning from a “modern” ethical perspective allow the too-easy image that children are “put into service” when circumstantial factors leave no other option to satisfy a culturally instilled level of sexual needs (G., *Ventilsitte*). This determinism may not be different from the child’s integration into economic, political, ceremonial, and other parts of social life¹⁶, the child being “recruited” when such is demanded by the imperatives of daily struggles, and along the rules of specific economies (cf. §1.1.2). This ideology can be challenged only by specific methodologies (see §14.4).

If anything, the said cases provide occasion for a cultural confrontation between definitions of sexual competence (of both parties). This chapter is dedicated to demonstrating some fundamental mechanisms, including the theses that

- (a) cultural factors determine the timing of assigning and designing (“operationalising”) “sexual” identities;
- (b) in given cases the design of these identities reflects given assigned discursive roles;
- (c) in these cases, operationalisation efforts are based on complementation principles more critically than on identification principles.

14.1 The Erotic / Eroticised Child: A Perspective on Cultural Baselines

Brongersma, 1987:p197-203). It is likely that the occurrence of “victim-precipitation”, or “non-opposition” has eroded under the stress of educational measures promoting “awareness and assertiveness” in these situations. This has possibly changed the initial appraisal of the experience over the last decades. At least the child can now be considered an active factor in the cultural determination of the nonoccurrence of these incidents.

¹¹ Myers, J. E. B., Diedrich, S., Lee, D., Fincher, K. McC. & Stern, R. (1999) Professional writing on child sexual abuse from 1900 to 1975: Dominant themes and impact on prosecution, *Child Maltreatm* 4,3:201-16

¹² Lafon, M. R., Trivas, J. & Pouget, R. (1958) Aspects psychologiques des attentats sexuels sur les enfants et les adolescents, *Ann Medico-Psychol* 2:865-96

¹³ “Mentor” systems: Korea (*Wha rang*), Azande, South African / Mozambique gold mines (*bukhontxana*), premodern Japan (*shudo*), Australian Aborigines (*Chookadoo*, *Mullawongah*), New Guinea, New Hebrides (Malekula Big Nambas, South and North Raga), East Bay, premodern Greece (*eromenos*).

¹⁴ Indonesia (*anak djawi*, *sedatis*, *gandrungs*, *gemblakan*, *basirs*), Afghanistan (*Bačabozlik*), premodern China, and selected African cases (Swahili, Herero, Hottentot, Ovambos, Mossi, Nkundo, Bangala, Zulu)

¹⁵ E.g., Xokleng, Kaingangs, Kagaba

¹⁶ These are rated for some of the SCCS societies under the heading of *Household Division of Work*.

For the time being delaying the perhaps more compelling concept of “eroticised” or fetishised innocence as dealt with in **chapter 16**, clinical data on normative human erotic age orientation, using adolescent and adult male subjects (the female case is largely unexplored) suggest a universal heterosexual hebephilia¹⁷. Congruently, this pattern is only marginally subject to legal constraint in current Euro-American discourse, and explicitly excused from medicalisation curricula (APA, 1980-1994)¹⁸. Inherently, it hardly enters academic reflection, other than the within the territories of the historical and the foreign. The father’s experience of erotic response to his daughter, for instance, is a phenomenon which largely has been ignored in theoretical and experimental literature¹⁹.

This chapter proposes the hypothesis that the female (and in selected cases, the “feminised male”) individual may be *culturally supplied* with a potential erotic identity (thus, erotic potential) on the basis of her (his) potential (or in fact ideal or idealised) partnership, a role designation that may generally provide essential impetus to adolescent girls’ heterosexual development. Preadolescent claims to the same status would be ignored, or deferred, *for they will and cannot be answered legitimately*. The timing of such claims, therefore, is subject to a continuous negotiation. Thus, the *complementation argument* in the problem of sexual status attribution holds that erotic *subjects* are legitimised as such *if and when* they are considered culturally legitimate sexual *objects*, and on such basis, which is in part a reflection of adult erotic orientation. If not, they may need to be de-eroticised, and their aneroticism “eroticised”, that is, politicised, at a less apparent level (Kincaid). This argument (erotic pseudo-subjectivity) then serves as an *a priori* (rather than *a posteriori*) legitimisation of the (culturally relative) ideal image of cross-age noncompatibility. This noncompatibility is progressively legitimised by the entirely expectable negative vicissitudes of confrontations in such sporadic cases in which this issue of compatibility is subject to dyadic negotiations at fault with general, or hegemonic, discourses (e.g., familial policies).

This framework, of course, does nothing to excuse any individual choice of such interpretation; however, it also does not excuse any “cultural choice” of perspective.

This argument provides an entry for describing cultural variations in the developmental curricularisation (structural age stratification) of eroticism. For instance, it may describe Western eroticism being “operationalised” (legitimised) within peer subcultures rather than the family setting as a result of avoidance of paternal incest. It does not clash with the view of sexuality from a political entry (Paige and Paige), the father emphasising his daughter’s sexual and reproductive potential so as to maximise her market value *in synergy to general emotional currents*, and de-emphasising if alliances are prearranged and until these

¹⁷ The clinical “normalcy” “epheboteleophilia” is suggested by PPG testing in normal males (using adolescents, 12-16; Freund, K. & Costell, R. (1970) The structure of erotic preference in the nondeviant male, *Behav Res & Ther* 8,1:15-20). However, see Cimbalic, P., Wise, R.A., Rossetti, S. & Safer, M. (1999) Development of a combined objective ephebophile scale, *Sexual Addict & Compuls* 6,3:253-66. Bernard (1979/1985:p57, 58) reported two studies (1973, 1977) that illustrated a continuous variety of age range of sexual interest. Money (1991:p5) is “of the strong impression, although I’ve never proven this, that we ought to have a Greek word for twentyophiles, thirtyophiles, fortyophiles”.

¹⁸ American Psychiatric Association (1980, 1987, 1994) *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, III, IIIr, IVth*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association

¹⁹ Erhardt, V. (1993) *A Phenomenological Study of the Father’s Experience of Erotic Response to the Daughter*. PhD Dissertation, Georgia State University [DAI-B 54/10, p5424, April 1994]

arrangements are ceremonially sealed, *against general emotional currents*. It also provides an interpretation of the universal tendency to reject subcultural legitimisation efforts that run counter to established customs.

A basis for these claims lies in the frequency in which age-stratified patterns occur in non-Western societies. This is appreciated below in the case of heterosexual and homosexual age disparate patterns. No claim is made to explain the occurrence of all (or any) cases on some economic or structural basis; however, it seems clear that the child in these cases is provided with an erotic potential (object status) which is at odds with the acclaimed ideal of age egalitarianism, as well as of pubertal requirement, while at the same time, such ascribed potential is primarily to be interpreted as the enforcement of a complementary role fulfilment, i.e., serving partner's needs. Cultural justifications, however, enact to variably evade, deny or transform this interpretation, if at all informed by such ethics.

14.2 Age-Disparate Incidents and Patterns

Age stratified sexual behaviour patterns including children have been inviting subjects of modern historical reflection as well as conjecture²⁰, but rarely in a cross-cultural sense (e.g., La Fontaine, 1988²¹; cf. Meigs and Barlow, 2002)²². To be clear, the phenomenon here addressed is

²⁰ E.g., Shultz, L. G. (1982) Child sexual abuse in historical perspective, *J Soc Work & Hum Sex* 1:21-35; Wasserman, S. & Rosenfeld, A. (1992) An overview of the history of child sexual abuse and Sigmund Freud's contributions, in O'Donohue, W. & Geer, J. H. (Eds.) *The Sexual Abuse of Children: Theory and Research. Vol. I*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, p49-72; Haas, E. Th. (2000) Kinderschändung: Dramatisieren der Krise. Zeitgemässe Betrachtungen zu einem alten Thema, *Zeitschr Psychoanal Theor & Prax* 15,1:37-60; Rush, F. (1980) *The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall; Olafson, E., Corwin, D. L. & Summit, R. C. (1993) Modern History of Sexual Abuse Awareness: Cycles of Discovery and Suppression, *Child Abuse & Negl* 17:7-24; Coldrey, B. M. (1996) The sexual abuse of children: the historical perspectives, *Studies* 85:370-80; Masters, R. E. L. (1962) *Forbidden Sexual Behavior and Morality: An Objective Re-Examination of Perverse Sex Practices in Different Cultures*. New York: Julian Press, p363-411; Lloyd, R. (1977) *Playland: A Study of Human Exploitation*. London: Blond & Briggs. See Ch. 6: *The History of Boy Prostitution*; Kahr, B. (1991) The Sexual Molestation of Children: Historical Perspectives, *J Psychohist* 19,2:191-214; Bullough, V. L. (1990) History in adult human sexual behaviour with children and adolescents in western societies, in Feierman, J. (Ed.) *Pedophilia, Biosocial Dimensions*. Springer-Verlag, New York, p69-90; Breiner, S. J. (1985) Child abuse patterns: Comparison of ancient Western civilization and traditional China, *Analytic Psychother & Psychopathol* 2,1:27-50; Killias, M. (1990) The historic origins of penal statutes concerning sexual activities involving children and adolescents, *J Homosex* 20,1/2:41-6; Trube-Becker, E. (1997) Historische Perspektive sexueller Kontakte zwischen Erwachsenen und Kindern bzw. Jugendlichen und die soziale Akzeptanz dieses Phänomens von der Zeit der Römer und Griechen bis heute, in Amann, G. & Wipplinger, R. (Eds.) *Sexueller Mißbrauch: Überblick zu Forschung, Beratung und Therapie. Ein Handbuch*, Tübingen: Dgvt-Verlag, p39-51; Bolen, R. M. (2001) *Child Sexual Abuse: Its Scope and Our Failure*. New York, NY, US: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers; Jones, I. H. ([1992] 2000) Cultural and historical aspects of male sexual assault, in Mezey, G. C. & King, M. B. (Eds.) *Male Victims of Sexual Assault*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p113-24; Mullis, J. S. & Baunach, D. M. (2000) *Surveilling Pedophilia: Sexual Deviance and the Quandaries of Social Control*. Paper for the Society for the Study of Social Problems; Howitt, D. (1995) *Paedophiles and Sexual Offences Against Children*. Chichester [etc.]: J. Wiley & Sons, p231-7; Smart, C. (2000) Reconsidering the Recent History of Child Sexual Abuse, 1910-1960, *J Soc Policy* 29,1:55-71; and many works of DeMause.

²¹ La Fontaine, J. S. (1988) Child sexual abuse and the incest taboo: practical problems and theoretical issues, *Man* 23:1-18. See also Nelson, J. A. & Meller, J. R. (1994) Incest taboo and sexual abuse, in Krivacska, J. J. & Money, J. (Eds.) *The Handbook of Forensic Sexology: Biomedical & Criminological Perspectives*. New York: Prometheus Books, p80-97

²² Meigs, A. & Barlow, K. (2002) Beyond the taboo: imagining incest, *Am Anthropologist* 104,1:38-49

supposed to occur not *in spite of* but *because of* age/phase disparities. The main interest of anthropologists in early sexuality matters is that of the origin of the incest taboo, perhaps the “soggiest and heaviest” of theoretical dumplings in the “ethnographic soup”²³. Basic positions were formulated by Freud (Familiarity breeds Attempt) and Westermarck (Familiarity breeds Contempt)²⁴. Since, there have been reformulations arguing against a juxtaposition of both arguments²⁵. The main problem with incest discussions within the authentic format, however, is that there is a failure to integrate developmental solutions to patterned avoidance relating to familiarity, kinship systems, age discrepancy and other dissimilarities (e.g., gender)²⁶. This has led to collateral academic curricula on “abuse” (including incest as an unlawful and psychopathic category), incest as avoided category, “paedophilia” as a psychopathic category, and “institutionalised” age systems as functional ethnologically and historically (primarily, as symptoms of problematic adult gender dynamics). A biosocial / ethological exploration (Feierman, ed., 1990) remains without succession. These curricula, then, are traditionally separate ramifications²⁷, and accommodate different approaches to the question of development. A number of fundamental generalisations implicit in much theorising are open for reconsideration²⁸. For instance, how have incest taboos “historically been reinforced and extended” to nonparental adults, especially men, beyond the immediate nuclear family?²⁹

Taking a different route, Bell³⁰ has argued that

“[t]he incest taboo is the principle of the premodern system of alliances, while the modern deployment of sexuality threatens this same system of alliances through the colonization of the family by sexual discourse. This is exemplified in Freudian sexual discourse, in which the family is threatened by child sexuality, the Oedipus complex, etc. However, even the Freudian discourse of sexuality is double-edged, allowing for the continued deployment of alliances, while saturating these same alliances with desire”.

Specifically, “media-orchestrated moral panics” addressing extrafamilial abuse would divert attention from the “extensive variety of forms of sexual abuse” including those situated in the familial setting³¹. Thus, “the case of incest shows the concurrent deployment today of strategies of both alliances and sexuality, [suggesting] we should see the contemporary family in terms of such a concurrent deployment”.

²³ Mason, T. (nd) *Incest: Frontiers and Syncretism*. Online paper, at http://perso.club-internet.fr/tmason/WebPages/Publications/Incest_Frontiers.htm#B26

²⁴ Fox (1962) argued that siblings would stimulate each other sexually through their regular interactions and because these feelings could not be satiated by orgasm (in prepuberty), a sexual frustration would result causing Westermarck’s aversion.

²⁵ Spain, D. H. (1987) The Westermarck-Freud Incest-Theory Debate: An Evaluation and Reformulation, *Current Anthropol* 28,5:623-45

²⁶ E.g., Willner, D. (1983) Definition and Violation: Incest and the Incest Taboos, *Man*, New Series 18,1:134-59

²⁷ This dissociation is also described in Parker, S. (1987) The Waning of the Incest Taboo, *Legal Studies Forum* 11,2:205-21

²⁸ Hendrix, L. & Schneider, M. A. (1999) Assumptions on Sex and Society in the Biosocial Theory of Incest, *Cross-Cultural Res* 33,2:193-218

²⁹ Immerman, R. S. & Mackey, W. C. (1997) An additional facet of the incest taboo: A protection of the mating-strategy template, *J Genetic Psychol* 158,2:151-64

³⁰ Bell, V. (1995) Bio-Politics and the Spectre of Incest: Sexuality and/in the Family, in, in Robertson, R., Featherstone, M. & Lash, S. (Eds.) *Global Modernities*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, p227-43

³¹ Cowburn, M. & Dominelli, L. (2001) Masking hegemonic masculinity: reconstructing the paedophile as the dangerous stranger, *Br J Social Work* 31,3:399-415

An interesting argument here was made by Foucault, suggesting that what he calls this “epistemophilic incest” of contact, observation, and surveillance is part of the foundation of the modern family³². As cited by Bell (1993:p96)³³:

“One might argue that the purpose of these discourses was precisely to prevent children from having a sexuality. But their effect was to din it into parents’ heads that their children’s sex constituted a fundamental problem in terms of their parental educational responsibilities, and to din it into children’s heads that their relationship with their own body and their own sex was to be a fundamental problem as far as they were concerned; and this had the consequence of sexually exciting the bodies of children while at the same time fixing the parental gaze and vigilance on the perils of infantile sexuality. The result was the sexualising of the infantile body, a sexualising of the relationship between parent and child, a sexualising of the familial domain” (Foucault, 1980:p120)³⁴.

Murdock³⁵ spoke of the “positive gradient of appropriate age”. A positive or attractive gradient [also including propinquity and kinship] was defined as to “exert steady pressure against the [...] negative or repelling gradients” [including ethnocentrism, exogamy, adultery, and homosexuality]. Thus, “inappropriate age is an important consideration in the social control of sexual behavior and merits detailed examination” (Bryant, 1977:p305)³⁶. Murdock deals with age-disparate eroticism only in the (Freudian) context of “incest” (p291-5), while his concept of “appropriate age” seems applicable only to marital selection. This leaves unexplored the matter of “stratification of intimacy” (e.g., Gabb, 2001)³⁷ raised in later feminist contexts.

Money (1980:p45-9)³⁸ lists three major taboos in children’s sexual socialisation, which Money allows to partially “overlap” the other: age-avoidancy, intimacy-avoidancy, and allosex-avoidancy. *Age-avoidancy* is connected to age stratification in sexual behaviour and communication. *Intimacy-avoidancy* is described in terms of (particularly parent-child) kinship taboos in discussing and observing sexual behaviour, hampering “direct” intrafamilial forms of education. The foregoing two are judged to be “not sex disparate, but [...] applied equally to boys and girls in the course of their development”, as far as sources demonstrate far from an obvious point. *Allosex-avoidancy* is discussed in terms of gender segregation in situations of bodily exposure and “erotic communication”. Note that all three “taboos” issue “incest” dynamics. [Also note that the concept of “age taboos” in counterhegemonic circles³⁹ adding to a large list of “taboos” apparently related to age and sexuality⁴⁰.]

³² Foucault, M. (Ewald, F. et al., eds., 1999) *Les Anormaux; Cours au Collège de France (1974-1975)*. [Paris]: Gallimard / Seuil, p234, as read by Elden, S. (2001a) *The History of Sexuality and the Constitution of the State*. Paper prepared for delivery at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2 [<http://pro.harvard.edu/papers/002/002037EldenStuar.pdf>], at p5; and Elden, S. (2001b) The constitution of the normal: monsters and masturbation at the Collège de France, *boundary 2*, 28,1:91-105 [<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/boundary/v028/28.1elden.pdf>], at p101

³³ Bell, V. (1993) *Interrogating Incest: Feminism, Foucault and the Law*. London & New York: Routledge

³⁴ Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Writings 1972-1977* (ed. by C. Gordon; trans. by C. Gordon, L. Marshall, J. Meplam and K. Soper). Brighton: Harvester Press

³⁵ Murdock, G. P. (1949) *Social Structure*. New York: Macmillan, p318-9. Also cited by Bryant, C. D. (1977) *Sexual Deviancy and Social Proscription*. New York: Human Sciences Press, p304-5

³⁶ *Op.cit.*

³⁷ Gabb, J. (2001) Querying the discourses of love: An analysis of contemporary patterns of love and the stratification of intimacy within lesbian families, *Eur J Women’s Studies* 8,3:313-28

³⁸ Money, J. (1980) *Love and Love Sickness*. Baltimore [etc.]: Johns Hopkins University Press

³⁹ Tsang D. (Ed., 1981) *The Age Taboo*. Boston: Alyson Publications

⁴⁰ Consider Johnson, W. (1977) Childhood sexuality: the last of the great taboos? *SIECUS Report* 5,4:1,2,15; Sonenschein, D. (1984) Breaking the taboo of sex and adolescence: children, sex, and the media, in Browne, R. (Ed.) *Forbidden Fruits: Taboos and Tabooism in Culture*. Bowling Green: Popular Press, p111-32; Mönkemeyer, K. (1993) *Kindliche Sexualität Heute: Tabus, Konflikte, Lösungen*. Weinheim, Basel: Beltz Quadriga

Transgenerational proceptivity is said to be counteracted by age-avoidancy, a “socially dictated constraint on personal disclosure to people of a different age group than oneself affecting erotic/sexual behavior and communication”. Parents are protected from incestuous arousal and proceptivity by the *Coolidge effect*, and indirectly by the *Westermarck effect* in their offspring (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1990:p163; Wolf, 1970, 1995)⁴¹. Parental attraction to their own offspring is sometimes referred to as the *Inverse Oedipus Complex*, or counter-Oedipus (Fine, 1993)⁴². Named after King Lear’s pathological attachment to his daughters, especially to Cordelia, a reverse “erotic fixation” is called the *Lear Complex* or “adult libido” or reversed Oedipus complex (Pauncz, 1933, 1951, 1952; Patricolo, 1994)⁴³. The Lear-complex is an incestuous fixation of fathers upon their daughters. While the Oedipus complex depends exclusively upon the unconscious, the Lear-complex involves rather the conscious (Pauncz)⁴⁴. The concept was never elaborated upon, either clinically or theoretically. A comparable syndrome is named after Oedipus’ father, Laius. By the *Laius Complex*, Ross (1982,1985/6; Ross and Herzog, 1985)⁴⁵ means the “pederastic and filicidal inclinations that I [Ross] believe to be universal among fathers”⁴⁶. This complex, too, is hardly ever recognised among psychoanalysts.

Researching phenomena severely stigmatised within a cultural setting puts the scientific industry to a test. Apparently, age-disparate patterning is an endocultural medicolegal discourse about deviating individuals with little cross-cultural reflection.

The mere term “paedophilia” (or any of its derivatives) is mentioned (searching fulltext) only in three articles in a selected number of mainstream general anthropological magazines⁴⁷,

⁴¹ The Coolidge Effect (Wilson et al, 1963), which is studied in rats, golden hamsters, mice, Poeciliidae fish and prairie voles, can be defined as the restoration of mating behavior in males that have reached sexual satiation with 1 female and show a restoration of mating behavior when the original female is replaced with a novel female. Westermarck Theory (Westermarck, 1889) maintains that incest avoidance between siblings develops as a function of the inhibiting effect of continued proximity during the early years of childhood on later sexual interest.

⁴² Fine, A. (1993) Laieos pedophile et infanticide, *Rev Franc Psychanal* 57,2:515-26

⁴³ Pauncz, A. (1933) Der Larkomplex, die Kehrseite des Oedipuskomplexes. Beitrag zur Sexualtheorie, *Ztschr Ges Neurol & Psychia* 143:294-332; Pauncz, A. (1951) The concept of adult libido and the Lear complex, *Am J Psychother* 5:187-95; Pauncz, A. (1952) Psychopathology of Shakespeare’s King Lear: exemplification of the Lear Complex (a new interpretation), *Am Imago* 9:57-78; Pauncz, A. (1954) The Lear complex in world literature, *Am Imago* 11:51-83; Patricolo, F. (1994) The Lear complex: Shakespeare’s King Lear family in therapy, *DAI* 54(10-B):5373. In Pauncz’s 1951 article, the Chief Medical Director, Department of Medicine and Surgery, Veterans Administration, Washington, having provided permission for its publication, explicitly assumed “no responsibility for the opinions [!] expressed or conclusions drawn by the author”.

⁴⁴ For literary studies, see Pauncz (1954) and Jaarsma (1972).

⁴⁵ Ross, J. M. (1982) Oedipus revisited. Laius and the “Laius complex”, *Psychoanal Study Child* 37:169-200. Reprinted in Pollock, G. H. & Ross, J. M. (Eds.) *The Oedipus Papers*. Classics in Psychoanalysis, Monograph 6. Madison, CT, US: International Universities Press, Inc., p285-316; Ross, J. M. (1985-6) The darker side of fatherhood: clinical and developmental ramifications of the “Laius motif”, *Int J Psychoanal Psychother* 11:117-54. Reprinted in Pollock, G. H. & Ross, J. M. (Eds.) *The Oedipus Papers*. Classics in Psychoanalysis, Monograph 6. Madison, CT, US: International Universities Press, Inc., p389-417; Ross, J. M. & Herzog, J. M. (1985). The sins of the father: Notes on fathers, aggression, and pathogenesis, in Anthony, E. J. & Pollock, G. (Eds.) *Parental Influences*. Boston: Little, Brown, p477-510

⁴⁶ Also note the reactions to the 1985/6 paper by Kwawer and Esman. For a panel on Laius’ paedophilia, see *Rev Franc Psychanal* 57(1993),2 with contributions of Rocha, Fine, Barande, Chabert, Chauvel, Hurry, Arfouilloux and Nicolaiedis & Nicolaiedis. See also Knausen (1972); Vernon, Th. (1972) The Laius Complex, *Humanist*, November/December, p27-8; Le Guen, C. (1974) The formation of the transference: or the Laius complex in the armchair, *Int J Psychoanal* 55,4:505-18

⁴⁷ Using JSTOR, on articles only: Annual Review of Anthropology (1972-1996); Anthropology Today (1985-1996); Current Anthropology (1959-1999); Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1995-

twice in the context of incest, and never in a cross-cultural sense. The mere term (or any of derivatives) is not used in 5 Middle-Eastern Studies journals⁴⁸, 8 Asian Studies journals⁴⁹, 4 African Studies journals⁵⁰ and only twice in 7 African American Journals⁵¹, one of them discussing Shirley Temple. This may be related to a number of issues, among them incidence, cultural preoccupation, anthropologists' avoidance, anthropological terminology, etc. For a comparison, the entire 2002 fulltext eHRAF lists the term twice: in both cases the same author fears himself being conceptualised as a potential "pedophile"⁵².

Authors⁵³, however, have argued for a broader culturalist and historical scope, in terms of perception, "diagnosis", intervention and decursus. Notwithstanding the monolithic endoculturalist concept of paedophilia, the "functions" of age-disparate contacts may be varied. Hekma⁵⁴ considers "modern paedophilia" to be "very different in social and psychological status and in ubiquity from Greek pederasty". Adult-child contacts may serve functions relative to communal beliefⁱ and transition ritualisation (Herdt, 1981, 1984) or traditionalised pedagogical organisation (Eglinton, 1964). [Likewise, functions of initiation ceremonies known to include "homosexual" elements (e.g., Dundes, 1976:p233-4)⁵⁵ are variably positioned within a functionalist analysis].

1996); Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (1907-1965); Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (1965-1973)

⁴⁸ British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies (1991-1998); International Journal of Middle East Studies (1970-1996); Journal of Palestine Studies (1971-1997); Middle East Report (1988-1996); Pakistan Forum (1970-1973)

⁴⁹ Asian Survey (1961-1997); China Journal (1995-1996); Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies (1936-1996); Journal of Asian Studies (1956-1998); Journal of Japanese Studies (1974-1996); Modern China (1975-1998); Monumenta Nipponica (1938-1996); Pacific Affairs (1928-1997)

⁵⁰ International Journal of African Historical Studies (1972-1998); Journal of Modern African Studies (1963-1996); Journal of Southern African Studies (1974-1998)

⁵¹ African American Review (1992-1998); Callaloo (1976-1994); Journal of Black Studies (1970-1998); Journal of Blacks in Higher Education (1993-1999) Journal of Negro Education (1932-1996); Journal of Negro History (1916-1998); Transition (1961-1999)

⁵² Bourgois, Ph. I. (1995) *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996 printing, p68, 264

⁵³ E.g., Beckett, K. (1996) Culture and the politics of signification: the case of child sexual abuse, *Social Problems* 43,1:57-76; Levett, A. (1994) Problems of cultural imperialism in the study of child sexual abuse, in Dawes, A. & Donald, D. (Eds.) *Childhood & Adversity: Psychological Perspectives from South African Research*. Claremont, South Africa: David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd., p240-60; Levett, A. (1995) Discourses of child sexual abuse: Regimes of truth? In Lubek, I., Hezewijk, R. van, et al. (Eds.) *Trends and Issues in Theoretical Psychology*. New York, NY: Springer Publishing Co., p294-300 / Levett, A. (1996) Discursos sobre el abuso sexual del menor. Regimenes de poder? In Lopez, A. & Iglesias, L. (Eds.) *Psicología, Discurso y Poder: Metodologías Cualitativas, Perspectivas Críticas*. Madrid: Visor, p235-46; Thompson, Sh. J. (1988) Child sexual abuse redefined: Impact of modern culture on the sexual mores of the Yuit Eskimo, in Sgroi, S. M. (Ed.) *Vulnerable Populations*, Vol. 1: *Evaluation and Treatment of Sexually Abused Children and Adult Survivors*. Lexington, MA, England: Lexington Books/D. C. Heath & Com., p299-310; Angelides, S. (2002) *Feminism, Child Sexual Abuse, and the Erasure of Child Sexuality*. Paper presented at the Cultural Studies Association of Australia Conference, University of Melbourne, December 5-7; Angelides, S. (in press) *Historicizing Affect, Psychoanalyzing History: Pedophilia and The Discourse of Child Sexuality*. Forthcoming in the *Journal of Homosexuality*; Coburn-Engquist, J. L. (1998) *The Politics of Protection: The (Re)Production of Child Sexual Abuse and the Governance of Citizenship*. PhD Dissertation, University of Denver [DAI-A 59/11, p4010, May 1999]; O'Dell, L. J. (1998) *Damaged Goods and Victims? Challenging the Assumptions within the Academic Research into the Effects of Child Sexual Abuse*. PhD Dissertation, Aston University (UK) [DAI-C 60/01, p194, Spring 1999]; Schultz, P. D. (2000) *A Critical Analysis of the Rhetoric of Child Sexual Abuse*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. One might also want to check Reid, Th. A. (2001) *An Ethical Analysis of Discourse on Child Sexual Abuse*. PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago [DAI-A 2001 Aug; 62,2:576]

⁵⁴ Hekma, G. (nd) *Queering Anthropology*. Online paper [<http://www.pscw.uva.nl/gl/queerant.html>]

⁵⁵ Dundes, A. (1976) A Psychoanalytic Study of the Bullroarer, *Man*, New Series 11,2:220-38

Focussing on the phenomenon within cultural frameworks, and on discursive levels, an (arbitrary) *a priori* classification was made between opposite-sex and same-sex contacts for purposes of presentation. (It appears that scholars either universally deal with these categories in separation, or integrate them on the fragile basis of lumping them into an interventionist or moralist agenda.)

14.2.0 A Note on the Anthropology of Age Disparate Sexualities

Apart from plenty of colloquial reading on the matter⁵⁶, the following survey will deal with main studies addressing historical and ethnographic accounts of regional age-stratified patterns. This review will not be concerned with incidental patterns. The concept of “institutional” and “age-structured” sexual practices are increasingly seen as culture-specific, a dogma clearly advocated by Herdt’s and others’ terminological evolution. Today’s authoritative terms for less-than-incidental erotically motivated age disparate attachments include the confusing “age-set pattern” (Murray and Roscoe), “age-grade”⁵⁷, “age-stratification” (Murray)⁵⁸, and “age-structure”⁵⁹, terms to replace the obviously dissatisfying “intergenerationality”⁶⁰, or “transgenerationality” (Greenberg⁶¹), or its unification under the concept of “ritualisation”. Most of the current anthropology on age-structured or age-grade structured sexual practices deals with these phenomena under the general flag of “homosexualities”; this, of course, would be inadequate (though correct) in cases of which the younger party is in prepuberty, a situation referring to the ethnopsychiatric (and perhaps ethnolinguistic) problem of “paedophilia”. Although homosexuality has been successfully demedicalised in the West only since the 1970s, a genuine *ethnopsychiatry* of homosexuality never took ground. Even for “boy-love”, ethnological consideration has hardly been more than an apology, or close to it. More relevant, the definition of paedophilia clearly lacks a cross-cultural intention, and has never addressed the (world-wide) inclination to, and behaviours towards, young adolescents. The conclusion that paedophilia has not been the subject of academic anthropology is generally correct, with some exceptions. In what could

⁵⁶ E.g., Walen, D. A. (1995) “Lust-Exciting Apparel” and the Homosexual Appeal of the Boy Actor: The Early Modern Stage Polemic, *Theatre Hist Stud* 15: 87-103; Vicinus, M. (1994) The Adolescent Boy: Fin de Siecle Femme Fatale? *J Hist Sex* 5,1:90-114; Merrick, J. (1997) Sodomitical Inclination in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris, *Eighteenth-Cent Stud* 30,3:289-95; Starr, Ch. (1999) Shifting Boundaries: Gender in Pinhua Baojian, *Nan Nü: Men, Women and Gender in Early and Imperial China* [Netherlands] 1,2:268-302; Szonyi, M. (1998) The Cult of Hu Tianbao and the Eighteenth-Century Discourse of Homosexuality, *Late Imperial China* 19,1:1-25; Volpp, S. A. (1995) *The Male Queen: Boy Actors and Literati Libertines*. PhD Dissertation, Harvard University [DAI-A 1996 56(12):4779]

⁵⁷ Werner, D. (1998) Sobre a evolução e variação cultural na homossexualidade masculina, in Pedro, J. M. & Grossi, M. P. (Eds.) *Masculino, Feminino Plural*. Florianópolis: ed. Mulheres, p99-129. Cf. Werner, D. (2000) *Homosexuality and Hierarchy*. Poster for the International Behavioral Development Symposium

⁵⁸ E.g., Murray, S. O. (1995) Homosexual Categorization in Cross-Cultural Perspective, in Murray, S. O. (Ed.) *Latin American Male Homosexualities*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, p3-32, at p8-11

⁵⁹ Murray (2000) recognises three patterns of “homosexuality”: age-structured, gender-stratified, and egalitarian. These three types have existed throughout the world throughout history.

⁶⁰ See for instance its Dutch use by Sandfort, Brongersma, and Van Naerssen in the *Journal of Homosexuality*’s special edition on “Male Intergenerational Intimacy” (Volume 20, 1/2, 1990).

⁶¹ Greenberg (1988:p26-40) recognises four patterns of “homosexuality”: transgenerational, transgenderal, class-structured, and egalitarian. See Greenberg, D. F. (1988) *The Construction of Homosexuality*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press. See further p106-16, covering “sodomy in male initiation rites”.

have been a groundbreaking 1990 work on biosocial dimensions (edited by Feierman), this problem was not answered definitively. Generally, the boy's proscribed or real age in "boy-love" and "boy-marriage" customs is of remarkably little concern to "gay" situated (armchair) anthropologists, and even to some "boy-love" apologists. More relevant here, its meaning for sexual development remains debated in nearly all cases. The obvious contemporary obsession with abusiveness has been informed by the subchapters of "sexual abuse in historical perspectives" and "sexual abuse across cultures" in the 1990s, although the current concept of paedophilia is almost entirely neglected⁶², or rather, its term commonly abused (e.g., DeMause c.s.). One might equally argue that a historical analysis of paedophilia as a medical construct has received little penetrating research⁶³. The failure, for instance, to parallel the terminological evolution from *-philia* to *-sexuality*, requires further probing, especially in the light of what could be considered the "sexualising" of paedo"phile" lifeways. It appears that there are few other *generalist* ethnopsychiatric interpretations of "boy-loving" than those offered within a psychohistorical setting (DeMause, Kahr, Atlas) and within a sociobiological / ethological scope (Feierman c.s.), while *particularist* and *culturalist* accounts were offered by ethnologists (e.g., Herdt) and historians (e.g., Frayser, 1976). An integration into contemporary clinical perspectives has not been offered.

The approach here taken is informed by the proposition that official and unofficial sanctions on age difference in sexual systems are, if not critical, informative to the concept of erotic curricularisation. The agency of the child, for instance, is not discussed in most writings that assume the child is a static object or answers to a static pattern of "participation", or a static pattern of being victimised.

14.2.1 Heterosexual Age-Disparate Patterning

Over a range of societies, age-disparate *heterosexual* patterning is far less controversial intraculturally as its homosexual counterpart, and its apology nor its antagonism, or even its study (e.g., Leahy, 1994)⁶⁴, in Western society is in any way an academic tradition. This may or may not be related to its premodern universality. We see that in nearly every part of the world, at some point in history, institutions ensure adult male-female pubescent pairing. This is frequently anticipated by earlier affiliation (betrothal), when the man himself (e.g., Senoi-Semang, Gilyak, Nyakyusa, Nyamwesi, Nso', Australians, Wari'), his or her mother-in-law (Arapesh, Chinese), or his co-wife (Nkundo Mongo) raises his future bride. Thus, the husband "shapes" his child wife.

⁶² The literary historical use of "paedophilia" represents a major problem. Freeman (1998) even suggests a "rather incestuous literary kinship web" of 19th to 20th century writers contributing to the genre of American "pedophilic picaresques". See Freeman, E. (1998) Honeymoon with a Stranger: Pedophilic Picaresques from Poe to Nabokov, *Am Lit* 70, 4:863-97

⁶³ See, however, Arveiller, J. (1998) Pédophilie et psychiatrie. Repères historiques, *Evolution Psychiatrique* 63,1-2:11-34. For a sociological view, consider Kees, P. E. (1981) *Sociogenese van de Afkeer van Pedoseksualiteit*. Research paper, Tilburg, The Netherlands: Katholieke Hogeschool

⁶⁴ Leahy, T. (1994) Taking up a Position: Discourses of Femininity and Adolescence in the Context of Man/Girl Relationships, *Gender & Society* 8,1:48-72

Cape York **Australian** natives rationalised their child-marriage by arguing that “the girl will not be afraid of her husband if she grows up with him”⁶⁵; she will also be sexually trained. The same is said about the **Nyakyusa**: “We have no evidence to suggest that the girls in any general way dislike sleeping with their husbands before puberty, rather the reverse; and the men say: “It is good, it accustoms a girl to her husband” ”.

The occurrence of heterosexual generationally disparate patterns is noted in many cases.

A common pattern describes prepubertal betrothal, with “delayed”, pubescent consummation⁶⁶. In other (mostly debated) cases, it is made explicit that conjugal consummation does not await puberty⁶⁷. More or less indifferent attitudes toward incidental age-stratified sexual contacts with prepubescents have been documented among the **Nkundo** (Hulstaert), **Bangala** (Weeks), **Hopi** (Brandt), **Trukese** (Gladwin and Sarason), **Easter Islanders** (Metraux), **New Guinea**, (Strathern), **Bemba** (Richards) and in **Uganda** (Bohmer and Kirumira). More than incidental age stratified patterns including prepubescents outside of wedlock are said to occur for the **Maya**, **traditional Haitians**, **Mombasa Swahili**, **Ingalik**, **Trukese** (fellatio) and generally in age set societies (**Masai**, **Ariial Rendille**, **Baraguyu**, **Nandi** [debated]). The **Babunda** practiced a rare kind of institutional child prostitution (Torday). In a modest number of other cases, girls are said to be initiated (instructed) by an “older experienced man”, where it may also be true for boys (Sierra Nevada: **Cágaba**, **Ica**, **Kogi**; Polynesia: **Tongareva Island**, **Easter Island**).

One might argue that “poetic” beliefs act as a legitimisation for prepubertally consumed age stratified marriage or routine seduction (**Australian Aborigines**, **Bororó**, **Masai**, **Lepcha**, **Canela**).

For example, at ages 6 to 14, a Canela (Eastern Timbira) girl “is appointed to be a girl associate of a male society for one or a number of successive years. At one or more ceremonial points in the festival, beginning in her early teens, she has sexual relations with the society’s members, teaching her that one of her roles in mature Canela life is to keep nonrelated males sexually satisfied”. Congruently, “[g]irls almost always have intercourse before they menstruate, so their experience reinforces the Canela theory that sexual intercourse is the cause of menstruation” (Crocker and Crocker).

This may well be the case among those cases where there is infant betrothal (**Andamanese**, **Nyamwezi**, **Azande**, **New Guinea**, **Tahiti**) or at least female peripubescent marriage (**Yemen**)⁶⁸. According to Swartz, one “rather sophisticated informant” suggested that “[...] men only get interested in girls when the breasts begin to develop, that perhaps both would begin without copulation, but that “we Trukese are bad and when we see a girl is almost a young woman, we want to have intercourse with her”. Legitimisations seem to be leading their own life: in the Tukano, Ramkokamerkra, New Britain, and (provisionally) Timbira cases, the coitogenic menarche belief was observed to persist beyond contemporary applicability. In most cases, one is justified to assume asymmetric matrimonial alliances are

⁶⁵ Thomson, D. F. (1933) The Hero Cult, Initiation and Totemism on Cape York, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 63:453-537

⁶⁶ Examples include Akan, Vagla, Amhara (lower class), Wolof (though premenarchal intercourse mentioned by Faladé), Marutze, Chewa, [Abessinier], Valenge, Nso', Koalib, Lozi, Luo, Nandi, Nubia, Fanti, Mambwe, Bari, Ibibio, Kanda, Nkundo Mongo, Bela, Lalia-Ngolu; Pakistan, Brahmin, Punjabi, Taiwan Hokkien (Sim pua), Chuuk (formerly), Islamic countries (Iran), Kurtachi, New Britain, Saramaca (for betrothed girls), Zorcass, Warao; Aranda, Malekula (Mewun, Big Nambas), Shipibo

⁶⁷ Tuareg, Luvalé, Pokomo, Kunandaburi (Australia), India: Veda (debated; legally issued in 1846, 1891, and 1925); Adjeh (debated); Wolof (debated); Hausa (debated)

⁶⁸ Both the Apinayé and the Kaska apply negative biomedical associations to masturbation but poetic qualities to coitus; Kaska coitarche, however, was a negative experience, the belief being used both as a preventative warning and to pressure girls into “confessing” the presumed antecedents of menarche after its occurrence. The belief therefore provides the correct impression of curricular control.

the by-product of a polygynous system, or a shortage principle. (No attempt will be made to analyse individual cases.)

Thus, cultural legitimisations of perceiving the child as an erotic (or at least matrimonial) *subject* include that of making the girl grow up physically (cf. **chapter 16**), referring to some theological institute or imperative (Indian *dvadasis* and child marriage), legitimising some exchange principle, reasoning from an economic perspective, promoting the idea of “necessary instruction”, etc.

14.2.1.1 “Negotiating Stigma”? The Sugar Daddy Principle

(cf. GUS Vol. I, Africa, Sugar Daddies)

Typical of Sub-Saharan Africa (Uganda, Malawi, Kenya, Ethiopia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Tanzania⁶⁹, South Africa) and the Caribbean (Jamaica), the “sugar daddy”⁷⁰ syndrome refers to older, relatively wealthy men who engage adolescents in sexual relationships. School girls find sugar daddies to pay school fees, etc. (Van Haren, 1999⁷¹; Sellix, 1996⁷²; Bledsoe 1990⁷³; Meekers and Calvès, 1997⁷⁴ and refs.). In **Uganda**, a semi-prostitution based sexual exchange between young adolescent girls and “big men” would be “very common” (Bohmer and Kirumira, 2000:p277-81)⁷⁵.

Authors⁷⁶ have argued against an essentialist concept of “sugared” relationships as unilateral and coercive. Silberschmidt and Rasch (2001)⁷⁷ observed that older adolescent girls are

⁶⁹ In Tanzania, young girls not infrequently report having older men or *Mshefas* (those who provide) as sexual partners (Fuglesang, M. (1997) Lessons for Life - Past and Present Modes of Sexuality Education in Tanzanian Society, *Soc Sci & Med* 44,8:1245-54).

⁷⁰ The literature is unclear about the existence of “sugar mommies”.

⁷¹ Haren, J. van (1999) *Mapenzi na Pesa: Girls in Search for Love, Sex and Money. A Study on Adolescent Sexuality in an Urban Tanzanian Neighbourhood*. Occasional paper. Nijmegen [Holland]: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen

⁷² Sellix, T. (1996) *An Investigation into the Relationship between Older Males and Adolescents Females in Africa: Deconstructing the “Sugar Daddy”*. Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Master of Arts in International Development. Washington, DC: American University

⁷³ Bledsoe, Caroline H. 1990 School fees and the marriage process for Mende girls in Sierra Leone, in Sanday, P. R. & Goodenough, R. G. (Eds.) *New Directions in the Anthropology of Gender*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p283-309

⁷⁴ Meekers, D. & Calvès, A. (1997) ‘Main’ girlfriends, girlfriends, marriage, and money: The social context of HIV risk behaviour in sub-Saharan Africa, *Health Transition Rev* 7, Suppl.:361-75

⁷⁵ Bohmer, L. & Kirumira, E. K. (2000) Socio-economic context and the sexual behavior of Ugandan out of school youth, *Culture, Health & Sex* 2,3:269-85

⁷⁶ Leshabari, M. T. & Kaaya, S. F. (1997) Bridging the information gap: sexual maturity and reproductive health problems among youth in Tanzania, *Health Transition Rev*, Suppl. 3 to 7:29-44: “ ‘Sugar daddies’ have often been blamed for observed coital relationships between single girls and older men, where financial or material gain for the girls is implied (Lema and Kabeberi-Macharia 1992; Lwihula, Nyamuryekung’e and Hamelmann 1996). However, the ‘sugar daddy’ phenomenon may be too simplistic an explanation for the dynamics of sexual relations in Africa, particularly with respect to the youth population. In a study conducted in Dar es Salaam for example, a large proportion of 200 teenagers with abortion complications, the majority of whom were single, reported their partners to be men above the age of 45 years (Mpangile, Leshabari and Kihwele 1993). Almost 40 per cent of these partners lived in the same poor neighbourhoods as the girls and were not perceived to be better-off financially. Thus financial and material benefit for the girls may not have been the only reason for

normally seen as victims and easy preys of older and married men's sexual exploitation. However, the article was to suggest that these girls are "not only victims but also willing preys and active social agents engaging in high-risk sexual behaviour" with old males (relationships called *mpenzi*). Discussing these abusive patterns within the "more diffuse forms of sexual economic exchange", Johnson⁷⁸ argues that

"[t]here are thus many situations in which both adults and children are legally and socially considered capable of giving meaningful sexual consent despite being massively disadvantaged in relation to their sexual partner in terms of socio-economic power. It follows, then, that the Sugar Daddy does not usually need to distort social agreed ideas about childhood or sexual consent in order to rationalise a sexual relationship with a teenage girl. Nor can his motivations necessarily be described as aberrant. In many cultures, youthful female bodies are considered sexually desirable, and men are expected to demonstrate their masculinity through their capacity to command sexual access to 'desirable' female bodies".

Pedersen and Hegna⁷⁹ likewise contested hegemonic prostitution discourses, arguing that in their study of sold sex by Oslo 14 to 17-year-olds, "[p]robably parts of the sex sale experiences described in the paper may be best understood in terms of curiosity and search for excitement". The subject, however, are nevertheless "in need of help and protection". Ba (1981)⁸⁰ suggests that early sexual experience is common among urbanised youth, using data from French West Africa. Sexual games played in childhood rapidly change into monetary and gift-based⁸¹ economies, which are tacitly accepted by society.

14.2.2 Homosexual Age-Disparate Patterning⁸²

With too much ease, several cases of age disparate systems are commonly lumped into convenient container categories, not unusually including absurd historical interpretations:

"The earliest records on childhood sexuality [*sic*] for such early civilizations as the Celtic, Germanic, Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Japanese, Indian and Chinese all show ritualized pederasty of the Australian and Melanesian type; i.e., boys beginning at seven to ten years of age were forced to submit to fellatio and anal intercourse under the belief that women were so

their relationships with the older men. Often when the 'sugar daddy' phenomenon is discussed, a shift from established cultural rules which governed sexual morality and sexual partnership in the African context is implied".

⁷⁷ Silberschmidt, M. & Rasch, V. (2001) Adolescent girls, illegal abortions and "sugar-daddies" in Dar es Salaam: vulnerable victims and active social agents, *Soc Sci Med* 52,12:1815-26

⁷⁸ Davidson, J. O. (2001) *The Sex Exploiter*. Theme paper for the Second World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

⁷⁹ Pedersen, W. & Hegna, K. (2000) Barn og unge som selger sex [Children and adolescents selling sex], *Tidsskr Nor Laegeforen* 20;120,2:215-20; Pedersen, W. & Hegna, K. ([2002]) Children and adolescents who sell sex: a community study, *Soc Sci & Med* [uncorrected proof]

⁸⁰ Ba, Y. (1981) Some elements for a debate on juvenile "prostitution" and its suppression, *African Environm* 114-15-16, ENDA Dakar, Senegal

⁸¹ Stavrou, S. E. & Kaufman, C. E. (2000) "*Bus Fare Please*": *The Economics of Sex, Gifts and Violence among Adolescents in Urban South Africa*. To be presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, March 23-25, Los Angeles, California, United States

[www.dra.co.za/downloads/sexgifts.doc]

⁸² An elaborate annotated bibliography was part of the preparatory work.

powerful and men so weak that only in this way would the boys be able to grow sperm and attain manhood" [referring to Herdt]⁸³.

DeMause makes many overt mistakes, including generalisations pertaining to age, emic function, use of "force" (which is nowhere demonstrated), and the attribution of "ritualism". This obviously problematises the very foundations of the traditional psychohistorical claim.

Apparently justified, a meta-analysis of 17 cultures that incorporated homosexual "mentorship" affiliation found that being 'mentored' usually occurs in a military setting and serves as a "precursor" to heterosexual marriage (Crapo, 1995)⁸⁴. In these cultures, it is usually the case that older men consider extra wives to be status symbols, and thus the mentorship system also prevents (or: relieves) marital competition among younger males. Other significant differences between the practices of mentorship and non-mentorship societies were found, such as the prescription of (heterosexual) monogamy (0% vs. 16%), whether the husband and wife typically sleep apart (44% vs. 18%), and whether children are completely segregated with peers by their gender (42% vs. 13%). A limited study (extensive review available elsewhere) suggests that allosexual options (homosexuality, age disparate contacts, animal contacts) represent cross-culturally stereotypical alternatives for blocked heterosexual pathways, particularly for males, and *in all legitimised phases of the sexual curriculum*. The parallelism between sexual subcultures and individuals in this respect seems to be considered legitimate only for those categories that are culturally disapproved; this can tentatively be considered as a political bias.

Cultural legitimisations include that of making the boy grow up physically (**Sambia**, etc.)⁸⁵, making him a "complete" citizen (**ancient Greece**) or otherwise prepare him "for the duties and privileges of manhood" (Malekula), or identifying some basis of exchange (e.g., **South-African** "wives of the mines"; **East Bay, Small Island**), particularly monetary. The boy's 'objectification' is apparent in some cases, while in others idealisation is a key feature. They are "to keep the men faithful" during their service at the minefields (**Ovambos**); **Mossi soronés** were to play female roles and serve men on Fridays when sexual intercourse with women was prohibited; **Adjeh** boys are trained to entertain their lords in alternative ways ["om hunne heeren op andere wijzen te vermaken"]; etc. In early modern Ottoman society, as in other Mediterranean and Near Eastern societies, "sexual congress between adult males and young boys was not construed as "homosexual" or aberrant; what *was* deemed problematic was homoeroticism among *adult* males" (Pierce, 1997:p175)⁸⁶. Another widely

⁸³ DeMause, L. (1989) The role of adaptation and selection in psychohistorical evolution, *J Psychohist* 16,4:355-71

⁸⁴ Crapo, R. H. (1995) Factors in the Cross-Cultural Patterning of Male Homosexuality: A Reappraisal of the Literature, *Cross-Cultural Res* 29,2:178-202. Also cited by Martz, E. E. (Spring, 2000) *Transgenerational Intimacy- Developmental Friend or Foe?* Research article, Cornell University. Munroe et al. (1969) earlier found nine such mentor systems. See Munroe, R. L., Whiting, J. & Hally, D. (1969) Institutionalized male transvestitism and sex distinction, *Am Anthropol* 7:87-91

⁸⁵ The list reads: (1) growing boys, (2) masculinising their bodies in preparation for warrior life, (3) for the provision of sexual play or pleasure for the older youths, and (4) for the transmission of semen and soul substance to subsequent generations. Herdt, G. (1997) Male birth-giving in the cultural imagination of the Sambia, *Psychoanal Rev* 84,2:217-26

⁸⁶ Cited in Pierce, L. P. (1997) Seniority, sexuality, and social order: the vocabulary of gender in early modern Ottoman society, in Zilfi, M. C. (Ed.) *Women in the Ottoman Empire*. Leiden [etc.] [Holland]: Brill, p169-96

entertained rationale was that the passive partner could be homosexualised, while the inserter was not.

In selected cases, both participants are “excused”.

Tessmann (1904 [I]:p131)⁸⁷ notes how **Pangwe** boys “who as is well known “have neither understanding nor shame” “ have sexual acquaintances with older men, who “are excused with the [...] assertion: a bele nnem e bango= “he has the heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys”.

If anything, this case is suggestive of discursive currents that run counter to the current Euro-American one.

14.2.2.1 A Lesser Known Variant: The Indonesian Case

(Cf. GUS Vol. II, Indonesia)

A finding from various parts of indigenous Indonesia (Sumatra, Bali, Sidjoengjoeng, Adjeh, Celebes, Java) pre-1900 ethnographers have described not commonly known patterns of cross-age erotics. Although few insights can be offered owing to the minimal coverage by the authors, the boys seem to have had specific roles as suggested by titles (*anak djawi*, *sedatis*, *gandrungs*, *gemblakan*, *basirs*). Two patterns particularly stand out: that of a historically rooted patron-protégé or bilateral pattern (*warok-gemblakan*) and a unilateral pattern of servants/dancers which contributed to chief’s personal prestige (*sedatis*), the boys being drafted, put on display and performing at festive gatherings, accompanying the chief on trips, and being exchanged as gifts.

Then there is the erotic appeal of the dancing, cross-dressed prepubescent (Kruijt, Jacobs, Chabot). It only faintly resembles Islamic forms of age-stratified erotics, which medieval poetry centralises adolescent males on a non-mentor basis (e.g., Pashtun *ashnas*, medieval Jewish “gazelles”). The *sedatti* very much approaches, however, the Afghan *Kuch-i safari* (“travelling [boy-] wife”), or *Bača* (“singing boy”) as described by Burton (and others).

An interim conclusion reads that no specific studies add to the (condemnatory and casual) references offered by representatives of the Dutch rule. An ethnohistorical, ethnopsychiatric or ethical ramification restricting itself to these references will be hampered by this fact. To anticipate on observations aired below, it seems that this problem is a structural one encountered in many sites or settings.

14.3 Erotic Identity/Role Assignment: Structural Variability

As anticipated, I suggest that culturalised and individualised patterns operate along the same tendencies to rationalise their operationalising children as erotic object-subjects. The well-travelled scholar Guyon (1876 -1963), for instance, paralleled the widespread (e.g.,

⁸⁷ Tessmann, G. (1904) *Die Pangwe*. Berlin: E. Wasmuth. Vol. I; Murray and Roscoe (1998:p142)

§11.1.1) tendency to *biologise idealised agenda*⁸⁸. Kinsey and consorts' appeal to Guyon seems to be an awkward matter in this respect, given the contemporary condemnation of his use of obscure sources for his controversial child data (Judith Reisman). It can further be observed that concepts of apprenticeship and mentorship via or pertaining to phase-hierarchical erotic roles are being used by self-identified "paedophiles" to ideologise individual and countercultural erotic systems or, rather, dyadic affiliations⁸⁹.

In the entire social construct, most clearly studied in academia and journalism, the "paedo-erotic" (to use a once-preferred Dutch phrase) momentum / motive appears sexualised in a sense that what may well be individuals' psychosocial identity ultrastructure is subject to severe reductionism, filtering integral human trajectories of experience and leaving a residue of the undesirable and the unlawful. Apart from the decades of psychoanalytic record (a record problematic for its own reasons) which suggested at least something of a holistic concern, the social construction (or mere recognition) of factual paedophilic trajectories is an untrodden terrain, for obvious reasons, and it can be hypothesised that very selective (and changing) culture-wide reductionism is producing much of the undesirability, and identity. The narrowness of the academic and lay scope may be "cultural". 1970s Dutch (and later German) activist materials suggest that what be known as "paedophiles" actually could have lives, in which they selectively produce and reproduce reality (truths, misunderstandings): pathetic trajectories, perhaps, but hardly "predatory" *sec*. A historical parallel may be drawn with the sexualisation inherent in the social production of what would be "homoeerotic" trajectories (which is a somewhat more accessible, still not entirely legitimate, alley). Thing is that the social legitimacy of such a parallel is obfuscating an objective developmental reality of nonnormative trajectories. What appears to be a significant cultural routine, U.S. culture-watchers seem to recognise "paedophilic" momentum is what would be the changing erotic commodification of child objects, or, more problematic, of "childhood" (the curriculum). The production of both the ethics and alleged aesthetics involved are of central theoretical significance for the cultural and human condition. In this line or reason, "paedophilia", as we know it, in turn represents the functional commodification of those individuals that may accept its essentialism and may be internalising its reductionism, a process that appears to fuel and accommodate the continuous reorganisation and fine-tuning of a hegemonic social narrative; a narrative that may have to do with modernist (e.g., interventionalist) applications of personal pasts ("childhood") and notions of individualist reproduction ("children") more than with pathetic or whatever lifestyles. "Paedophilia", again, is interesting here only for its

⁸⁸ Guyon, who repeatedly refers to "numerous" personal experiences in the sexual lives of girls in various places, leaves no doubt to the effects of age disparate "initiations": "The early loss of virginity- and particularly, in many cases, before the onset of menstruation- reveals itself as a factor of good development and of asserted physiological balance- exactly the opposite of the neurotic girls who are found in western families and in convent schools. Girls thus initiated, even if they are very ordinary in appearance, grow beautiful. Their traits become regular, their face refines, their eyes widen and shine, their appearance become definite, their person grows healthy, their proportions harmonise. They grow taller, they attract attention [*sic*]. Sexual culture appears for these young plants an indispensable element highly beneficial to their development. They show none of the anæmia and lack of vitality which characterise girls who are shut up, and coddled, the victims of repression and of censure. They reach a state of equilibrium- physical, psychological and moral- which no other experience can assure". Sexual intercourse even "assists the maturation of her throat and bosom". See Guyon. R. (1950) The child and sexual activity; part II, *Int J Sexol* 3,4:237-47, at p243-4. A dissident Los Angeles-based front characterised by the title René Guyon Society roughly carries a pro-incest lobby.

⁸⁹ "Boy-love" is a "retro-cult" in contemporary Japanese subcultures that seeks to promote and celebrate (i.e., legitimise) this history-derived image via pornographic cartoons and novelettes. Mainstream, pornographic and nonpornographic Japanese cartoons, however, *endemically* exhibit the eroticisation and idealisation of pedomorphic qualities, suggestive of a culture-wide problem of shedding the concept of "young" (factually, prepubertal, or "cute", *kawaii*) from that of "erotic" and "sexual".

being a cultural exercise in the essentialisation, distribution and instrumentalisation of truths (and ethnohistorically variable at that) that shape the context of sexual developments.

The above examples are mostly taken from the ethnographic literature. It is hypothesised that contemporary Western cultures less rigorously apply complementation arguments, and have no social or economic need for age disparate configurations. Instead, less definite operationalisations are used which leaves the process to peer-organised identification (and to a lesser degree, complementation) motives. By contrast, traditional societies tended to centralise conjugal (e.g., **Baganda, Luguru, Bemba, Nkoya**; cf. **Shirishana Yanomamo; Bangladesh**) and even nonconjugal (e.g., **Canela**) submission as a value impressed on girls, a matter largely being revised by globalist tendencies. The issue of agency, however, may not be as apparent.

At puberty, a **Sicilian** girl becomes a *Vergine*, Virgin⁹⁰. The process of creating *la Vergine* suggests both complementation and identification motives⁹¹. Giovanni observes how, through negative and positive terms, women "[...] are socialised to accept and even desire the role of *la Vergine*" (p411-2).

Simplifying issues, normative sexual identities within the modern, egalitarianist West are progressively based on role behaviour that is to be copied from significant others, and, eventually, made to fit a perceived pattern of expectation pertaining to a (essentially hypothetical) potential partnership. The argument made in this paper is that this process, particularly in non-western non-industrial societies, may take place within the definitions of a paternalistic order that requires a specific role rather than fostering a particular individual development (or "identity"). Thus, erotic "*identities*" reflect assigned roles (hence, *assigned identities*). If at all, this process takes place later than the establishment of core gender identity, and can be subject to purposeful 'delay' (past pubescence) as well as interim revision to a considerable degree. Feminists have argued that in cultures that condone dual standards, obvious gender differences exist in the developmental *subjectification* of male sexuality (definition of identity), and the parallel developmental *objectification* of female sexuality (definition relative to male identity). These processes apparently take place within two dimensions: the central pre-conjugal setting and the lateral familial setting. The fertile/erotic girl serves her husband, and thus, her familial (patrilineal, fraternal) cause. This would legitimise the hypothesis that cultural views regarding "erotic age" depend on whether the girl is part of a historical interest system ("market", they say), and on the distinct organisation and basis of such a system.

14.4 Negotiated Meanings vs Negotiated Studies

⁹⁰ Giovannini, M. J. (1981) Woman: A Dominant Symbol Within the Cultural System of a Sicilian Town, *Man*, N. S. 16,3:408-26, at p411

⁹¹ "The innate vulnerability of women- defined in terms of their ability to be physically penetrated- is commonly cited to explain and justify their strict surveillance, which begins at puberty. On the one hand, puberty indicates the potential to create life, a potential that should come to fruition following marriage, But Garrese [Garre, Sicilian town] also believe that puberty marks the beginning of a woman's sexuality- her own sexual urges as well as her sexual appeal to men. Therefore from that point on a woman must be carefully guarded if her virtue is to remain intact".

14.4.1 Sex Ethics vs Sex Science

Prior to a major medicolegal fuss in the late 1990s, Osborne (1995)⁹² offered a comprehensive meta-analysis of the methodologies of 104 American studies of the incidence or prevalence of, and/or effects on, pre-adults who engage in sexual relationships with adult partners. The findings of that analysis would demonstrate that the assumption of inherent trauma is largely informed by an “anti-empirical moral ideology which does not consistently reflect current theory and findings regarding human sexual development, and which does not take into account the socially-constructed attitudes of erotophobia and homophobia which pervade American culture”.

This type of criticism is expressed by many influential, though controversial, authors, notably Krivacska, Money, Bullough, Bauserman, Rind, etc. Textbooks variably include and organise the *ethnohistoriographic* phenomenon of man-boy contacts within their curricula⁹³, suggestive of an ambiguity in frameworking the phenomenon. The import of cultural dogmata in the field is well-discussed elsewhereⁱⁱ. Alongside the quasi-academic erotica apparently circulating in sidetrack subculturesⁱⁱⁱ, few positivist⁹⁴ sociological accounts have been offered considering “intergenerational” contacts in contemporary Western contexts including the perspective of the younger party. These include reports dated within the early 1980s to early 1990s on **Dutch, Australian and North-American** subjects (as studied by by Pieterse, Sandfort, Rossmann, Brongersma, Wilson and Leahy [see [online thesis](#)], with further data by Okami and Rind / Savin-Williams)^{iv}. These reports, albeit invariably gathered using limited, nonrepresentative and diverse methodologies⁹⁵, and to be appreciated with utmost caution given the selection of informants, shed a preliminary light on the distribution and negotiation of meaning *within* (rather than *attribution to*) such affiliations *as they happen* or happened to take place. The results of these studies may be augmented by the more drastically limited work on “victim participation” referred to supra (§14.0). It appears that regarding the numerous non-western examples, few data are available for positivist or neutral sociological accounts that thus consider the position of the younger party.

14.4.2 “Positivist” vs “Negativist Performative Impressions

⁹² Osborne, R. (1995) *A Critical Analysis of Research on Pre-Adult Sexual Socialization*. Diss., Northeastern University (DAI-B 57/06, 1996, p4059)

⁹³ Rind, B. (1998) Biased Use of Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives on Male Homosexuality in Human Sexuality Textbooks, *J Sex Res* 35,4:397-407

⁹⁴ Referring, of course, to a methodological and not an attitudinal orientation.

⁹⁵ Sandfort examined 25 boys aged 10-16 and 20 men within selected contemporary dyadic affiliations. Leahy examined 19 selected (male and female) individuals who contemporarily claimed to have had a “positive” sexual “relationship” with an adult. Brongersma draws from an indefinite number of (male) correspondents, most of whom claimed to have or have had sexual contacts with minors or with boys younger than themselves; this was augmented by a limited account of boys. The accounts are fragmentary and unstructured. Wilson draws from a diary held by a single individual describing his sexual interactions with boys who were underage at that time, added to interview material involving a selected number of this individual’s sexual associates (adults by then), who would without exception speak positively of their interactions. Rind, citing Savin-Williams, presents 26 selected male cases who were identified as having had sexual relations as adolescents between 12 and 17 years of age with adult males, most of whom voicing a predominantly positive attitude. A number of other accounts are less detailed.

The following example illustrates, at an intermediate level between individuals and cultures, subcultural operationalisation of young people into an adult-operated sexual system.

In the U.S. of the 1950s and 1960s, boy prostitution scenes were common in large cities. In a much-reprinted article, Reiss (1961)⁹⁶ explored such a special form of male prostitution in American society, namely, the homosexual relationship between adult male fellators and lower-class delinquent boys. It is seen as an economic, financial transaction between the boys and the fellators which is governed by delinquent peer norms. For the delinquent boys it is an easy way of earning money by threatening violence to adult male fellators. These norms integrate the two types of “deviators” into an institutionalised form of prostitution and protect the boys from self-definitions either as prostitutes or as homosexuals. Pretty much the same was noted in France⁹⁷. These patterns noted in metropolitan areas of every continent give the impression of an exchange system rather than solely an organised subculture of exploitation. This may be so given the theoretical continuity with adult male prostitution.

Working within a poststructuralist perspective, Leahy (p18-74)⁹⁸ discusses sexual connotations, implications and age differences as being represented by negotiated meanings arising within age stratified contexts of all-male groups and dyads. These meanings are interpreted as “discursive strategies that conserve aspects of the dominant discourse and that nevertheless validate the [occurring] transgression”. Thus, the author identified

“[...] two types of minimization of the sexual aspect of intergenerational relationships. One is the discursive positioning of the younger party as a participant in a game, a situation of play. The sexual aspect of what occurs is set to one side, although both participants are in another sense quite well aware of it. The second is the minimization and restriction of activities discursively constituted as paradigmatically sexual, the restriction of sexual contact to cuddling and petting, and the avoidance of such things as penetration, nakedness, orgasm and genital contact. [...] In general, the strategy of *minimization* works to conserve a powerful and relevant discourse by suggesting that the transgression against it is relatively minor and unimportant. While this expresses deference to the dominant discourse, it occurs in situations where what is actually taking place is undoubtedly transgressive”.

Leahy goes on to identify three different strategic *moves* in minimising sex: (a) *refusing* positions offered within dominant discourses, (b) presentation of events as *exceptions that prove the rule*, and (c) *changing the discourse*. The author further demonstrates how transgressions within dominant discourses are validated by the use of *ambivalence* as a strategy, by *denying the relevance of the dominant discourse*, by *reversing the discourse*, and further by *claiming the transgression*.

Not selecting for a positive outcome or reflection, sociology becomes a quite different tool, narratives helping to “delineate emotional and relational vulnerabilities” in this age group and population and “clarifying” the role romantic or sexual relationships with an older

⁹⁶ Reiss, A. J. Jr. (1961) The social integration of queers and peers, *Social Problems* 9:102-20. Reprinted in In Gagnon, J. H. & Simon, W. (Eds., 1967) *Sexual Deviance*. New York, N.Y.: Harper & Row, p197-228; and in Rubington, E. & Weinburg, M. S. (Eds., 1968) *Deviance: The Interactionist Perspective*. London: Macmillan, and in Rushing, W. A. (Ed., 1975) *Deviant Behavior and Social Process*. Chicago: Rand MacNally College, p254-67, and in Dynes, W. R. & Donaldson, S. (Eds., 1992) *Sociology of Homosexuality*. New York, NY [etc.]: Garland, p296-314

⁹⁷ Amado, G. (1951) Ethique et psychologie d'un groupe d'adolescents inadaptés, *Évolution Psychia* 1:3-30

⁹⁸ Leahy does not analyse the Dutch work of Sandfort and Brongersma. Also note two earlier activist papers circulated under Leahy's name entitled “Pedophilia and the construction of childhood” and “Child - adult sex: is it ever ok?” [avail. Homodok, Amsterdam, both ca. 1983], where he ventures to identify “voluntary” participation in (male homosexual) paedosexual relationships within the context of patriarchal/capitalist society. Cf. nondated papers received from the author.

individual plays in adolescent “risk-taking, self-repair and revictimization”⁹⁹. This narrative suggests that the format and motives of the study determine the eventual conclusions, a situation posing a significant problem to the interpretation of contemporary literature. Dominant discourses, to follow Leahy’s entry, redefine what could have been the issue of objectivity to an issue of morality and ethical restraint; it solidifies itself by systematically eradicating a specific part of human agency. Clearly, the application of concepts such as “manufactured sexualities” should be renegotiated to challenge constructs as (“participated”?) revictimisation, “pathological sexualisation”, etc.

A transitional form between positivism and negativism may be appreciated in Gilgun’s (1995)¹⁰⁰ postmodern entry to incest, thus motivated:

“The fragmentation in the discourse of incest perpetrators fits well with postmodern views of the world as paradoxical, ambiguous, and inconsistent. An explicit postmodernist analysis of narratives of persons who commit incest or other abusive acts could illustrate and elaborate this aspect of postmodernism [...]. A second reason to undertake a postmodernist analysis of narratives of persons who commit abusive acts is the potential to demonstrate the limits of the plasticity of discourse” (p278).

14.4.3 The Ethical Impression: Perspectives for the Constructionist

Cross-cultural considerations of sexual “abuse” experiences among children are predominantly informed within the scope of American ethnic minorities, and therefore being subculturalist rather than truly cross-cultural¹⁰¹. A collection of subcultural peculiarities was edited by Fontes (1995)¹⁰². Most writers argue for a “cross-national” approach in discussing combat motivation and strategies (e.g., Finkelhor and Korbin, 1988)¹⁰³, thereby bypassing both the etic and the emic pursuit. Only some authors¹⁰⁴ have specifically addressed this issue of cultural definition. It must be argued that American

⁹⁹ Saul, D. H. (2001) Young adolescent girls and older men: Issues of development, gender and abuse in sexual relations before the age of consent, *DAI-B* 62(3-B):1647

¹⁰⁰ Gilgun, J. F. (1995) We Shared Something Special: The Moral Discourse of Incest Perpetrators, *J Marriage & Fam* 57,2:265-81

¹⁰¹ Maureen, C., K. & McEachern, A. G. (2000) Racial, ethnic, and cultural factors of childhood sexual abuse; A selected review of the literature, *Clin Psychol Rev* 20,7:905-22; Mennen, F. E. (1995) The relationship of race/ethnicity to symptoms in childhood sexual abuse, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 19,1:115-24; Kalof, L. (2000) Ethnic differences in female sexual victimization, *Sexuality & Culture* 4,4:75-97

¹⁰² Fontes, L. A. (Ed., 1995) *Sexual Abuse in Nine North American Cultures: Treatment and Prevention*. Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc; Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.

¹⁰³ Finkelhor, D. & Korbin, J. (1988) Child abuse as an international issue, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 12,1:3-23

¹⁰⁴ Korbin, J. E. (1987) Child sexual abuse: Implications from the cross-cultural record, in Scheper-Hughes, N. (Ed.) *Child Survival: Anthropological Perspectives on the Treatment and Maltreatment of Children*. Dordrecht, Boston, Lancaster, Tokyo: D. Reidel Publishing Company, p247-67; Dempster, H. L. & Roberts, J. (1991) Child sexual abuse research: a methodological quagmire, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 15,4:593-95; Davenport, W. H. (1992) Adult-child sexual relations in cross-cultural perspective, in O’Donohue, W. & Geer, J. H. (Eds.) *The Sexual Abuse of Children: Theory and Research. Vol. I*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, p73-80; Rubin, G. (1984) Thinking sex, in Vance, C. S. (Ed.) *Pleasure and Danger*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p267-319; Scheper-Hughes, N. & Stein, H. (1985) *Child Abuse Hysteria*. Paper presented at the American Ethnological Society, Wrightsville Beach. Cited by Davis and Whitten (1987:p77)

definition of “child sexual abuse” is predominantly informed by age difference, and hardly any definition goes without it.

The social constructionist understanding of child sexual abuse is jeopardised by this biomedical developmentalism. Since the middle of the 1990s, constructionist accounts of “sexual abuse” of children have been offered at the casuistic-clinical^v and sociostructural level^{vi}, delineating the historical uses of the concept by “patients”, “clients”, “doctors”, “lawyers” as well as by (and regarding¹⁰⁵) social interest groups, such as feminists. Further, this line of approach may address the contemporary issue of children as sexual abusers¹⁰⁶. Taken together, “positivist”, historical^{vii}, and anthropological¹⁰⁷ studies may clarify patterns of traumatogenesis as well as use of historiography in contemporary academic performance within sexual discourses.

Jenkins¹⁰⁸ argued for the image of “an American social problem [being] exported more or less intact to Europe”. Thus, over two decades “European nations have adopted what were once distinctively North American concepts of pedophiles and sexual offenders against children”, which would be partially attributable to worldwide dominance of American mass media. Babington¹⁰⁹ wonders whether these media have “acted more to define public opinion than to express it”. A definite cultural pendant of “abuse” ethics, paedophilia can be studied as a journalist discourse (e.g., Kitzinger, 1997)¹¹⁰. A qualitative analysis of the content and language of selected **Italian** newspaper items published 1992-1999 was used by Ganesini (2000)¹¹¹ to investigate the definitional process that has gradually accompanied (contributed to?) the emergence of paedophilia as a social problem. A comparison of the 1984-9 **Dutch** situation as characterised by Maassen¹¹² may prove interesting. A recent **British** account is provided by Critcher (2002)¹¹³. Note that British media are concurrently accused of pathologising collective ‘anti-paedophile’ efforts (Drury, 2002)¹¹⁴.

Some further modern historical issues related to the concept of sexual dangers for children were collected by Rossen and Schuijjer¹¹⁵.

14.5 Discussion: “Paedophilia” as a Central Cultural Discourse

Reporting in 1981, Mohr¹¹⁶ stated:

¹⁰⁵ Hooper, C. A. (1997) Child sexual abuse and the regulation of women: Variations on a theme, in O’Toole, L. L. & Schiffman, J. R. (Eds.) *Gender Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. New York: New York University Press, p336-51

¹⁰⁶ Brownlie, J. (2001) The ‘being-risky’ child: Governing childhood and sexual risk, *Sociology* 35,2:519-37

¹⁰⁷ La Fontaine, J. S. (1988) Child sexual abuse and the incest taboo: practical problems and theoretical issues, *Man* 23:1-18

¹⁰⁸ Jenkins, Ph. (2000) *How Europe Discovered Its Sex Offender Crisis*. Paper for the Society for the Study of Social Problems

¹⁰⁹ Babington, D. (1993) Sexual Outlaws and the Posses of Hearsay, *Queen’s Quart* 100,2:491-503

¹¹⁰ Kitzinger, J. (1999) The Ultimate Neighbour from Hell? Stranger Danger and the Media Framing of Paedophiles, in Franklin, B. [Ed.] *Social Policy, The Media and Misrepresentation*. London: Routledge, p207-21

¹¹¹ Ganesini, G. (2000) *The Definition of Pedophilia as a Social Problem: The Case of Italian Newspaper Media*. Occasional paper, Sociology & Anthropology Dept, U Central Florida

¹¹² Maassen, M. (1989) *Pedofilie in the Media*. Research paper, Free University of Amsterdam

¹¹³ Critcher, Ch. (2002) Media, Government And Moral Panic: The Politics of Paedophilia in Britain 2000-01, *Journalism Studies* 3,4:521-35

¹¹⁴ Drury, J. (2002) ‘When the Mobs Are Looking for Witches to Burn, Nobody’s Safe’: Talking about the Reactionary Crowd, *Discourse & Society* 13,1:41-73

¹¹⁵ Rossen, B. & Schuijjer, J. (1992) *Het Seksuele Gevaar voor Kinderen: Mythen en Feiten*. Amsterdam /Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger [Dutch]

"In spite of what has been termed the Freudian revolution with its discovery [*sic*] of infantile sexuality (Freud, 1905), and in spite of an increasing frankness in public discussion of sexual variances and the recognition of the need for sex education in schools, children's sexual interests as such have never been acknowledged except in their relationship to future sexual functioning. Children are basically still treated as asexual beings with some cognitive interest in sexuality. Actual sexualization is generally acknowledged only in puberty and even then the social response is one of control. We can thus observe all the attributes of a taboo, in which sex play between children can still be ignored or controlled by social disapproval, but in which sexual interaction between adults and children constitutes *a break which has to be publicly stigmatized and controlled by institutional means*" (*ital.add.*).

In this statement, Mohr verbalises what may be the essential social function of the contemporary "paedophilia" concept: curricularisation. The paedophile represents a threat to sexual behaviour trajectories via his introducing the child to operationalising knowledge. The rejection of this (direct) influence is a function of curricularising tendencies that apparently fluctuate over time. The experience is thus by cultural definition *extracurricular*, or, contemporarily, *discurricular*. Rather than providing a communicative "Catch-22" (Money), it represents the co-existence of incompatible operationalisation efforts (that is, *assigned agendas*, recruitment policies). Both parties then attract nosological interpretations and medical discourses, a tendency also manifestly variable over time. Curricular operationalisations are identified by their subjectification /objectification strategies and ideologies. In contemporary Western discourse, opposing a wealth of ethnohistorical examples, it has become politically impossible either to promote unbalanced objectification principles or legitimise objectification through pseudo-subjectification principles. However Western ideals of erotic subjects (rather than objects) shape sexual discourses, contemporary practices do not so much as directly facilitate either principle, but roughly provide an age-segmented environment where such principles are laterally to be "picked up along the way". Whereas (sub)culture-wide objectification theoretically facilitates a rapid and unambiguous assimilation into exchange systems, identification is accomplished only after a protracted and complex curriculum, given (a) the absence (and counteraction) of objectifying principles, and (b) interference by and the need to resist nevertheless pervasive objectification principles, and (c) identification being counteracted by an avoidance of (early) cross-segmental transmission of sexual attitudes and techniques. This complexity arises in the main institutions that provide subjective or objective sexual behaviour identities: the family and the marital bond. In the early years, the child will not be subjectified, partially for fear of its being objectified (= "abused") in the process; finally ending up having "subjectified themselves", they might fail to be partners on the basis of this unilateral individualism, or may prolong the definition of "adult sexuality" on this very basis.

¹¹⁶ Mohr, J. W. (1981) Age structures in pedophilia, in Cook, M. & Howells, K. (Eds.) *Adult Sexual Interest in Children*. London: Academic Press, p41-54

- ⁱ Davidson, R. (2001) "This Pernicious Delusion": Law, Medicine, and Child Sexual Abuse in Early-Twentieth-Century Scotland, *J Hist Sex* 10,1:62-77; Groenink, E. (1995) Seks met kinderen als medicijn tegen AIDS, *Opzij* [Dutch] 23,9:41. Cf. Riemer, S. (1940) A Research Note on Incest, *Am J Sociol* 45,4:566-75: "A [American?] folk believe of indefinite origin is that sexual intercourse with a virgin has a therapeutic effect upon venereal disease in a male. Sometimes the belief is less specific; so that sexual intercourse with a young girl. Not necessarily a virgin, is believed to be beneficial to "disease", no necessarily venereal" (p575n4). This was also found in **Zimbabwe**: Epprecht, M. (1998) The "Unsayings" of Indigenous Homosexualities in Zimbabwe: Mapping a Blindspot in an African Masculinity, *J Southern Afr Stud* 24,4:631-51, at p647; and **India**: Tamba, S. (2001) From Hidden to Manifest Horror: Child Sexual Abuse, *Philosophy & Soc Action* 27,1:23-35. The **South African** case (e.g., Hinfelaar, 1994), presumed to be the place of origin (McGreal, C. (2001) AIDs myth drives South african baby rape crisis "due to AIDS myth", *The Guardian*, Nov 3; Pitcher, G. J. & Bowley, D. M. (2002) Infant rape in South Africa, *Lancet* Jan 26; 359(9303):274-5) was refuted by Jewkes, R., Martin, L. & Penn-Kekana, L. (2002) The virgin cleansing myth: cases of child rape are not exotic, *Lancet* Feb 23;359(9307):711, who could cite only one possible case. See also Millner, C. (2002) South Africa's Shame, *Essence* 33,4:114-7. Unconfirmed sources suggest the virgin myth exists in Botswana, Swaziland and other countries. See also Maxwell, J. (2000) Africa's lost generation, *CNN.com*; Keeton, C. (2001) Infant's gang rape spurs outrage across South Africa, *Nando Times*, Nov. 10. In **Jamaica**, sex with a virgin is thought to cure gonorrhoea (Chevannes-Vogel, D. (1999) Prevention and management of reproductive tract infections in a slum in Kingston, Jamaica, *Bull Med Mundi* 73, Jun/Jul.).
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“Childhood Sexual Abuse and Social Constructionism”

[Addendum to **chapter 14**]

*****Compiler’s note*****

These resources (late 1980s to date) converge in the assumption that “abuse”, “abuser” and “anti-abuse” categories connote “social constructions”. Whether this bias can be called amoral or subversive is beyond the scope of this bibliography. The reader may find that more resources could have been included. Note that dissertation abstracts and previews (1997>) may be obtained via [ProQuest Digital Dissertations](#).

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15

Rolling Down a Hill Together in Each Other's Arms.

An Ethnohistorical Inventory of Play / Rehearsive Love and (Pre-)Institutional Dyadic Affiliation

"My sister comes in. Her eyes are full of sorrow. She sings to me: "When the deep purple falls over sleepy garden walls, someone thinks of me..." I doze, thinking of plums, walls, and "someone"¹

"Viene, gioiuzza mia, e viene scatená
all'acqua frisca della tua funtana!"

(Come, my joy, come and play
In the fresh waters of your fountain!)²

Summary: This chapter provides a rough sketch of love development trajectories as encountered cross-culturally and historically. As such it explores the extent of cultural diversity in such indefinite concepts as love and romanticism, thereby providing a vademecum for future study of its developmental principles. It establishes a chronological baseline of love as a subjective experience by reviewing relevant numeric data available for Western societies. It further overviews some of the cultural determinants that have been identified as to shape love trajectories. Lastly, some theoretical excursions are offered.

¹ Morrison, T. (1970) *The Bluest Eye: A Novel*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p7. As quoted by Bakerman, J. S. (1981) Failures of Love: Female Initiation in the Novels of Toni Morrison, *Am Lit* 52,4:541-63, at p545

² Chairidakis, A. L. (1993) Tears of blood: the Calabrian villanella and immigrant epiphanies, in Del Giudice, L. (Ed.) *Studies in Italian American Folklore*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University, p11-51, at p34

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15.0 Introduction

15.0.0 Chapter Purpose

Introducing two interesting absolutisms, McCormick³ suspects that “nearly everyone else on the planet has a soft spot in his or her heart for a good love story”; that is, “[a]side from preadolescent males (who find them icky in the extreme)”. In fact, the development of “love” and romantic motives has been neglected by psychologists and ethnographers who generally limit their studies to the description of the semi- and quasi-institutional forms its development is structured in. Cross-cultural studies of early and first love, for instance, are rare⁴. Anthropologists have interested themselves for changing patterns of premarital love⁵ which are related to the mixture of cultural clues to the operational and motivational identity of love.

The following chapter structures available data on the “development” of “love”, as informed by cultural factors. To do so, a round-up of theoretical entries to the problem will be outlined (§15.1). Next, the concept of “play love” is presented as a major discourse both in historical and ethnographic perspective (§15.2).

To anticipate on the data to follow, the discussion of preadolescent love development within the cultural setting, such as by Johansson (1995)⁶, is only sporadically fuelled with quality interview data. Love, it appears, tends to be associated with the larger structural-political modes of existence rather than the personal and microsocially interactional. Hence, valuable data are mostly drawn from retrospective essays⁷. An integrative view of preadolescent

³ McCormick, P. (1994) Taking a chance on love, *U.S. Catholic* 59,11:[46]

⁴ E.g., Bozon, M. & Heilborn, M. L. (1996) Les Caresses et les mots. Initiations amoureuses a Rio de Janeiro et a Paris, *Terrain* 27, Sept.:37-58. Cf. Bozon, M. & Heilborn, M. L. (2001) As caricias e as palavras. Iniciação sexual no Rio de Janeiro e em Paris, *Novos Estudos CEBRAP* 59:111-35

⁵ Parikh, Sh. (2001) *Regulating Romance: The Poetics and Politics of Youth Sexuality in Uganda's Time of AIDS*. Paper delivered at the conference *Gender, Sexuality and HIV/AIDS: Research and Intervention in Africa*, April 23-24, Department of Women and Gender Research in Medicine, Institute of Public Health, University of Copenhagen; Davis, D. A., & Davis, S. S. (1995) Possessed by love: Gender and romance in Morocco, in Jankowiak, W. (Ed.) *Romantic Passion: A Universal Experience?* New York: Columbia University Press, p219-38

⁶ Johansson, B. (1995) Far jag chans pa dej? Om barns foralskelser [Do I Have a Chance with You? About Children in Love], *Nord Nytt* 58:86-107

⁷ E.g., Wiley, N. (2001) Stockyards Boyhood, *Stud Symbolic Interaction* 24:223-42. A group of 22 poems written in midlife relate boyhood experiences and feelings about growing up as a Polish Catholic in a “Back-of-the-Yards” neighbourhood of Chicago during the 1930s and 1940s. Some of the poems describe intensely personal experiences

friendships⁸ (e.g., “chum friendships”⁹, “passionate” friendships¹⁰, “special friendships”), love, intimacy¹¹, and nongenital “affectionate”¹² and genital behaviour awaits further qualitative research (see also §§ III.3.1 and III.3.2).

15.0.1 A Note on Teleological Operationalisation

“Although scholars have given considerable attention to adolescent romance, few have examined the discursive practices of pre-adolescents, as they are just beginning to take up (and to resist) cultural coherence systems that construct gender and sexuality” (Walton et al., 2002)¹³. As Erlich (1966)¹⁴ notes in Yugoslav villages, love songs are sung “long before they have any personal interest in the other sex”. What constitutes dyadic object “love” in children is ambiguous and problematic terminologically given its common use to denote a general fondness for experiences and objects. Cultural factors are at play in the assignment of “love quality”, as measured by behavioural competence, social attainability, motivational endurance, and object specific tenacity.

There seems to be a debate concerning the place of early infatuation in the wider societal telos, often formulated in terms of synergy and antagonism. Studies suggest that “falling in love”, on no matter what¹⁵, was an even better predictor of adult creative achievement than indices of scholastic promise and attainment in school. However, other research reveals that “early romantic involvement in late childhood and adolescence had negative consequences for academic, job, and conduct domains of competence. Later in adolescence, romantic relationship involvement lost its negative significance” (Neeman et al.).

like being secretly in love with a pretty cousin & going on a first date. Thoughts about girls and sex were heightened by the restrictions placed on them by a Catholic upbringing.

⁸ Sharabany, R. (1994) Intimate Friendship Scale: Conceptual underpinnings, psychometric properties and construct validity, *J Social & Personal Relationships* 11,3:449-69; Buhrmester, D. & Furman, W. (1987) The development of companionship and intimacy, *Child Developm* 58,4:1101-13; Sharabany, R., Gershoni, R. & Hofman, J. E. (1981) Girlfriend, boyfriend: Age and sex differences in intimate friendship, *Developm Psychol* 17,6:800-8; Berndt, Th. J. (1982) The Features and Effects of Friendship in Early Adolescence, *Child Developm* 53,6:1447-60

⁹ Mannarino, A. P. (1978) The interactional process in preadolescent friendships, *Psychiatry* 41,3:308-12; Mannarino, A. P. (1976) Friendship patterns and altruistic behavior in preadolescent males, *Developm Psychol* 12,6:555-6; Everett, L. A. (1991) The female relational self in the context of preadolescent chum friendship, *DAI* 52(3-B):1747; Zimmerman, A. (1990) Preadolescent chumship and self-concept from a Sullivanian perspective, *DAI* 50(9-B):4250; Mueller, M. & Hopkins, L. (1979) Momma-Baby Relationships: Female Bonding in Lesotho, *Women's Stud Int Quart* 2,4:439-47

¹⁰ Diamond, L. M. (2000) Passionate Friendships Among Adolescent Sexual-Minority Women, *J Res on Adolescence* 10,2:191-209; Foot, H. C., Smith, J. R. & Chapman, A. J. (1979) Non-verbal expressions of intimacy in children, in Cook, M. & Wilson, G. (Eds.) *Love & Attraction*. Oxford [etc.]: Pergamon, p131-6; Jones, G. P. (1986) *The Development of Intimate Friendship in Childhood and Adolescence*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California; Bailey, Ch. (1998) *Excess, Intimacy, and Discipline: Curriculum of the Body in the Early Childhood Classroom*. The University of Wisconsin, Madison

¹¹ E.g., Zarbatany, L., McDougall, P. & Hymel, Sh. (2000) Gender-differentiated experience in the peer culture: Links to intimacy in preadolescence, *Social Developm* 9,1:62-79; Watts, C. L. (1997) The growth of an intimate relationship between preadolescent girls, in Selman, R. L., Watts, C. L. et al. (Eds.) *Fostering Friendship: Pair Therapy for Treatment and Prevention*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter, p77-100

¹² Salt, R. E. (1991) Affectionate touch between fathers and preadolescent sons, *J Marriage & Fam* 53,3:545-54

¹³ Walton, M., Weatherall, A. & Jackson, S. (2002) Romance and friendship in pre-teen stories about conflicts: ‘we decided that boys are not worth it’, *Discourse & Society* 13,5:673-89

¹⁴ Erlich, V. St. (1966) *Family in Transition: A Study of 300 Yugoslav Villages*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. The author also notes that the stern prohibitions and supervision are said to lack their alleged “conditioning effect”: “The readiness for love is not diminished, but on the contrary increased”.

¹⁵ Torrance, E. P. (1983) The importance of falling in love with “something”, *Creative Child & Adult Quart* 8,2:72-8

The contradiction here encountered may reflect culturally ambivalent agendas rather than a clear-cut “role” or “significance”. Feminists, for their part, argue that “the compelling ideology of romance channels girls narrowly toward heterosexuality and marriage”¹⁶. The remaining chapter, by contrast, operates from a nonteleological basis, and rather addresses the curricular organisation of love as a social category of human bonding.

15.1 Romanticism, Culture and Curriculum

15.1.1 “Structural-Cultural” Aspects

Lindholm¹⁷ discusses whether romantic love is a particularly Western and modern phenomenon, as many social theorists argue, or a universal experience (at least not confined to Western societies¹⁸) as sociobiologists claim. Lindholm argued that both these approaches err in taking sexual attraction as the essential characteristic of romance, whereas historical and personal accounts stress idealisation of a particular other. Cultural factors would define the way this dramatisation project might be elaborated¹⁹. Rated in generalist terms²⁰, love is perhaps best studied cross-culturally by its subvariables²¹ (e.g., frequency of love experiences, attachment styles, love styles, love as a basis of marriage, romantic attitudes, and predictors of falling in love), and via depth interviews²². Of course, these are not available in most ethnographies.

The extent to which emotions are culturally created is a comparatively recent concern²³. Courtship “routines” and curricula are shaped by their social *raison d’être*²⁴. The relative import, or mere existence, of romanticism in this process is subject to wider than dyadic interests²⁵, and, as noted by other reviewers²⁶, cultural determinants²⁷. Romanticism, thus, is a cultural (rather than dyadic or individual) construct²⁸.

¹⁶ Shore, Z. L. (2000) Girls reading culture: Autobiography as inquiry into teaching the body, the romance, and the economy of love, *DAI-A* 60(8-A):2839

¹⁷ Lindholm, Ch. (1998) Love and Structure, *Theory, Culture & Society* 15,3-4:243-63

¹⁸ E.g., Oppong, Ch. (1980) From Love to Institution: Indications of Change in Akan Marriage, *J Fam Hist* 5,2:197-209

¹⁹ Romantic love is properly defined as an experience of transcendence and would be elaborated in cultural configurations of three basic types: (1) in hierarchical and internally competitive societies, where marriage is a political matter and romantic relations are always adulterous and often nonsexual; (2) in individualistic, fragmented, and fluid societies, where love and marriage go together; and (3) in highly structured, disharmonic societies, where romantic ties between youth are severed by arranged marriages.

²⁰ Jankowiak, W. R. & Fischer, E. F. (1992) A Cross-Cultural Perspective on Romantic Love, *Ethnology* 31,2:149-55

²¹ E.g., Sprecher, S. et al. (1994) Love: American Style, Russian Style, and Japanese Style, *Personal Relationships* 1,4:349-69

²² Kaz, Sh. (2001) A depth psychology of romantic love as a cultural artefact, *DAI-B* 62(1-B):552

²³ Lutz, C. & White, G. M. (1986) The anthropology of emotions, *Ann Rev Anthropol* 15:405-36

²⁴ Ingoldsby, B. B. (1995) Mate selection and marriage, in Ingoldsby, B. B. & Smith, S. (Eds.) *Families in Multicultural Perspective*. Perspectives on Marriage and the Family. New York: The Guilford Press, p143-60; Gell, A. (1996) Amour, connaissance et dissimulation, *Terrain* 27:5-14

²⁵ Medora, N. P. et al. (2002) Perceived attitudes towards romanticism: A cross-cultural study of American, Asian-Indian, and Turkish young adults, *J Comparat Fam Stud* 33,2:155-78; Kurland, M. (1953) Romantic Love and Economic Considerations: A Cultural Comparison, *J Educ Sociol* 27,2:72-9

²⁶ Coates, D. L. (1999) The cultured and culturing aspects of romantic experience in adolescence, in Furman, W., Brown, B. B. et al. (Eds.) *The Development of Romantic Relationships in Adolescence*. Cambridge Studies in Social and Emotional Development. London: Cambridge University Press, p330-63; Bouchey, H. A. & Furman, W. ([2001])

Otherwise put²⁹, “expertise in romantic pursuits” is an organised acquisition, and is likely to require and be granted a trial pathway for ultimate success. Occidental romantic attachment as an explanandum is frequently located in its being a developmental “change” in the general homophilic (homosocial) nature of preadolescent (or variably, preadult) bonding³⁰. It is significant, though, that previous researchers tend to focus on *adolescent* romantic development³¹, even when criticising previous work on its cancellation of “early” romantic inclinations as “mature” subjects for study. In the study by Broderick³², however, the most striking difference between the “races” occurred during the preadolescent and pubescent ages of 10-13³³.

15.1.2 Structural-Functional Accounts

It has been widely suggested in the past that romanticism signifies a dysfunctional adolescent phase that needs to be overcome when “serious” mate-seeking is initiated. In these situations, curricular romanticism is seen as an antagonist of social regulations. Scripts may reflect these ideas on antagonism, producing conformist or dissident romantic curricula. According to Goode³⁴, who notes anthropologists’ previous neglect of the matter, love is variably “institutionalised”, and falls subject to control for its direct effect on mate choice, and thus, on social structure (kinship linkage). Goode observes that society, and class strata, may affect adolescent love with a 5-type “gradual” scale from illegitimation to non- to positive operationalisation: child marriage/betrothal, preferred marriage, social segregation, nonencouraged supervised arranged courtship, and encouraged, formally “liberal” love. In the last case, a (seemingly associated) peer group system effects the larger part of social “control”. Parents thus affect mate choice. Goode hypothesised that the social expectation of love preceding marriage is associated with (1) the degree of free choice of mate, and (2) the

Dating and Romantic Experiences in Adolescence. To appear in Adams, G. R. & Berzonsky, M. (Eds.) *The Blackwell Handbook of Adolescence*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers. Online draft, page 15-6; Simon, V., Bouche, H. A. & Furman, W. ([1998]) The Social Construction of Adolescents’ Representations of Romantic Relationships. To appear in Larose, S. & Tarabulsy, G. M. (Eds.) *Attachment and Development: Vol. 2. Adolescence*. Québec: Les Presses de l’Université du Québec. Online draft, page 22-7

²⁷ Cf. Malach-Pines, A. (2001) The role of gender and culture in romantic attraction, *Europ Psychol* 6,2:96-102; Moore, S. M. & Leung, C. (2001) Romantic beliefs, styles, and relationships among young people from Chinese, Southern European, and Anglo-Australian backgrounds, *Asian J Soc Psychol* 4,1:53-68; Stones, Ch. R. & Philbrick, J. L. (1989) Love Attitudes among Xhosa Adolescents in South Africa, *J Soc Psychol* 129,1:131-2; Fischer, K. W., Wang, L., Kennedy, B. & Chen, -Ch. (1998) Culture and Biology in Emotional Development, *New Direct Child & Adolesc Developm* 81:21-43

²⁸ E.g., Holland, D. C. (1992) How cultural systems become desire: A case study of American romance, in D’Andrade, R. G. & Strauss, C. (Eds.) *Human Motives and Cultural Models*. Publications of the Society for Psychological Anthropology, p61-89; Dunn, J. L. (1999) What love has to do with it: The cultural construction of emotion and sorority women’s responses to forcible interaction, *Social Problems* 46,3:440-59

²⁹ See also Holland, D. C. (1992) How cultural systems become desire: A case study of American romance, in D’Andrade, R. G. & Strauss, C. (Eds.) *Human Motives and Cultural Models*. Publications of the Society for Psychological Anthropology. New York: Cambridge University Press, p61-89

³⁰ Dornbusch, S. M. (1989) The Sociology of Adolescence, *Ann Rev Sociol* 15:233-59, at p248

³¹ Cf. Simon, R. W., Eder, D. & Evans, C. (1992) The Development of Feeling Norms Underlying Romantic Love Among Adolescent Females, *Soc Psychol Quart* 55,1:29-46

³² Broderick, C. B. (1965) Social heterosexual development among urban Negroes and whites, *J Marr & Fam* 27,2:200-3

³³ At these ages, the white children showed the “traditional” pattern: girls were far more romantically oriented than boys although at about the same level in terms of actual heterosexual interaction. Negro boys, however, showed a high level of preadolescent heterosexual interest and involvement together with an apparent progressive disenchantment with marriage.

³⁴ Goode, W. J. (1959) The Theoretical Importance of Love, *Am Sociol Rev* 24,1:38-47

degree to which husband-wife solidarity represents the strategic coherence of the kinship structure (p46).

Goode's image of love as "a universal psychological potential" being "entirely prevented" or "harnessed" by environmental interests was not put through historical analysis.

Thus, in a society where the family system is a compelling agent of socialisation and emphasises family unity as opposed to individual goals, while other agents of emotional and marital support are absent, the family will exert great control on the mate-selection process and the institutionalisation of arranged marriage³⁵, controlling the expression of premarital love/romantic love and also determining the importance of conjugal love/marital love.

Across all cultures studies by Perlman et al. (1978)³⁶ greater courtship participation was associated with greater "sexual" permissiveness. One study³⁷, however, suggested that romantic love in the US was declining as permissiveness increases. Romanticism would be related to society's allowance of courtship³⁸ while restricting sex; prohibition of adultery; and socialising coherence in the relational complex of romantic love, marriage, and sexual relations. Early cross-cultural studies (Rosenblatt)³⁹ supported the hypotheses that romantic love is a functional substitute for subsistence dependence: romantic love develops to preserve marriages from divisive pressures of nearby relatives and from the weak bonds that may arise from the lack of economic dependence of spouses on one another that may exist where residence is nonneolocal.

More recently, De Munck and Korotayev (1999)⁴⁰ found that societies that allow premarital and extramarital sex for both males and females rate romantic love significantly higher than societies that have a double standard or strong sanctions against female sexuality out of wedlock. It is concluded that the type of sanction against female sexuality is the critical factor for predicting the cultural importance of romantic love as a basis for marriage.

Possibly suggestive of American middle-class individualisation, Hatfield and Rapson (1993)⁴¹ suggested that cultural and gender differences may often be less powerful than individual personality differences in shaping attitudes and behaviour. "Westernization" (equality for men and women, and pursuit of pleasure and avoidance of pain as desirable goals) is seen as creating trends toward marriage for "love" (sexual desire) and greater sexual permissiveness. While African young adults (e.g., Igbo⁴²) may increasingly insist on choosing their marriage partners, the viability of marriage might still depend on fertility, an organisation crucial for the final format of marital bonding.

³⁵ Gupta, G. R. (1976) Love, arranged marriage, and the Indian social structure, *J Comparat Fam Stud* 7,1:75-85

³⁶ Perlman, D. et al. (1978) Cross-cultural analysis of students' sexual standards, *Arch Sex Behav* 7,6:545-58

³⁷ Wilkinson, M. L. (1978) Romantic Love and Sexual Expression, *Fam Coord* 27,2:141-8

³⁸ Cf. Rosenblatt, P. C. & Cozby, P. C. (1972) Courtship Patterns Associated with Freedom of Choice of Spouse, *J Marr & Fam* 34,4:689-95

³⁹ Rosenblatt, P. C. (1966) A cross-cultural study of child rearing and romantic love, *J Personality & Social Psychol* 4,3:336-8; Rosenblatt, P. C. (1967) Marital Residence and the Functions of Romantic Love, *Ethnology* 6,4:471-80;

Coppinger, R. M. & Rosenblatt, P. C. (1968) Romantic Love and Subsistence Dependence of Spouses, *Southwest J Anthropol* 24,4:310-9; Cozby, P. C. & Rosenblatt, P. C. (1971) Privacy, love, and in-law avoidance, *Proc Ann Convent Am Psychol Assoc* 6(Pt. 1): 277-8

⁴⁰ De Munck, V. C. & Korotayev, A. (1999) Sexual Equality and Romantic Love: A Reanalysis of Rosenblatt's Study on the Function of Romantic Love, *Cross-Cult Res* 33,3:265-77. Cf. De Munck, V. C. (Ed., 1998) *Romantic Love and Sexual Behavior: Perspectives from the Social Sciences*. State U New York, New Paltz

⁴¹ Hatfield, E. & Rapson, R. L. (1993) Historical and cross-cultural perspectives on passionate love and sexual desire, *Ann Rev Sex Res* 4:67-97. Cf. Hatfield & Rapson (1996), *op.cit.*

⁴² Smith, D. J. (2001) Romance, Parenthood, and Gender in a Modern African Society, *Ethnology* 40,2:129-51

15.1.3 Constructionist Reflections

Contemporary authors have utilised constructionist approaches to love, “an emotional phenomena defined and experienced differently across cultures, with multitiered importance to society”⁴³. Authors variably stress love as an emotion (passion)⁴⁴, or as a behavioural curriculum. “Passionate” love is a multifactorial construct uniquely defined within cultures⁴⁵. Thus, love relations constitute “a specific type of social relations that varies with societies and historical periods”, and a “productive mechanism” of the relations between individuals and society⁴⁶. Simon et al. (1992)⁴⁷ argue that children

“[...] not only acquire cultural knowledge about RL [Romantic Love] but also develop feeling and expression norms (FENs) that guide romantic feelings. These norms involve the relative importance of romantic relationships and the appropriate object of romantic feelings. While some of these norms were highly developed and generally accepted, others were still being negotiated. The [6 to 8 Grade] subjects used a variety of discourse strategies to communicate normative information and to reinforce feeling norms. Even though the subjects obtained normative information about RL, they did not always abide by the FENs, which they sometimes resisted”.

Redman (2001)⁴⁸ argues that romance provides boys with “a cultural repertoire --that is, a narrative resource or set of discursive practices-- through which they negotiated and made imaginative sense of the “little cultural world” of their college”. In particular, Redman’s article suggests that romance “served to police and discipline relations of class, gender ethnicity, and sexuality in the pupils’ culture while providing for the boys a mode of subjective orientation to key disciplinary practices of schooling”. As such, romance may be seen as “a resource through which the boys “worked themselves into” the dispositions of a middle-class or professional habitus.

In Redman’s words,

“[...] romance provided the boys in the study with a means of locating themselves (and thereby constructing a heterosexual masculine identity) in relation to a cast of hierarchically arranged social others. More particularly, I argue that this process had a disciplinary function. Romance [...] was one way in which the boundaries of gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality were policed within the pupils’ culture. It served to assert and validate a particular and socially powerful kind of masculinity—white, heteronormative, and professional or middle class—that simultaneously contested (and in some cases, punished) those forms of masculinity and femininity that failed to compliment it” (2001:p189).

⁴³ E.g., Beall, A. E. & Sternberg, R. J. (1995) The Social Construction of Love, *J Soc & Personal Relationships* 12,3:417-38; Goncalves, M. (1999) L’Amour aujourd’hui, *Sociétés* [France] 2(64):77-83

⁴⁴ E.g., Turnaturi, G. (1994) *Flirt, Seduzione, Amore. Simmel e le Emozioni*. Milan: Anabasi; Pulcini, E. (1997) Per una sociologia delle emozioni, *Rassegna Ital Sociol* 38,4:641-9

⁴⁵ Landis, D. & O’Shea III, W. A. (2000) Cross-cultural aspects of passionate love: An individual differences analysis, *J Cross-Cult Psychol* 31,6:752-77

⁴⁶ Hurtubise, R. (1986) *Love Relation as Social Relation: An Analysis of Love Letters in Quebec (1860-1975)*. Paper for the International Sociological Association

⁴⁷ *Op.cit.*

⁴⁸ Redman, P. (2001) The discipline of love: Negotiation and regulation in boy’s performance of a romance-based heterosexual masculinity, *Men & Masculinities* 4,2:186-200

In all, the constructionist entry has produced few insights to the *curricularisation*, or hegemonic schedule, of love. Love would be a part of the anticipated biography⁴⁹, the contemporary diary, and the memoirs (§4.7). U.S. preteens seem to prefer scheduling their (the) “first romantic relationship” in the mid to late teens⁵⁰, but few data expand on this finding.

15.1.4 Interactionist-Performative Perspective

Love is an influential⁵¹ legitimiser for sexual pursuits and intimacy curricula (cf. Straver). Besides interactionist accounts using older age brackets⁵², few hints have been provided for personal ontologies. As will be argued further on, the hypothetical, pre-operational condition of “love” may be reconceptualised as a behavioural (per-operational) curriculum, relative to such psychological facilitators as “interactional competence” (Weinstein, 1968), and such socially mediated ramifications as “operative” and normative rules (Straver). This was piloted by Rademakers and Straver in a study on Dutch girls (1986)⁵³.

15.1.5 Human Ethological Considerations

Ethological accounts of human courtship (e.g., Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institute for Urban Ethology) are informed by evolutionary and cross-species perspectives on affiliation as behaviour. The male courtship routine has been schematised by a pattern of human sexual interaction covering four phases⁵⁴: (1) location and initial appraisal of a potential partner; (2) pre-tactile interaction (e.g., smiling at, posturing for, or talking to a prospective partner); (3) tactile interaction (e.g., embracing, petting); and (4) effecting genital union. If this ethological approach can legitimately be used for an ontogenic approach, it seems that there is a place for considerable variation in the patterns by which the child eventually comes to integrate these component agenda into an effective (correct, complete) sequence.

Particularly, it would seem that at least in some early phases of human life sequencibility does not exist as such, component “phases” being pursued for their own good, and without innate tendencies to “progression” even with the technology of genitogenital intromission (this would account for phase-specific voyeurist, exhibitionist, obscene, toucheurist / frotteurist, and coital tendencies). The anthropologist perspective would theoretically seem to account for the missing links in “courtship development”. Specifically, contemporary Occidental culture would delay practice-wise sequencing to where the issue becomes a thoroughly premeditated event

⁴⁹ McCabe, K. & Barnett, D. (2000) First comes work, then come marriage: Future orientation among African American young adolescents, *Fam Relations* 49,1:63-70

⁵⁰ *SmartGirl.com* online national survey Dec. 1999-Jan. 2000. Reported in *Teens before their Time. Executive Summary*. Girl Scouts of the USA, New York, p13

⁵¹ Consider De la Cuesta, C. (2001) Taking love seriously: The context of adolescent pregnancy in Columbia, *J Transcult Nursing* 12,3:180-92

⁵² E.g., Snyder, S. U. (1987) Love making: A symbolic interactionist approach to the experience of love among unmarried heterosexual young adult couples, *DAI* 47(8-A):3201

⁵³ In Rademakers, J. & Straver, C. (1986) *Van Fascinatie naar Relatie: Het Leren Omgaan met Relaties en Sexualiteit in de Jeugdperiode; Een Ontwikkelingsdynamische Studie*. Zeist [Holland]: NISSO, p129-320

⁵⁴ Freund, K. & Blanchard, R. (1986) The concept of courtship disorder, *J Sex & Marit Ther* 12,2:79-92

taking place in an almost overly defined context of meaning, issuing a multitude of variables such as power, affiliation, perspective, continuity, and aesthetics. The concept of sexuality-eroticism becomes an elaborate narrative long before it acquires a practical autobiographical basis. The child has to force his way into a forbidden playground which maps have been handed down long before: the experience follows a complex anticipation curriculum rather than progressive elaboration following gradual experience. A low-practice economy produces a culture that attaches strong meanings to isolated and initiatory experiences, rather than stressing continuous and current status. Also, low-practice economies characterised by elaborate premeditation allow for a curriculum organised around a high-expectancy rather than reality-based motivation. This suggests that amorous and coital sequencing as an every-day childhood possibility offers a more stable, and probably more uniform, curriculum than a society paradoxically centralising necessity-based delay (AIDS, VD, pregnancy) of hypercentralised events, particularly where a sufficient degree of childhood-adolescence continuity exists in this point (non-ritualisation).

Human pair-bonding would be a function of complementation and identification principles along the gender axis, as would core gender-identities in early infancy (Money). I would suggest this equally holds true for the development of erotic and courtship scripts, and works via other axes as well (age/phase, ethnicity, etc.). The verification of this principle awaits further operationalisation.

15.2 *Love as Play and Game: Historio-Ethnographic Discourse* (→§6.1.3)

Authors have delineated whether children would “prefer” love for other narratives⁵⁵ if presented as an option. Choice of perspective determines whether these “preferences” are to be interpreted within a consumptive or productive arena. Play is such a discursive arena. “Adults” accommodate play in love praxis⁵⁶, so how to situate childhood love play? In the current presentation, an interactive-performative interpretation is entertained. This is briefly identified within the historical and ethnographic setting.

15.2.1 *Historical Implicits of “Love” Games*⁵⁷

Stressing normative sex curricula, unlike Bloch, both Havelock Ellis and Albert Moll refer to Karl Groos, who as one of the first posited the concept of preparatory “love play”, interestingly drawing a parallel between animal and human phenomena⁵⁸. The folkloristic

⁵⁵ Mitchell, A. M. (1929) The movies children like, *Survey* 63:213-6; Tennenbaum, E. (1933) Rola kina w zainteresowaniach dziecięcych [Role of the cinema in children's interests], *Polskie Archiwum Psychol* 6:163-8; Butterworth, R. F. & Thompson, G. G. (1951) Factors related to agegrade trends and sex differences in children's preferences for comic books, *J Genet Psychol* 78:71-96; Collins, S. et al. (1996) Choice of romantic, violent, and scary fairy-tale books by preschool girls and boys, *Child Study J* 26,4:279-302; Valkenburg, P. M. & Janssen, S. C. (1999) What Do Children Value in Entertainment Programs? A Cross-Cultural Investigation, *J Communic* 49,2:3-21

⁵⁶ Aune, K. S. & Wong N. C. H. (nd) *Antecedents and Consequences of Adult Play in Romantic Relationships*. Online paper [<http://www.arches.uga.edu/~normanw/play.html>]

⁵⁷ Cf. §2.4.

⁵⁸ Groos is known because of Freud's reference in 1905. See Groos, K. (1896) *Die Spiele der Thiere*. Jena: G. Fischer; (1899) *Die Spiele der Menschen*. Jena: G. Fischer, especially p326-33

work by Borneman and by others⁵⁹ has strongly issued the image of childhood as a productive phase that is characterised by a high turn-over and output of rhymes, riddles, puns, anecdotes, jokes, insults that all, within a more or less off-serious mode, make sexual contextuality a (largely hidden) discourse parallel to that of the presumed adult superculture. The exact “psychosexual level” of these may vary. As judged from anthologies, “love games” among children were commonly known at the turn of the century (Chaimberlain, 1896:p200⁶⁰; Babcock, 1888⁶¹; Gomme, 1898, II: indexed at p461-2)⁶². Amidst a historical curriculum of pathologising⁶³ early affiliative stirrings, a milestone work was presented by Bell (1902)⁶⁴. The paper provides a range of heterosocial games thought to provide occasion for kissing and hugging, illustrated by many cases, including “love demonstrations” lasting into adulthood, and intergenerational crushes. Critically, “[l]ove between children of the opposite sex bears much the same relation to that between adults as the flower does to the fruit, and has about as little physical sexuality in it as an apple-blossom has of the apple that develops from it” (p333)⁶⁵. Was it only after Freud that love games could be discussed as sex games or were they indeed platonic? In *Anthropophyteia*, Adler (1911)⁶⁶ lists nine “typical” “erotic” games of childhood. The alternative hypothesis reads that Victorian children indeed played “love” more typically than they played “sex” (facilitating moral marginalisation of occurring instances).

Money’s “sexual rehearsal play” theme, with elements of rehearsed flirtation⁶⁷ surfaced in a 1970 article⁶⁸, although his human “coital play” was mentioned before in the 1960s. Despite this lobbying, most “complete” discussions on children’s play never include sexual or romantic elements (e.g., Hartley and Goldenson)⁶⁹. Later work, for instance, mentions “love tokens”⁷⁰ but skips the sex; these authors preferred to study school environments, but apparently missed or (did not find) the positive evidences of pervasive (and to some extent

⁵⁹ See overviews in preparatory articles.

⁶⁰ Chaimberlain, A. F. (1896) *The Child and Childhood in Folk-Thought*. New York [etc.]: Macmillan

⁶¹ Ref. Bell (1902:p339). Babcock, W. H. (1888) Games of Washington children, *Am Anthropol* [old series] 1:243-84. Reprinted in Sutton-Smith, B. (Ed.) *A Children’s Games Anthology*. New York: Arno Press. See also *Lippincott’s Magazine*, March and September, 1886

⁶² Gomme, A. B. (1894-8) *The International Games of England, Scotland and Ireland* [etc.]. 2 Vols. London: David Nutt

⁶³ Older writers used to refer to the precocious love life of intellectual celebrities (Goethe, Dante, Rousseau, Byron, Hebbel, Canova, Alfieri), presenting a problem in the pathologising of these phenomena. However, the terminology used reflected more of a diffusion of ideas than of a clinical eye. Löwenfeld (1911:p20) mentioned that erotic inclinations (here defined *Verliebtheit*, being in love) were, although prevalent in the younger ones, were no rarity among older children. Next to *erotische Neigung*, he uses the terms *kindliche Erotik* (p20), *sexuelle Liebe* (p20), *geschlechtliche Liebesregungen* (p20) and *Vorliebe* (p20). A genuine sexual precocity (*gewisse sexuelle Frühreife*) included violent (heterosexual) love in a 12-year-old boy: “heftige Liebe” and “Passion” (p23). See Löwenfeld, L. (1911) *Über die Sexuelle Konstitution und Andere Sexualprobleme*. Wiesbaden: Bergmann

⁶⁴ Bell, S. (1902) A preliminary study of the emotion of love between the sexes, *Am J Psychol* 13,3:325-54

⁶⁵ “Of course there is much promiscuous catching, and the game [chasing and clutching] is satisfying other instincts than of love, for instance the instinct of pursuing and catching [...]” (p341).

⁶⁶ Adler, A. (1911) *Erotische Kinderspiele*, *Anthropophyteia* 8:256-8. They include Father-and-Mother, “Pfänderspielen”, Menagerie-Spiel, Kùhemelken (Cow Milking), Robinson-Spiel, Feuerwehr-Spiel (Fire-Fighter), Kot- und Urinspiele, and Wett-Spiele (Contest; “Wer höher urinieren, schneller masturbieren kann”).

⁶⁷ “Children may learn, more or less by trial and error, from one another or from their slightly older age mates, or the learning may be from much older people. In our society, erotic/sexual play and knowledge are transmitted in all three ways. Thus, at the kindergarten age, one may observe daughters being socially rewarded for being coquettishly flirtatious with their fathers, and sons for being manly little escorts with their mothers. At the same age, kindergarten boys and girls rehearse romantic pair-bonding, complete with glamorous plans for a wedding in Baltimore, a honeymoon in the Caribbean, and a cowboy ranch in Texas”. Money, J. (1980) *Love and Love Sickness: The Science of Sex, Gender Difference and Pair-bonding*. Baltimore / London: John Hopkins University Press, p51-53, 54

⁶⁸ Money, J., Cawte, J. E., Bianchi, G. N. & Nurcombe, B. (1970) Sex training and traditions in Arnhem Land, *Br J Med Psychol* 47:383-99

⁶⁹ Hartley, R. E. & Goldenson, R. M. (1957) *The Complete Book of Children’s Play*. New York: Th. Y. Crowell. Comp., p102

⁷⁰ Opie, I. & Opie, P. (1959 [1967]) *The Lore & Language of Schoolchildren*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1967 paperback, p328-9

overt) heterosexuality found in numerous studies in the 1980s through 1990s⁷¹. The performative and organisatory specifics are often left unexplored. Today, it may be appreciated that “courtship games (e.g., post office)”⁷² exist next to or affiliated to “sex” games, a more comprehensive analysis awaiting funding.

15.2.2 *Doing Love/Touch: The Reassemblage and Recycling of Cultural Materials*

As detailed in full elsewhere⁷³, childhood erotic games are organised around scenarios that reflect adult public life, the sex (e.g., coitus) included when it is observed to be so. Malinowski⁷⁴ formulated this definite need for Melanesian children to create a romantic game around the sex. Malinowski, thus, attributes a romantic quality to preadolescent games. He observes how children are granted a sexual subculture which providing ample material for parental gossip⁷⁵.

Amorphous play gradually makes way for organised games. The record offers a variety of games that range from typical (marriage, weddings), to “hypernormal”, to “variant” (doctor, mother-and-child), and to atypical and (still) “amorphous” scenarios (cf. §§ 6.2.3-5). The games have distinct names, probably more often than not ignore the integrity of the reproductive cycle (though perhaps including the mimicry of such elementaries as fluid transfer), have a definite tolerance for group participation (though the sexual part is often polydyadic), and is at times (but not exclusively) transferred to doll play. At times, animals are imitated⁷⁶. The specific narrative of the game may be known as to allow microgeographic variations (e.g., Parca⁷⁷). **Hide-and-Seek**, is a routine erotic play because of its legitimate (, apparently dyadic,) separation from the group (e.g., Pedi, Baganda, Amhara, South Africa [Undize]) or the element of catching (Santal).

I have found variations of “**Choosing a Lover**” explicitly documented for the Basonge, Baushi, Ngoni, Xhosa, Zulu, and nonnative Americans. The term “**Lover**” here implies a romantic scenario, but this is not commonly present. Instead, these games encompass fragmented courtship routines (*vide infra*).

A number of games typically seem to be utilised to enhance physical encounters. “The game *q[.]arumiña* is played by little [Aymara] boys and girls who are watching the sheep. It consists in rolling down a hill together in each other’s arms, and some informants say that such hills were the site of their first love experience” (La Barre). Fernandez⁷⁸ mentions a game called *shale* which works as follows: “[The] children sit around spread-legged. A bystander- usually a man- then comes forward with a piece of wood or a stone in his fist. He thrusts his fist up between the legs of each in turn, leaving it under one.

⁷¹ See preparatory papers.

⁷² E.g., Richer, S. (1984) Sexual Inequality and Children’s Play, *Rev Canad Sociol & Anthropol / Canad Rev Sociol & Anthropol* 21,2:166-80

⁷³ **Chapter 6**

⁷⁴ Malinowski, B. (1927) *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Inc., p56

⁷⁵ “The most they will do is to speak jestingly about it to one another, discussing the love tragedies and comedies of the child world” (1927:p57). “Usually they [parents] show a kind of tolerant and amused interest, and discuss the love affairs of their children with easy jocularly. I often heard some such benevolent gossip as this: “So-and-so (a little girl) has already had intercourse with So-and-so (a little boy)”. And if such were the case, it would be added that it was her first experience. An exchange of lovers, or some small love drama in the little world would be half-seriously, halfjokingly discussed” (1929:p56).

⁷⁶ Examples found for Goajiro, Basuto, Amhara, Nkundo, Xhosa, Baiga, Santal, Navajo, California communes

⁷⁷ Parca, G. (1965) *Mentalità e Comportamento del Maschio Italiano*. Dutch translation (1967), *Italiaanse Mannen en de Liefde*. Amsterdam: Contact, p27

⁷⁸ Fernandez, J. W. (1982) *Bwiti, An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p628n8

There is much giggling. He sings: "Trapdoor spider, trapdoor spider", [salé] you are very foolish! Hide this for me". Now another player comes out from a hut and attempts to guess where the object is hidden. As he reaches up between the legs, the seated player attempts to grab him".

Santal children's love/sex games are numerous (*Uku Uku*, *Shui Topa*, *Sakam bahu jamaï* [Bride and bridegroom of leaves], *Mèròm mèròm khela* [play at goats], play at jack-fruit) including (under)water games (*Jol Kada*, *thep*). Among the **Baushi**, apart from the classical *mansansa* ("house", marriage) and "kitchen", various games include sexual elements: *Nambushi* (Mother of Goats), *Mwingilo wa nsenshi* and *Sale sale kinkamba* (Everone is to Choose whom he Pleases)⁷⁹. Nelson Mandela (1994) mentions *ndize* (Hide-and-Seek), *icekwa* (Touch-and-Run), and, his personal favorite, *khetha* (Choose-the-One-you-Like).

As Sierzpowska-Ketner⁸⁰ notes for **Poland**, games may be inspired by any clue to sexuality: "The most popular games imitate adult roles that create an opportunity of mutual touching, undressing, and body manipulation, playing doctor, hospital, nurse, mother and father, king and queen, convalescent home, masseur, or the theater [*sic*], ballet and strip-tease. Among other inspirations for childhood games, direct observation of adult life takes place first, then movies, fairy tales, and stories told by others". Among the **Nkundo**, Hulstaert⁸¹ noted games of "mari et femmes" "d'une façon qui les dispose bien souvent à des embrassements sans innocence", *iotu* (« kitchen ») played primarily by girls, and *yembankongo*, boyhood imitation of monkeys done to to give occasion for « des scènes répréhensibles ». Among the **Zulu**, for whom children's coital lives are well known, girls may play games such as Choosing a Lover (*ukumema injenga*) (Raum), playful sexual intercourse has a specific name (*ukwenza isiNcogolo*) (Krige) and "a special term existed, *u(lu)ngqoyingqoyi* (lit., "delicious food") with which small girls, when out alone and seeing a boy, called out to him, the words being intended as an enticement to him to come to them for sexual purposes" (Unwin). **Mehinaku** children play "women's sons" (*teneju itāi*), "Mariage" (*kanupai*), and "jealousy" (*ukitsapi*); "[t]here is even a game in which a girl violates the privacy of the men's house and the little boys in retaliation pretend to gang rape her".

North-American Indian children played "love" games (**Ojibwa**: "During the summer, the children play together in mixed groups, and part of their play is the imitation of the intimate behavior of adults. Girls are supposed to be passive, and boys are supposed to pursue them. The game of love is a tremendous important preoccupation, and is enriched with songs, music, tales of ascetic and faithful devotion, of suicides, and even visions") or "variant" love games such as the Packing Game, First Love and Elope (**Sioux**, acc. Hassrick)⁸².

In the above examples, one is justified to assume that at least in some, "love" is a feature of the play or game narrative. In none of the cases, this was explored at a more comprehensive level than indicated. As a result, little more than the following observations can be offered:

- Few qualitative descriptions are available to reconstruct the "work" of early love-as-play.
- Love-as-play (quasi-amorous scripts) encompasses courtship behaviours recruited for idiosyncratic mimesis, or as a legitimising context for genital pursuits.

15.3 The "Beginning of Courtship": Curriculum and Heterosocial (Re-) Orientation

⁷⁹ Kokonge, M. & Erny, P. (1976) Comportements sexuels chez les Baushi Kinama (Shaba, Zaire), *Psychopathol Afr* 12, 1:5-33

⁸⁰ Sierzpowska-Ketner, A. (1997) Poland, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. III. Quoted from the online edition

⁸¹ Hulstaert, G. (1937) *Le Mariage des Nkundó*. Bruxelles: Hayes, p80, 95

⁸² Hassrick, R. B. (1964) *The Sioux*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press

The current paragraph identifies courtship within its discursive curriculum, by differentiating between performative contexts in which it takes place. These contexts can be thus categorised: pre-institutional, institutional, and extra-institutional. Further, there seems to be the case for both a hierarchy and a curriculum of institutions, directing social expectations regarding chronology, sequencing and conformity (Straver: normative rules). The individual is conceptualised as legitimising (normalising) his participation in institutions through an “operative self-concept”.

It is suggested that judging from the cross-cultural record, “heterosocial orientation” develops via diverse trajectories as a result of these operativity / motivational principles. Bryant (1949:p562-4)⁸³ sketches what can be considered a typical example of heterosexual development under “permissive regime”.

“With the **Zulus**, boys especially, and in a lesser degree girls, manifest the sexual instinct of sensual desire (as yet unconsciously and sexlessly) sometimes as early as their third years [...] by the eight or ninth, sex selection and sexual magnetism are strongly experienced and displayed [...] This preference for the opposite sex and a certain aversion toward its own, had been constant since the fifth or sixth year. So, about this time most small boys and girls commenced to “court” each other and choose secret paramours, partly in imitation (for they were most observant, as well as imitative) of their elder brothers and sisters”.

Putting “early” into perspective, Conn (1939:p742, 743)⁸⁴ stated that “[t]he patterns of courtship and experimentation with interpersonal relationships are being developed in [the period of age 7 to 9]. It is during this phase of socialization that the patterns of early courtship appear and dreams of the opposite sex”.

The “courtship” curriculum assumes the (poorly defined) sexual background of dyadic preinstitutional genital behaviour. Courtship is intimately related to the issue of mobility, and requires parental fiat or the refutation of parental veto. The most frequently encountered characterisation is that of the *formality* factor, referring to prescribed routines, exchange customs and behavioural liberties⁸⁵. In the more or less facultative “dating” system of the U.S., the child would become date-minded at some time, and, Martinson suggests, on the basis of a gradual redirection of interests, and polarisation of social space:

“Basically, the preadolescent’s emotional commitment is to his family, rather than to his friends. The girl at this age has ordinarily not begun to date. The sexes still meet on the playground and judge each other by skill at running, at basketball, at other activities, rather than by sex. The fact that one participant is a boy and the other is a girl may be quite incidental to the activity. Soon, however, most of the girls will secretly, or openly, compete for the attention of boys, and a balance must be found between ties of friendship and the demands of dating” (1973:p2).

However, “[i]t is quite evident when we look at dating among preadolescents that dating in the United States serves other functions than that of courtship and mate selection”. Heterosexual opportunities would take place against the changing background of “mixed parties”, paired dating (first in grades 4-7) and “going steady” (*ibid.*, p83-7).

⁸³ Bryant, A. T. (1949) *The Zulu People: As they Were Before the White Man Came*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter

⁸⁴ Conn, J. (1939) Factors influencing development of sexual attitudes and sexual awareness in children, *Am J Dis Child* 58:738-45

⁸⁵ Examples of considerably formalised courtship are found for the Rungus Dusun, and traditional Hmong.

In order to describe chronological patterning, a number of elements have to be addressed:

Girl Meets Boy. Among preindustrial peoples, the existence, timing and character of a courting scene very much depend on the timing and arrangement of marriage. In beginning to explore the timing question, some illustrations can be made for the African case:

“Courtship often commences long before a marriageable age is reached. Headmen of quite advanced age frequently train young girls, generally maidens in their employ, in their habits and ways with a view to ultimately marrying them” (**Ambo**, Rhodesia); In later childhood girls “will probably have a lover or two, as erotic play and courtship behaviour begins at a relatively early age, often prior to puberty / After the menarchal rites are “eligible for serious courtship or marriage” (**Nharo**, Botswana); Courtship seems to begin in “youth” (**Dinga**, Sudan); A specific courting hut (lomore) allows a free atmosphere for adolescent [the exact age at which it is entered is not given] girls to meet boys (**Mandari**, Sudan); Courtship and marriage takes place “at an early age”, allegedly because no payment or gifts are given or expected (**Udhuk**, Ethiopia); “Girls are courted beginning at ages twelve to thirteen, and will have a series of lovers by age fifteen to sixteen” (**Nuer**, Ethiopia); Around puberty (**Somali**); Adolescents are permitted to play husband and wife (*suka-sehil*) which is regarded as immature courtship or flirtation and does not lead to consummation or marriage (**Toucouleur**, Senegal); More or less formal courtship starts after puberty (**Fali**, North-Cameroon); Boys of thirteen to fifteen looked around for a bride among the eight to twelve years old girls / Men begin courting at age twenty and generally get betrothed to a girl child, in which case sexual intercourse awaits puberty (Otoro **Nuba**); Washing in cold water once on an early morning without shivering is the only test a young man is given by his father or guardian to ascertain whether he is now grown up and fit to court girls and eventually marry (**Thonga**); Boys of about 15 (after initiation) and girls of 12 will be preoccupied with seeking a mate (**Kipsigis**, Kenya). “Children start having “sweethearts”, “boy-friends” or “girl-friends”, “cherries” (girls), or *iintokazi* (lit., female things) from 10 or 11 years onwards” (urbanised **Xhosa**).

The given, and other, examples suggest the following subsequent patterns: the “play courtship” of childhood (Bantu, Zulu), “premarital” courtship, and “antemartial” courtship. In some cases of prearrangement, a courtship phase may be absent, or may compete with alternative wishes of the involved parties, or with clandestine initiatives.

Play Courtship. Expanding on the *Zulu* case, *Bantu* children begin to “court” each other when very young. Stories indicate that children indulge in intercourse “almost as soon as they discover the facts of life”. The existence of a play version of courtship requires a detailed description of involved actions, roles and communications, and these have to be contrasted with “formalised” stages of courtship (cf. Bell). Cross-culturally, it is to be disproved that these patterns follow universal lines, but instead reflect fragmentary assimilated scripts that are gradually expanded toward some complete scenario.

Play to “Game” Courtship. Researching adolescents’ understanding of the social context of sexual behaviour, Eyre et al.⁸⁶ proposed a model of sex-related behaviour as a set of interrelated “games”. A courtship game involves communication of sexual or romantic interest and, over time, formation of a romantic relationship. A duplicity game draws on conventions of a courtship game to trick a partner into having sex. A disclosure game spreads stories about one’s own and others’ sex-related activities to peers in a gossip

⁸⁶ Eyre, S. L., Hoffman, V. & Millstein, S. G. (1998) The Gamesmanship of Sex: A Model Based on African American Adolescent Accounts, *Med Anthropol Quart*, N. S. 12,4:467-89

network. A prestige game builds social reputation in the eyes of peers, typically based on gender-specific standards. Love-as-game has been explored in the Xhosa case⁸⁷ as intimately connected to concepts of sex-as-requirement.

The Cultural Date. What is considered a “date” provides a semi-formal, semi-institutional dyadic courtship scene. In concordance with the remainder of the current work, the *curricular meaning* of dates are to be reconstructed by analysing their first and pre-first occurrences, and their determinants.

First Date. Apart from studies on the U.S. system⁸⁸, data on first “dates” are available for numerous countries where apparently this is customary (e.g., Brazil⁸⁹ [here the custom is termed *namoro*]⁹⁰, Germany⁹¹, Japan⁹², the Netherlands, Central African Republic, South Africa, etc.). Mechanisms that govern this chronology have been identified for monocultural settings. A constructionist entry would define the matter as a factor of developing “dating scripts”⁹³. A cross-cultural study has to disprove that these scripts are elaborated along similar chronological principles, but instead are based on such preconditions as mobility, gender scripts, and specific (positive) operationalisations of exclusive pairbonding (Becker: “contraction”).

“Premarital” vs “Antemarital” Courtship. A most variable relationship between both categories, courtship may be divided by behaviour more or less directed at mate selection, and behaviour that is to effect the winning of the eventual, preferred mate. These distinction between patterns are rather foggy in industrial settings, but in others these patterns may be more clearly defined formalised).

Date and Romanticism. Research⁹⁴ indicates that formation of a romantic view (comprised mostly of affiliative behaviours during early dating) and the onset and frequency of dating are independent of each other. This suggests that the work and agenda involved in a “romantic date scripts” is coded by at least partially separate trajectories.

15.4 “Love” Development and Socialisation

⁸⁷ Wood, K., Maforah, F. & Jewkes, R. (1996) *Sex, Violence and Constructions of Love Among Xhosa Adolescents: Putting Violence on the Sexuality Education Agenda*. MRC Technical report, Medical Research Council, Cape Town; Wood, K. & Jewkes, R. (1998) *‘Love is a Dangerous Thing’: Micro-Dynamics of Violence in Sexual Relationships of Young People in Umtata*. Medical Research Council Technical Report: Pretoria

⁸⁸ E.g., Spreadbury, C. L. (1982) First date, *J Early Adolescence* 2,1:83-9; Murphy, Eu. P. (1987) The onset of dating and sexual behavior in junior high school, *DAI* 47(10-B): 4323. See also studies by Kagan & Moss (1962); Broderick (1965, 1966a); Delcampo et al. (1976); Schoof-Tams, Schlaegel & Walzak (1976); Simmons, Blyth et al. (1979)

⁸⁹ Leite, Buoncompagno et al., (1994), Leite & Buoncompagno (1995)

⁹⁰ De Azevedo, Th. (1970) As Regras do Namoro no Brasil: Um Padrao Tradicional, *Am Latina* 13,2-3:128-52

⁹¹ Schmidt & Sigusch (1973)

⁹² JASE (1975, 1983, 1988, 1994); Hatano (1976; 1988; 1991a,b; 1993). See Hatano & Shimazaki (1998) and especially Asayama (1980 [1978])

⁹³ Klinkenberg, D. & Rose, S. (1994) Dating scripts of gay men and lesbians, *J Homosex* 26,4:23-35

⁹⁴ Van Horn, M. L., Dowdy, B. B. & Embow, A. K. (1997) *Dating as a Social Activity: The Importance of Peers*. Paper presented at the 62nd Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Washington, DC, April 3-6

To provide a tentative exploration of love development, three critical aspects are presented: structural preconditions that compromise a universalist treatise of its development; development, and socialisation. Data strongly suggest that cultures exert a most definite influence on the form, timing and experience of tentative bondings, whether or not liable to the concept of “romanticism”.

15.4.1 *Structural Context and the Formation of Dyadic Exclusivity*

In the present paragraph, it is suggested that with love to be discussed as a universal tendency for dyadic exclusivity, its manifestation and effectuation is intrinsically bound to structural preconditions that make up the teleologically formulated “scripts” of such “inclination”. Departing from the above review of structural-level determination of love, the following key issues are extracted:

Mate Selection. Although free choice may not be a necessary condition for love, the organisation of mate selection determines a large part of the romantic curriculum, notably the possibilities and probabilities for patterned affiliation. Closely related is the issue of

Mate Availability. Upon reaching puberty, *Yaruro* (Venezuela) boys and girls marry if a mate is available, regardless of “considerable” age difference. “Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account [...]” (Petrullo)⁹⁵. Comparably, Murphy and Quain reported that among the Central Brazilian *Trumai*, “there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village”.

Romantic Values and Curriculum / Curricular Romanticism. It was said that among the Dogon, “[w]ith experience and maturity, [...] the adults lose their romantic illusions. Although grown men will always appreciate female beauty, they learn to prefer more substantial qualities” (Calame-Griaule). This suggests the possibility that romanticism motivating affiliative activities is phase-specific and may, indeed, discard levels of romantic motivation found in previous scripts.

Romanticism and Economic Agenda. In Holland, recent immigration politics have come to question the moral/legal position of cases in which marriage provides a legitimisation for migration for economic purposes. In these cases it has been observed that “love” occupies a secondary if not a nonexistent place. Villages are thus “transplanted” posing a threat to integration processes. Thus, romantic ideations may be feigned publicly or politically to accomplish primary agendas. [the issue, however, raises questions of normalisation, and marginalisation.]

⁹⁵ “Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. [...] The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were [...] in the nature of play”.

15.4.2 Development: Objects, Institutions, Dyadicism

A cross-cultural discussion of love development is hampered by the lack of qualitative descriptive materials referring to the non-Occidental case. In ethnographic materials, there seems to be an identification of love objects, pair-bonding behaviours and the social institutions that govern the heterosocial dyad, but not of personal qualifications pertaining to the emotional factors involved. What does enter as the experience factor often is limited to the probing of associations with adolescent “risk behaviours”, which dichotomises risky and safe uses of love categories, and also denormalises “risky” loves.

Play Love. Historical and ethnographic observations being offered supra, it is clear that the element of “romanticism” in “sex” games (aut vice versa), elements which are described in separation much more frequent, is in most cases unestablished. Scenario-based love play mimics the institutional forms in the ways they are public, made public or are thought to be organised if nonpublic.

Girlhood love commonly is “rehearsed” in a same-sex setting, and within a fictitious age stratification; equivalent reports for boys do not suggest this degree of stereotypy.

Blacking (1959, 1978)⁹⁶ observed that a traditional “mother-child” custom attached to the **Bemba** *vhusha*, or original puberty school, is mimicked by pubescent and prepubescent girls. The “play mother” and “play child” declare their love to each other, and the mother may help the child in her first heterosocial amorous approaches. It is unclear whether sexual behaviour is involved⁹⁷. In permissive environments, love, as genitalism, takes the form of a scenario tentatively being put to tests at variable ages. Some adolescent folklore (love declarations) were collected in Leopoldville by Raymaekers⁹⁸ who writes: “Il semble que les relations sexuelles ente jeunes gens débutent dès la plus tendre enfance sans pour autant, évidemment, que les jeunes réalisent pleinement la signification de l’acte qu’ils posent” (p8).

“Amorarche”: Construing First Love. Commenting on a surprising relaxation of “spontaneous” gender segregation in springtime measures of Grades 3 and 4, Bronfenbrenner (1944:p62)⁹⁹ comments on observations of school personell: “It was indeed “spring”: pre-adolescent “crushes” made their first appearance in this group during the second semester”. Most studies on “first love experiences” include U.S. adolescents (*vide infra*). A number of papers presented the objective genetic timing of amorous tendencies, or *amorarche* (Tables 1 and 2 at the conclusion of this chapter).

⁹⁶ Blacking, J. (1959) Fictitious Kinship Amongst Girls of the Venda of the Northern Transvaal, *Man* 59:155-8; Blacking, J. (1978) Uses of the kinship idiom in friendships at some Venda and Zulu schools, in Argyle, J. & Preston-Whyte, E. (Eds.) *Social System and Tradition in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, p101-17

⁹⁷ “Two girls may sleep together under the same blanket as “husband” and “wife”, but they do not indulge in any form of sex play [...There is nothing actively sexual about these relationships, although they are in part substitutes for a more intensive relationship with boys” (1959:p157).

⁹⁸ Raymaekers, R. (1960) *Materiaux pour une Étude Sociologique de la Jeunesse Africaine du Milieu Coutumier de Leopoldville*. Leopoldville: Université Lovanium

⁹⁹ Bronfenbrenner, U. (1944) A Constant Frame of Reference for Sociometric Research: Part II. Experiment and Inference, *Sociometry* 7,1:40-75

Carlfred Broderick was one of the prominent pioneers to focus on pubescent heterosocial timing. A cross-national and historical comparative method, however, is problematic because of the wide variation of definitions attached to the concept of “love”. One study¹⁰⁰ conceptualised love as broad as “significant attachments”. A Polish study¹⁰¹ on first love was led to the following operationalisation: “the first desire of constant contact with an individual of the opposite sex in the erotic, intellectual, and moral sphere”. Other studies have been performed on Scandinavian¹⁰², Russian¹⁰³, German¹⁰⁴, Dutch¹⁰⁵, and Israeli¹⁰⁶ (pre)adolescents; further solitary studies on early love development are found in Canadian, Italian, and Australian studies. Given the variable accessibility of the sources, the theoretical presuppositions, and methodological limitations, it appears that few cross-cultural observations can be made on the symbolic interactions involved in the construction of “love” experiences as “first” (“first genuine”) or as “subsequent”.

Love before puberty is frequently attributed a “puppy” quality¹⁰⁷. Money (surveyed by Gijs)¹⁰⁸ commonly referred to this state of mind, or rather the behaviour that follows it, as a pregonadarchic (“dry”) rehearsal, quite comparable to sexual/coital “rehearsals”. Early authors wrote on early love (e.g., Just, 1897; Speyer, 1904; Pfister, 1922, 1925)¹⁰⁹ in attempts to shift the abnormal from the beneficial. A rarely quoted paper on early love appeared in the German journal *Die Kinderfehler*. Speyer (1904) presented love-letters of children to illustrate his distinction between abnormal and normal love (“Die Seele des Kindes offenbart sich am besten in Briefen”). Crediting the observations of Mantegazza and Ferriani, love and hatred, the two most basic emotions in adults are to be seen as present in the early age. He stressed the role of early education to prevent an all too intense expression of these sentiments. The distinction seems to consist of the presence or absence of heredity cq. the environment of a criminal family. All abnormal cases show the latter (more or less) and the normal letters are

¹⁰⁰ Alapack, R. J. (1984) Adolescent first love, *Stud Soc Sci* 23:101-7

¹⁰¹ Jablonska, M. (1948) Proba analizy psychologicznej pierwszej miłości [A trial of a psychological analysis of the first love], *Kwart Psychol* 14,3-4:166-95, 217-9

¹⁰² Bruhn, K. (1929) Tva kapitel om ungfläckalderns kaerlekstliv. Foersta studien: den svaermande [Two chapters on the love life of young girls. First study: the dreamer, *Tidskr f Psykol & Pedagog Forskn* 1:3-44; Bruhn, K. (1930) Tva kapitel om ynglingaalderns kaerlekstliv. Foersta studien: Den foersta ungdomskaerleken [Two chapters on the love life of adolescent boys. First study: The first love of youth], *Tidskr f Psykol & Pedagog Forskn* 2:3-62

¹⁰³ Schbankow (1922) reported by Weipenberg, S. (1924) [Weiteres über][D]as Geschlechtsleben der Russischen Studentinnen, *Ztsch f Sexualwiss* 11,1:7-14;12,6:174-6, 209-16

¹⁰⁴ Silbereisen, R. K. & Schwarz, B. (1998) Timing of First Romantic Involvement: Commonalities and Differences in the Former Germanies, in Nurmi, J. (Ed.) *Adolescents, Cultures, and Conflicts: Growing Up in Contemporary Europe*. New York: Garland, p129-48. Cf. Silbereisen, R. K. & Wiesner, M. (2000) Cohort change in adolescent developmental timetables after German unification: Trends and possible reasons, in Heckhausen, J. (Eds.) *Motivational Psychology of Human Development: Developing Motivation and Motivating Development*. Advances in Psychology, 131. New York: Elsevier Science, p271-84. Also Schmidt & Sigusch (1973); Schlaegel et al. (1975a); Schoof-Tams, Schlaegel & Walzak (1976)

¹⁰⁵ Rademakers (1986), *op.cit.*; Laan, M. (1994) *Kinderen en hun Beleving van Lichamelijkheid* [Dutch]. Doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam/NISSO; Laan, M., Rademakers, J. & Straver, C. (1996) Beleving lichamelijkheid en intimiteit door kinderen, *Kind & Adolescent* [Dutch] 17,1:32-7; Rademakers, J., Laan, M. & Straver, C. (2000) Studying children's sexuality from the child's perspective, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12,1/2: 49-60. See also some autobiographical accounts of first love in [Dolf Verroen ... et al.] (1980) *Tien x Verliefd*. 3rd ed., 1988. Houten [Holland]: Van Holkema & Warendorf

¹⁰⁶ Wolman, B. (1951) Sexual development in Israeli adolescents, *Am J Psychother* 5:531-59

¹⁰⁷ For secondary reading on childhood love behaviour, see Jay & Young (1977,1979:p41-50,83-90); Sadger (1921:p37-9); Moll (1908 [1912]).

¹⁰⁸ Gijs, L. (2001) *De Illusie van Eenheid*. Dissertation, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands, p237

¹⁰⁹ Just (1897) Die Liebe im Kindesalter, *Prax Erziehungskunde* 11; Speyer, R. (1904) Die Liebe bei den Kindern, *Die Kinderfehler* 9:21-5; Pfister, O. (1922) *Die Liebe des Kindes und ihre Fehlentwicklungen: Ein Buch für Eltern und Berufserzieher*. Bern: Bircher; Pfister, O. (1925) *Die Liebe vor der Ehe und ihre Fehlentwicklungen*. Bern.: p204-7. Other interesting articles in this respect include Wolffheim, N. (1958) Wie Kinder wirklich sind: Erlebtes aus einem Kindergarten, *Prax Kinderpsychol & Kinderpsychia* 7:16-23; Wolffheim, N. (1966) Kinderlieben, in *Psychoanalyse im Kindergarten*. München [etc.]: G. Biermann, p124-33. Reprinted in Kentler, H. (Ed.) *Texte zur Sozio-Sexualität*. [Opladen]: Leske, p80-6

written by those invariably born out of an “adliger Familie”. The former cases deal with threatening the beloved one with death or destruction; the latter reveal mere melancholy or the suggestion of suicide if turned down. Ages are 9 to 13. Wulffen (1913:p253-5)¹¹⁰ also mentioned a *paradoxical* developmental protraction of “das erotische Liebesgefühl [or *Instinkte*]” at age nine to twelve, quoting two *pathological love letters* of Italian children. [To expand on the genre, Kernberg and Richards (1994)¹¹¹ reviewed approximately 1000 letters from boys and girls (almost all ranging in age from 9 through 12) in an attempt to see what love means for youngsters.]

Variably operationalised, “romances” may start at preschool age (Bell, 1902; Hatfield et al., 1988; Smith et al., 1993). There do not appear to be cross-cultural studies demonstrating differences in timing, character or incidence of preadult love/romance experiences.

The Note-Bringer. Sometimes children are used as “go-betweens” in adolescent love communications (Santals [India]¹¹², Trukese, Mehinaku [Brazil], Jimdārs (Rais) [Nepal]), a theme used in Hartley’s 1953 novel *The Go-Between*. This represents a situation wherein children are recruited for a lateral role, thereby provided the opportunity for observing central roles. The same is noted in Mohave boys being used as escorts of prostitutes as witnesses of eventual misbehaviour of their clients¹¹³.

The Note. Notes are tools of sexual negotiations, serving variable ends. Parikh analysing love letters in Uganda: “In terms of gendered themes within love letters, in general boys use letters to establish relationships and initiate sex. Girls use letters to maintain and negotiate terms of the relationship, often by expressing disappointment over the actions of their love interest. In youth’s letters, the term “love” is has multiple meanings—an emotion, desire, or sexual activity. The vague use of the term is more common in boys’ letters and allows for deniability if “discovered”, while leaving interpretation up to the recipient. Youth frequently conflate love and sex, and one is evidence of the other”.

Object Development (Homosexual, Age Stratified). As detailed elsewhere (§8.2.2.1), love development typically includes a “crush” phase (G., *Schwärmen*), or *curricular teleiophilia*. With variable support, this has been explained as a “safe” entry in the self-concept as a subject-in-love, without the risk, pressure and difficulties of reciprocity. The object is typically older, of the same sex, and both, and according to one or more principles, out of reach. It could not established whether the phenomenon normatively occurs outside the Caucasian setting.

¹¹⁰ Wulffen, E. (1913) *Das Kind: Sein Wesen und Seine Entartung*. Berlin: Langenscheidt

¹¹¹ Kernberg, P. F. & Richards, A. K. (1994) An application of psychoanalysis: The psychology of love in preadolescents as seen through children’s letters, in Richards, A. K. & Richards, A. D. (Eds.) *The Spectrum of Psychoanalysis: Essays in Honor of Martin S. Bergmann*. Madison, CT.: International Universities Press, p199-218

¹¹² “[...] the undisputed fact that boys and girls are used by young men and women freely in their love-affairs and intrigues as mediums to send presents of *ha[?]n[?]dia* (rice-beer) to the lover or *ukhra* (fried paddy) or articles of toilet to the beloved. Very frequently, children thus act as go-betweens in adult love-making and become very helpful in the conduct of affairs in hills and jungles, and naturally enough, as they grow up, they (children) get accustomed to love themselves and come to relish the flavour of such adventures”. The Kama Sutra lists 8 kinds of go-betweens in a specific chapter.

¹¹³ Devereux, G. (1948) The Mohave Indian Kamalo:y, *J Clin Psychopath* 9:433-57

Curricularised Pre-, Semi- and Quasi-Institutions. The evolution of courtship forms can be examined via historical¹¹⁴ and immigrant¹¹⁵ studies. Love is organised through such culture-typical pre-institutions of “going-steady”¹¹⁶, “breaking up”, and “making up”, “dating”. These invariably depend on whether they are clandestine, semi-clandestine, tolerated or arranged. The “making-out” and “love-making” may be introduced anywhere in such institutionalised curricula. The institutions become objects for anticipation¹¹⁷, and the timing is roughly associated with parental control on heterosocial mobility. In age-set societies, the timing of love commitments are based on the control exerted through the implications of initiation policies for both parties. A circumcised **Nandi** boy, for instance, may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, who form lasting couples (*mureret-sandet*, beloved-lover). This is paralleled among the **Baraguyu** and **Masai**. Among the **Jekri** of the Niger Delta, “[t]he sexes fall in love with one another just as Europeans do, and there is the same intrigue, squeezing and cuddling and loving embraces, but there is no kissing”. This would occur before marriage which is scheduled at pubarche for free girls. Children among the urbanised **Xhosa**¹¹⁸ “[...] start having “sweethearts”, “boy-friends” or “girl-friends”, “cherries” (girls), or *iintokazi* (lit., female things) from 10 or 11 years onwards”. This varies in intensity. The early timing of the “love-making” is attributed by the respondents to the freedom associated with single-parent household, giving way to unsupervised interplay; others referred to the compromised privacy of the home causing “their being aware of their parents’ sexual relations from an early age”. “Intensive petting- referred to as *unkuncokolisa* (to excite sexually), *uku-phathaphatha* (the intensive form of the verb *ukuphatha*, to touch or feel), or by the English word “romance”, used both as noun and verb- and with it sexual intercourse, are often part of a love-affair from an early age. Cases of pregnancy are known to occur from 12 years age and onward. Among the informants 14 was the youngest age at which one of them first experienced sexual intercourse. From 16 onwards most young people have love-affairs in which intercourse is a common element”. However, there is a deal of interindividual variability. Some have multiple simultaneous lovers: a major one (*makhonya*, known lover), and a “minor” one (*osecaleni*, “one on the side”).

How semi-institutionality and romanticism are interconnected is open to debate (e.g., Merten)¹¹⁹, but it seems reasonable to assume institutions act as bridges between *hypothetical* and *real* bonding and intimacy, as such provide anchors for curricular control and operationalisation, and are employed with the same intention as legal institutions: partner claim.

¹¹⁴ E.g., Bumroongsook, S. (1995) *Love and Marriage: Mate Selection in Twentieth-Century Thailand*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, p136-52

¹¹⁵ See subchapter in *Atlas Volume*, **Nonnative North-America**.

¹¹⁶ E.g., Tegels, R. (1994) “Verkering of geen Verkering; That’s the Question!”, *Een Onderzoek naar de Rol van Verkering in de Seksuele Socialisatie van Adolescenten*. Utrecht [Holland]. An average Dutch first “verkering” was found of 15,6 years. See Spruijt, E. (1993) *Relaties: Feiten, opvattingen en problemen*, in Meeus, W. (Ed.) *Jongeren in Nederland*. Amersfoort [Holland]: Academische Uitgeverij, p56-78

¹¹⁷ E.g., Conn (1939:p743-4), *op.cit.*

¹¹⁸ Pauw, B. A. (1963) *The Second Generation: A Study of the Family among Urbanized Bantu in East London*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. Chapter 6, p108-23, deals with pre-marital sexuality.

¹¹⁹ Merten, D. E. (1996) Going-With: The Role of a Social Form in Early Romance, *J Contemp Ethnogr* 24,4:462-84. On the basis of extensive interviewing, the author concludes that “going-steady” is constituted and construed (“the context in which individuals are obliged to pursue their attraction to each other”) results in patterns of interaction and meanings that negatively affect the realisation of romance.

Dyadiscism and Transitional / Mediating Groups. U.S. mixed preadolescent parties, once referred to as “group dating” (Martinson, 1960:p73-7; 1970:p253; 1973:p83-5; 1974:p23-4), prove to be a specific occasion for experimenting with the dyadic mode. As genital behaviour, dyadic initiatives seem to arise from occasions provided by the group experience, peers being utilised as mediators, go-betweens and reporters. As Thorne (1993:p151-4) notes: “Although pairs are the focus, “goin’ with” is a group activity that bridges from moments of teasing to the construction of more lasting and self-proclaimed couples”.

Other Mediating Social Institutions. The diary may be considered a transitional object in the process of the disclosure of a love life¹²⁰, disclosure being organised in the selective (non-)privileging of being shown passages, or knowledge of its existence. However compromised the validity of diaries¹²¹, these sources are unique in their subjectivity, format and functionality.

Categorising / Organising Love/Sex. Abraham (2000, 2002)¹²² sketches how Indian street youth negotiate heterosexual affiliations within diverse categories, including *Bhai-behen* (“a ‘brother-sister’ like relationship, platonic in nature and explicitly signifies a friendship devoid of any sexual involvement”), “true love” (“pursued with the implicit or explicit intention of marriage”), and “time pass friendships” (“a transitory relationship with a girl of their age, characterized by sexual intimacy that may lead to sexual intercourse”). It appears that this classification system is primarily informed by associative (sexual framework) and prospective (social framework) operations. Thus,

“[y]outh sexuality as it is channelled and experienced was far more complex than what is typically understood in terms of ‘boyfriend-girlfriend’ relationships”¹²³.

15.4.3 Socialisation and Courtship Forms: Input for a Taxonomy of Practices

Operative Rules: Parental vs Peer Mediation. The socialisation of romantic inclinations is universally part of a peer culture, which may perform the same pressures or constraints. African patterns of sexual instruction are known to introduce elements of love ethics

¹²⁰ E.g., Shapira, R. (1947) *Al hayomanim shel b'ne han'urim* [About adolescents' diaries], *Ofakim* 4,4:40-5. For material see Bruhn (1929, 1930); Buehler, Ch. (1932) *Jugendtagebuch und Lebenslauf. Zwei Mädchentagebücher*. Jena: Fischer; Buehler, Ch. (1925) *Zwei Knabentagebücher*. Jena: Fischer; Buehler, C. (1934) *Drei Generationen im Jugendtagebuch*. Jena: Fischer; Abegg, W. (1954) *Aus Tagebüchern und Briefen Junger Menschen; Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie des Entwicklungsalters*. München / Basel: E. Reinhardt; Ulin, C. (1944) *Personlighetsbildningen hos Unga Flickor* [Formation of Personality in Young Girls]. See also Iovetz-Tereschenko, N. M. (1936) *Friendship-Love in Adolescence*.

¹²¹ Okami, P. (2002) Dear Diary: A useful but imperfect method, in Wiederman, M. W. & Whitley, B. E. Jr. (Eds.) *Handbook for Conducting Research on Human Sexuality*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, p195-207

¹²² Abraham, L. (2000) *True Love, Time Pass, Bhai-Behen..... Heterosexual Relationships among the Youth in a Metropolis*. Paper presented at Convention *Reproductive Health in India: New Evidence and Issues*. Tata Management Training Centre, Pune, Maharashtra, India. February 28 - March 1. Abraham, L. (2002) Bhai-behen, true love, time pass: Friendships and sexual partnerships among youth in an Indian metropolis, *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 4,3:337-53

¹²³ See also Ramakrishna, J. et al. (2001) *Boy-girl Relations: Cultural Influences on Sexual Perceptions and Behaviours among Adolescents in South India*. Paper for presentation at the 3rd IASSCS conference in Melbourne, 1-3 Oct. 2001, p7-11

within the compulsory sexual curriculum. Gough (1961 [1962:p346])¹²⁴ notes that in former times Nayar “mothers and other matrilineally related women instructed girls in the arts of love”. A Dogon boy tells about his father:

“ “He walked every night alone to Yenima to get his bride, and he was only 19 years old”. The story of his father’s courtship and first love adventures which he knows in detail he wants to imitate as soon as he is a little older. His father has been his model in sexual matters and he consciously identifies with him” (Parin et al., p297).

A typically Western response toward love would probably still read something like:

“For the form of response known as “puppy love” we have one stock policy- we take a seat on the side lines. It needs regulating now and then- even a game of marbles gets out of hand occasionally- but it is usually wise to let it run its course like numerous other human ailments. [...] We learned that the child is safeguarded when the opposite sex becomes ordinary and without any special novelty, and that natural association tends to eradicate morbid attitudes. We do not claim to have rediscovered the basis of exogamy; but we do notice that it is now quite the thing among the older boys to have a girl in the outside community. Apparently Westermarck was right!”¹²⁵.

Nevertheless, Jackson (1982:p93-6)¹²⁶ argued that, “[g]irls receive a thorough schooling in romanticism from their earliest years”, a schooling, Jackson argues, that may work as a trap (2001)¹²⁷. This vicarious socialisation would escape preadolescent boys, who feel disgusted or disinterested. The most important matter seems to be the curricular “fit” of love and sex¹²⁸.

Love as an Operational Concept. Hunter¹²⁹ relates that a *Bantu* girl would be ridiculed if she did not have lovers (yet is taught how to avoid defloration); the same was noted for the *Basonge* peer group. This seems to oppose the frequent finding that young children tease and are teased about alleged romantic involvement¹³⁰, a pattern also noted for the *Thonga* (Colson: “[c]hildren from four of five on tease one another about their lovers”). Relative to whether these sentiments are somehow derived from parental attitudes, this mostly reflects a developmental principle. Thus, a Thonga girl may solicit for intercourse. “A boy how has no such flirt, no shigango [131], is laughed at as a coward; a girl who refuses to accept such advances is accused of being malformed”. In fact, “If a boy has not been successful in his “gangisa” [playing marriage in huts], if he is despised by the girls and has no chance of being accepted”, a special rite is needed to help him find a wife.

Formalised vs Informal Operationalisation. Courtship “routines” vary in the required degree of formal activities, interventions and communications. Price and Price

¹²⁴ Gough, K. (1961) Nayar: Central Kerala, in Schneider, D. M. & Gough, K. (Eds.) *Matrilineal Kinship*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, p298-404

¹²⁵ Thomas, F. (1934) Some Sociological Principles Underlying Child Development, *Social Forces* 12,4:508-14, at p 512

¹²⁶ Jackson, S. (1982) *Childhood and Sexuality*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell

¹²⁷ Jackson, S. (2001) Happily never after: Young women’s stories of abuse in heterosexual love relationships, *Feminism & Psychol* 11,3:305-21

¹²⁸ Berges E. T. et al. (1983) *Children & Sex: The Parents Speak*. N.Y.: Facts on File, p129-32

¹²⁹ Hunter, M. (1953 [1960]) *Reaction to Conquest*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p180-4

¹³⁰ E.g., Voss, L. S. (1997) Teasing, Disputing, and Playing: Cross-Gender Interactions and Space Utilization among First and Third Graders, *Gender & Society* 11,2:238-56, at p245; Simon, Eder & Evans (1992:p35)

¹³¹ Cf. Junod, H. (1898) *Les Ba-Rongo*. Neuchatel: Attinger Frères. The term chigango here implies premarital liberty

(1966a,b)¹³² describe that courtship among the *Olivos*, a traditional pueblo, is staged in three compartment, the middle with two subcompartments: informal, transitional, and formal. Roughly, industrial societies (e.g., U.S.) seem to value formality but do not enforce it as such. The disintegration of formality is an established ethnographic plot for many cultures today (e.g., American Hmong).

This Thing Called Love. The Christian, commercial “romance” script does not apply to many traditional love trajectories. P’Bitek (1964/1997)¹³³ provides an engaging discussion of the love trajectories of Acholi (Uganda) youth consisting of boys “shooting” or selecting previously unacquainted girls, girls initially (as a rule, incessantly) declining proposals, the start of a “love debate” that may take months. Regardless of age, unmarried men and spinsters had no social status. After a ring token has been “given to” (won by) the male, he might introduce her to the bachelor’s hut, to which she may be pressured by her mother, to find out whether he is “alive”: “If for some reason boy cannot or does not sleep with girl, then boy is not sexually fit. [...] and that is the end of the affair between the two”. Pre-pregnancy congress was severely (lethally, physically) punished.

Lateral and Central Listening / Reading / Doing¹³⁴. It appears that the transmission of love as a cultural construct occurs in variable distances to “mainstream” transmission routes. This renders love-as-practice a more centralised or more lateralised subcultural curriculum.

Roy (p40-2, 43-4) sketches how a *Bengali* girl used to be sensitised for Sanskrit love ideals in school, patterns being mixed with Western images. A poor Western equivalent would be comics¹³⁵. Confined in total ignorance of their sexual bodies, dedicated to virginity, under strict supervision of their mothers and the Church, young *French* girls nonetheless obtained a real insight into sentimental matters through an edifying literature. These books aimed to discipline the romantic temperament of young girls and convert it into the proper feeling for the right man, the future husband, for the sake of social order (Houbre; Kraakman)¹³⁶. Among the *Klamath*, “erotic” songs pass under the name of *pilpil* or puberty songs¹³⁷. “They include lines on signs of womanhood, courting, love sentiments, disappointments in love, marriage fees paid to parents, on marrying and on conjugal life. [...] [T]hey all refer in fact to love-making and kindred sentiments, the satiric lines confirming the proverbial inclination of lovers to fight among themselves”. [The importance of magazines was detailed in §6.4.1]

Subcultures and Playgrounds: Self-Determination. Firth notes for the Tikopia: “Among the young people there is a subterranean world of conversation and pleasures, the existence of which is known to their elders but from which their age and dignity excludes them”.

¹³² Price, R. & Price, S. (1966a) Noviazgo in an Andalusian Pueblo, *Southwest J Anthropol* 22:302-22; Price, R. & Price, S. (1966b) Stratification and Courtship in an Andalusian Village, *Man*, N. S., 1,4:526-33

¹³³ P’Bitek, O. (1964) Acholi Love, *Transition* 17:28-33. Reprinted in *Transition* 75/76 (1997):182-90

¹³⁴ Cf. §4.6.1.

¹³⁵ Walkerdine, V. (1987) No laughing matter: Girls’ comics and the preparation for adolescent sexuality, in Broughton, J. M. (Ed.) *Critical Theories of Psychological Development*. PATH in psychology. New York: Plenum Press, p87-125

¹³⁶ Houbre, G. (2000) Como a literatura chega as jovens: França, primeira metade do século XIX [How literature is imparted to youth: France, first half of the 19th century], *Tempo* [Brazil] 5,9:11-27; Kraakman, D. (1994) Reading pornography anew: a critical history of sexual knowledge for girls in French erotic fiction, 1750-1840, *J Hist Sex* 4,4:517-48

¹³⁷ Gatschet, A. S. (1890) *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon*. Washington: Gov’t. Print. Off.

Some cases of institutionalised co-residence provide an atmosphere that provides a degree of possibility/probability rather than pressured love development. Among the *Gurungs*¹³⁸ the *Rodi* (youth club) is joined at age eight or nine, first at a *kol-mai* for young girls (8-13), where she may find “fun”, or “affection, love”, or at least understanding of each other’s natures. As reviewed elsewhere¹³⁹, American heterosocial and –sexual development is organised around the school setting, institutions being experimented with here. The geography of children’s peer socialisation on the subject of love is best, yet not often, studied within their verbal subcultures (e.g., Heitmann, 1988)¹⁴⁰.

Countercultures. In some organisations, love and courtship customarily opposes parental preferences¹⁴¹; these might be hypothesised as transitional. In less obvious cases, youth subcultures may tend to oppose given parental standards on associations regulated through curfews, etc. The degree in which this is apparent is based on cultural, subcultural and individual perspectives.

The Dance: Scheduled Opportunism. Occasional celebrations are instituted to provide formal and informal association with the opposite sex. The *Afikpo* organise a sort of unsupervised annual children’s feast called *egwu* [mirrored c]*nwa* (Moonlight Dancing), where children pair to form a temporary *nwa ulo* relationship. In the adult equivalent, these bondings are omitted. It does not involve more than a petting courtship. It was said to provide “experience in exercising sexual [self-]restraint”, for boys rather to protect the female partner from sexually aggressive advances performed by other boys. *Nuer* “[g]irls witness serious love-making and courtship earlier than boys. At dances little girls follow their more experienced sisters and cousins, imitating their movements during the dancing and afterwards sitting with them while the young men pay them compliments and try to persuade them to retire with them into the long grass”.

Curricular Love Magic. Apparently, pubescence/courtship-associated love magic may be found in Africa¹⁴² and North America¹⁴³, and outside these areas¹⁴⁴. These are customs transmitted to or applied by a generation for the lower. Among the Zaire *Baushi*¹⁴⁵ boys use “love cosmetics”; Botswana Kgatla boys use “love medicines” (*meratsô*); aphrodisiacs may also be used among Zaire *Batetela* and *Mongo* pubertal boys. Among the *Luvale* of Zambia, pubertal preparations of girls include the administration of aphrodisiac herbs and love potions. In all cases but one (*Ojibwa*), anatomically poetic medicines are used as well. The meaning of love magic being discussed to some extent¹⁴⁶, it was not reckoned

¹³⁸ Messerschmidt, D. A. (1976) *The Gurungs of Nepal*. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, p50, 51

¹³⁹ See preparatory literature review, *Playground Sexualities: The Sync and Symbiosis of School Curricula and Gendered/Eroticised Trajectories*.

¹⁴⁰ Heitmann, V. (1988) *Obsceniteit, Romantiek en Dood in de Mondelinge Traditie van Noorse Schoolkinderen*. University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. 2 vols.

¹⁴¹ E.g., Central Thai (1900-1930); pre-modern Okinawans, Hopi, Hmong

¹⁴² Zaire (*Baushi*, *Batetela*, *Mongo*), Zambia (*Luvale*), Botswana (*Kgatla*), Zimbabwe (*Shona*), Uganda (*Acholi*).

¹⁴³ Round Lake *Ojibwa* (Rogers). Love medicine was used by the Assiniboine (Rodnick), Cree, Blackfeet (e.g., Ewers) and Yanoama (“young men” and women to aid them in their quest for mates.

¹⁴⁴ Toradja girls use love magic in order to attract young men; Rungus Dusun (Appell) [also anti-love magic]; Trobrianders (Weiner) [also beauty magic]

¹⁴⁵ Kokonge, M. & Erny, P. (1976) Comportements sexuels chez les Baushi Kinama (Shaba, Zaire), *Psychopathol Afr* 12, 1:5-33

¹⁴⁶ Shirley and Romney (1962) found a significant correlation of sexual socialisation anxiety (W&Ch.) with the use of love magic ($p < .001$), thus adding plausibility to Whiting and Child’s concept of “negative fixation”, which held that “[a]s a result of deprivation and punishment with respect to [a] system of behavior [thus, sexual/love system], [...] the individual should come to respond to this system of behavior with internal states of anxiety and insecurity which would function as a drive” (1953:p146) (cf. Textor 305/311x447). In other words, sexual restraint would

who uses it on whom, for what purposes. Among the **Jekri** of the Niger Delta, “[...] juju [medicines, charms] is made to keep [a girl] virtuous, but as a rule women are not chaste until married” (Granville and Roth). Among the **Plateau Thonga**, children use beautifying medicines, as do adults, and with their silent approval (Colson).

Variant, Atypical and Paraphilic Love and Courtship Trajectories. As surveyed elsewhere¹⁴⁷, a wealth of studies have documented homosexual development, but few studies have thus covered the specific element of infatuation. Very few studies have provided data on paraphilic development. Theoretically, these studies provide a very important view on the sociological situation of romantic attachment “development”. It provides information on the role of normality, peer control, and peer intervention (e.g., “homophobia”). This study of course has to take place within the general genetic sociology of variant, atypical and paraphilic sexual identity trajectories (see §8.3.3).

15.4.4 Love to Sex: Cultural Determinants

As anticipated above, love is a concept often issued and operationalised on the basis with its suspected facilitating properties as regarding sexual (risk) behaviours. To specify this often discussed case, how does an operative self-concept vis-a-vis love contribute to an operative self-concept vis-a-vis sex? This point is first illustrated by quantitative material, and secondly by case material addressing specifically the subjective constructions of the matter, institutional dissociations between exclusive dyadic affiliation and sexual connection, and semi-institutional sequencialism proscribing love and sex as interdependent curriculars. The following data briefly illustrate these formulae.

“Love” as a Subjective Retrospective Motivator for Sexarche. Moore and Rosenthal (1998)¹⁴⁸ explored how, within peer cultures, sex is “legitimated within the context of romantic love”. In *Bulgaria*¹⁴⁹, 82.3% of adolescents report “love” as their main motive for coitarche, 12.5% report to have done it “out of curiosity” and only in 7.2% it happened “by chance”. In *Togo*¹⁵⁰, coitus among students is claimed to be motivated by love in 68.6% and by

provoke (rather than peripheralise) the need for (later) active promotions of human affectionate bonding. Another perhaps more plausible explanation would be that both factors tend to co-occur where the need to control sexual curricula is high.

In previous work, it was not acknowledged in what phase love magic is used [Rosenblatt, P. C. (1971) Communication in the Practice of Love Magic, *Social Forces* 49,3:482-7], but it seems reasonable that adolescence would be the likely time. A review of selected cases, however, suggests that its use within marriage (“love stabiliser”, “reviver”) is more common.

¹⁴⁷ Unpublished review material by the author.

¹⁴⁸ Moore, S. M. & Rosenthal, D. A. (1998) Contemporary youths’ negotiations of romance, love, sex, and sexual disease, in De Munck, V. C. (Ed., 1998) *Romantic Love and Sexual Behavior: Perspectives from the Social Sciences*. State U New York, New Paltz, p233-47

¹⁴⁹ Vasileva, P. & Iustinianova, B. (1998) [The loss of virginity and sexual activity in adolescence], *Akusherstvo & Ginekologija* 37,3:46-8

¹⁵⁰ Hodonou, K. A., Adjahoto, E. O., Ekouevi, Y. D., Tété, V. K., Akpadza, K. & Baeta, S. (1992) Pratique de la sexualité en milieu scolaire, *Contraception, Fertilité, Sexualité* 27,4:313-7

desire in 21.1%. Love would be one of the most important reasons in Norway¹⁵¹, Slovenia¹⁵², France¹⁵³ (66%, females), and probably in most Western countries.

Sex Through Love. Conversely, research¹⁵⁴ suggests that coitarche “increases”, or reinforces “love”. Reiss (1981:p276)¹⁵⁵ and Villanueva (1997:p39-40, 48, 63, 70) on Puerto Rico argue that love may be used to “purify” and “justify” the continuance of sexual favours.

Curricular Platonism Requirements. The *Bisaya* (Borneo) practice informal “pairing” of eight- and nine-year-olds. Premarital chastity, however, was of great concern and the timing of sexual initiation was determined by the mother-in-law associated with their future residence (Lebar). Likewise, the *Bakuria* (Bantu, Kenya) who practice a form of preteen-preteen going-steady [*Kisassi*] are to observe the precircumcision taboo, as violation would sterilise the girl (Baker).

From Base to Base. Hatfield and Rapson (1996)¹⁵⁶, however notably neglecting developmental issues, observed that in modern technologically developed societies there is a remarkable conformity in intimacy milestone sequencing, differences being found predominantly in their timing (p113-4). For the *Koreans*, Brandt (1971) observed that for the ages 12 to 14, “[t]here is considerable romantic longing for someone of the opposite sex, but both individuals are ashamed and pretend to dislike each other when they meet, sometimes using insults that provoke real quarrels”. In this light, it is regrettable that American sexology, however focussed on mapping the chronology of intimacy trajectories hardly ever includes psychometric variables such as love and first heartbreak, along with inevitably negative exponents (first dumping, being dumped, etc.).

15.x Additional Reading

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¹⁵² Pinter, B; Tomori, M. (2000) Sexual behavior of secondary-school students in Slovenia, *Eur J Contraception & Reprod Health Care* 5, 1:71-6

¹⁵³ Bonierbale-Branchereau, M., Hontanx, J. & Boubli, L. (1986) Le premier rapport sexuel de l'adolescente, *Psychologie Medicale* 18,3:465-9; Nicoli, R. M. (1974) [Initiation of the young girl to sexual life], *Vie Med Canada Franç* 3,9:874-89

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¹⁵⁵ Reiss, I. L. (1981) Some observations on ideology and sexuality in America, *J Marriage & Fam* 43:271-82

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Tables

Table 1 First, Pre- and Peri-Pubertal “Love”: Major and Numeric Studies (N=30)

*) See Footnote 157		Ages	Sx	N	Variable	Meth ¹⁵⁸	Nationality, Sample, Ages
1	Bell (1902) ¹⁵⁹	[3-14]	BG	>2,200	Love, crushes	R, O	U.S., Adults, children
2	Schbankow (1922) reported by Weipenberg (1924) ¹⁶⁰	<7,7-9,10-15	G	324	Love feelings, love<14 [?]	Q, R	Russian, students
3	Ellis (1948) ¹⁶¹	-; <12	G	69	First falling in love, # male subjects having been in love with before 12	I+Q (R)	U.S., college students, 17-28 (M=20.5)
4	Wolman (1951) ¹⁶²	12-13, 13-14	BG	Var.	Feeling of love	Q [...]	Israeli adolescents, 12-19
5	Broderick & Fowler (1961) ¹⁶³	5...7gr	BG	136+128	Having a sweetheart y/n; reciprocity/publicity vars.	Q	U.S., 5th to 7th graders
6	Broderick (1965) ¹⁶⁴	10-11; 12-13; ...	BG	1,262	Having been in love y/n	Q	U.S. whites vs. Negro adolescents, 10-17
7	Broderick (1966/1970) ¹⁶⁵	10-11; 12-13	BG	946	Being in love	Q	U.S. [10-17]
8	Kephart (1967; 1973) ¹⁶⁶	-	BG	1,079	“Firsts” on love affairs/ First infatuation, first love experience	Q, R	U.S., adults, 18-24
9	Broderick (1968) ¹⁶⁷	-	BG	479+506; 298+312	Having been in love y/n	Q	US, 10-12

¹⁵⁷ Studies chronologically organised.

¹⁵⁸ Q=Questionnaire, R=Retrospective, I=Interview, PI=Picture Interpretation, SSI=Semi-Structured Interview, PQ=Parental Questionnaire, DA= Drawing Assignment, O=Observation; TO=Teachers' Observations; JLS= Juvenile Love Scale [See Davis, C. M. et al. (Eds., 1998) *Handbook of Sexuality-Related Measures*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publ., p447-9]

¹⁵⁹ *Op.cit.*

¹⁶⁰ Weipenberg, S. (1924) [Weiteres über][D]as Geschlechtsleben der russischen Studentinnen, *Ztsch f Sexualwiss* 11,1:7-14; 12,6:174-6;?:209-16

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¹⁶⁶ Kephart, W. M. (1967) Some Correlates of Romantic Love, *J Marriage & Fam* 29,3:470-4; Kephart, W. M. (1973) Evaluation of romantic love, *Med Asp Hum Sex* 7:92,98, 100,106-8

10	Broderick & Weaver (1968) ¹⁶⁸	10-11; 12-13; ...	BG	3,551	Interpretation of images: pairs of romantic unit; var. Romantic subthemes	PI	U.S.
11	Sigusch & Schmidt (1973) ¹⁶⁹	<=13, <=12	BG	602	Being in love	Q, R	Adolescents, 16-17
12	Schlaegel et al. (1975) ¹⁷⁰ ; Schoof-Tams et al. (1976) ¹⁷¹	11,12; PP	BG	1,914	Being in love	I;P,DA, DP [Q]	Adolescents, 11-16
13	Caletti (1980) ¹⁷²	3,4,6, 7- 12; ch'h	BG	2,151	Age of first same sex romantic sensations	Q	Italy, adults
14	Dixon (1984) ¹⁷³	pa	G	50	Preadolescent crushes	I, R	U.S., 32-60
15	Meyer-Bahlburg, Ehrhardt et al. (1985); Ehrhardt & Meyer-Bahlburg (1986) ¹⁷⁴	-	G	32	First crush, love	SSI	U.S., idiopathic sexual precocity vs. controls, 13-20
16	Hatfield et al. (1988) ¹⁷⁵	[4-18]	BG	114+122	"Passionate love"	JLS	U.S., 4-18
17	Hatfield et al. (1989) ¹⁷⁶	12-14+ 13-16	BG	24+17; 32+32	"Passionate love"	JLS	U.S., Young adolescents
18	Perkins (1991) ¹⁷⁷	<15	G	128+115 +120	Age at onset of first love affair / Falling in love	Q, R	Australian prostitutes, health- workers, students
19	Georg (1992)	?	BG	1,472+1,372	Falling in love for the first time	Q	Adolescents, young adults, 15- 24
20	Smith et al.	Presch.	BG	77+66	Romances	TO	U.S., Teachers

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¹⁷² Caletti, G. (1980) Report on the sexual behavior of a selected group of people, in Forleo, R. (Ed.) *Medical Sexology*. Littleton, Mass : PSG Pub. Co, p144-7

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	(1993) ¹⁷⁸						observing preschoolers
21	Newman & Muzzonigro (1993) ¹⁷⁹	?	B	27	First same-sex crush	Q	U.S. (multi-ethnic), gay male adolescents, 17-20
22	Nöstlinger and Wimmer-Puchinger (1994) ¹⁸⁰	-	BG	1,108	First being-in-love		Austrian, adolescents, 17.15
23	Laan (1994); Laan, Rademakers & Straver (1996); Rademakers, Laan & Straver (2000) ¹⁸¹	[8-9]	BG	31	Being in love	SSI, PQ	Dutch, children and parents
24	Neemann et al. (1995) ¹⁸²	[8-12]	BG	205	Romantic involvement	Q	U.S., 8-12
25	Pattatuci & Hamer (1995) ¹⁸³	?	BG	358	Romantic/ sexual attraction to male, female	I	U.S., homo /hetero/ bi-sexuals, 18-68, M=31.4
26	Hill et al. (1997) ¹⁸⁴	Ch'h	BG	86+54	Love experiences	Q, R	U.S., introductory psychology students, 18-43
27	Montgomery & Sorell (1998) ¹⁸⁵	-	BG	92 + 103; 94 + 96	First time fallen in love	Q, R	Adolescents grades 7-9, 12-16 (M=13.84); adolescents grades 10-12, 15-19 (M=16.35)
28	Jónsson et al. (2000) ¹⁸⁶	-?	BG	179	Age of first love affair	?	Icelanders, 20-30
29	Adams et al. (2001) ¹⁸⁷	[12-14, etc.]	BG	/	Closeness in romantic relationships	Q?	U.S., early to late adolescents
30	Brendgen et al. (2002) ¹⁸⁸	-	BG	312	Involvement in a romantic relationship	Q	Canada, 7th graders (11-15), M=13.25

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¹⁸⁷ Adams, R. E., Laursen, B. & Wilder, D. (2001) Characteristics of closeness in adolescent romantic relationships, *J Adolesc* 24,3:353-63

Table 2 First “Love”: Mean/Modal Ages (N=5)¹⁸⁹

Age of “First Love”			
Ellis (1948)	mean	I	12.19
	mean	Q	11.65
Kephart (1967:p471)	median	F, infat.	13.0
		M, infat.	13.6
		F, love exp.	17.1
		M, love exp.	17.7
Newman & Muzzonigro (1993)	mean		12.7
Nöstlinger & Wimmer-Puchinger (1994)	mean		12.9
Montgomery & Sorell (1998)	mode		12

¹⁸⁸ Brendgen, M., Vitaro, F., Doyle, A., Markiewicz, D. & Bukowski, W. M. (2002) Same-sex peer relations and romantic relationships during early adolescence: Interactive links to emotional, behavioral, and academic adjustment, *Merrill Palmer Quart* 48,1:77-103

¹⁸⁹ References cf. Table I, *op.cit.*

16

Making and Arresting Sexual/Erotic People: A Cultural Issue. Erotogenetics, Object/Subject Debates, and (Non-)Erotic Citizenship

“What is it like to be nurtured, stimulated in the body, both tenderly and sensually, and to be presented with a riddle, to be awakened to questions that mystify, that are not even articulated yet nonetheless activate some inner, diffuse, uncouth inquiry?”¹

“Luscious lips! Mysterious eyes!- Where has childhood gone?”

Summary: This chapter examines cultural ways of regarding, and effecting, so-called sexualisation / eroticisation processes. It was observed that Western discourses avoid a positive, or in any way interactionist, operationalisation of erotic development, and tend to concentrate on the identification of its misdirection in ‘pathological’ situations, as paralleled with a general “hurried erotics” discourse. Clinically, the discussion is reduced to the causal relation between sexual ‘experiences’ with resulting ‘activities’, thus, the negotiation of *curricular agency*. Together with this clinical problem, the later 20th century has been characterised by an avoidance of defining the ontogenesis of erotic (rather than sexual or reproductive) personhood. It has been claimed that erotic objectivity and subjectivity are both produced and consumed within a culturally specific economy of complementation and identification requirements, as communicated by scripts and interactions, and within a complex double-axis (horizontal/vertical) plot. It is further suggested that the individual’s (erotic) experience of “society” and “society”’s (erotic) experience of the individual provides an interactionist discourse in negotiating meaning. This is demonstrated by Islamic and Western concepts of the “knowing eye”. In fact, the “erotic” child is consumed and produced within very misty cultural implicits. Psychoanalytic, feminist and ethnographic impressions of the eroticisation process are provided with an emphasis on the concepts of objectification (complementation) and subjectification (identification). It was noted that structuralist-activist literature has conceptualised female erotic curricula as either a manufactured commodity or as being obliterated within a “sexist” discourse; the male analogy is much more unexplored. It was concluded that the divergence of these views sensitises any constructionist perspective on “erotic development”.

¹ Stein (1998a:p621), *cit. infra*

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16.0 Introduction

Intended as an adjuvans for the present cross-cultural project, this chapter identifies current Western manners of perceiving, and effecting, so-called sexualisation / eroticisation processes.

The article follows four major lines: (1) an introductory part identifying contemporary salience and formulae of the matter; (2) a presentation of (typically opposing) academic traditions in conceptualising developmental erotic agency, authority and subjectivity; (3) a preliminary exposé of ethnographic applications; and (4) a limited discussion of clinical and contemporary theoretical notions of 'erotarche' processes.

16.1 Socialised Sexuality/ Development: "Lateral", Textual, Contextual and Other Constructions and Biases

Moran (2000)² discusses the "invention of the sexual adolescent" starting with Hall's (1904) *Adolescence*. Hall, as a result of his own upbringing, Moran argues, placed chastity at the heart of his theory of adolescence. A paradoxical account at first sight, Killias' (2000)³ observations on the "desexualisation"⁴ of youth in western societies since 1800 pertain to the "partial" (and debatable) issue of decriminalisation of peer contacts in later adolescence. From these sources it appears that diverse entries can be and have been used to localise the "sexual individual". Some major discursive efforts for doing so are identified below.

16.1.1 Pathologies vs. Sociologies

Along with diverse sociologist perspectives toward the sexual socialisation process (see **chapter 1**), the product of such a process, if a "product" at all, that is, if at all the result of a clear-cut "process", is entitled to an equally debatable substantiality. Some sociologists observe how, as Giroux argues, "children's bodies have become sexualized and marketized",

² Moran, J. P. (2000) *Teaching Sex: The Shaping of Adolescence in the 20th Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

³ Killias M. (2000) The Emergence of a New Taboo: The Desexualisation of Youth in Western Societies since 1800, *Eur J Crim Policy & Res* 8,4:459-77

⁴ Nelson (1989) discusses "cultural desexualization" in the context of "denial of children's normal sexual thoughts and feelings". See Nelson, J. A. (1989) Intergenerational Sexual Contact: A Continuum Model of Participants and Experiences, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 15,1:3-12

and how “children learn to express desire and sexuality in ways that rob them of their childhood innocence”. Other authors more definitely identify this product from within a pathobiosocial framework, for instance as normative (“nonabusive”) “eroticisation” (Yates)⁵, which goes along a number of other expressions such as *premature* eroticization⁶, “sexualisation”⁷, etc. So-called “sexualised” doll symptomatology has become a diagnostic cult in the U.S.; the same may be said of the allegedly “sexualised” drawing. This is indicative of the near-fusion, or “continuity” (Wesley, 2002:1184-6)⁸ of “abuse” and “sexualisation” processes in American discourse. Counting over ninety *numeric* studies proving the “sexualisation” theme in narrow behavioural terms (author’s counting, 2001) [see specifics in the “**Three Tables Addendum**”], I would suggest that both the alleged biological and pathological aspects are open for deconstruction, and the factual process, which is very well established numerically, can be seen as a diversion from social norms regarding chronologisation of activity-based sexual identities/roles (rather than a pathophysiological entity *per se*). The insistence on controlling such a process, in either a culturalist or medicolegal context, thus, might represent an apology for intracultural coherence and consistency, as operationalised through the *curricularised culture*, rather than a dealing with the pathologies of cultured individuals.

Judging from a cursory appraisal of the literature, the concept of sexualisation as it pertains to sexualisable people and sexualisable activities appears to be phenomenologically and clinically isolated from the concept of normative sexual socialisation. The experience leading to children being *ruined by exposure* has seen many faces since Freud: primal scenes, lascivious literature, pictorial pornography, Greek statues, the Bible, television, *certain* friends, sex education, no sex education, but mostly peer consultation on sexual matters (“the gutter”, “the street”). Most of these matters however never attracted “professionals” to prove the harm they caused, perhaps until recently.

Speculations on seduction and sexual socialization have busied many, and such events proved a ready explanation for behaviours as well as for conceptual disappointments about the nature of childhood. The masturbating child was a victim of oxyuriasis, urinary acidity, warm beds, gymnastic ropes and seductive maids rather than his pleasure, Nature or the usual idiosyncrasies being reserved for adult sex/love. The widespread belief in servants gone immoral seems both a demonstration of medical bias to social class (what percentage of the population did have servants at any time in history?), and of social out casting of a suitable class in an era of medical helplessness. This scapegoating may also have regulated incest dynamics, parents complaining to the doctor every maid they hired turned out a pervert. Yet it may also be entirely possible that even unwed “Victorian” female care taking personnel may

⁵ Yates, A. The effect of commonly accepted parenting practices on erotic development, in Samson, J. (Ed.) *Childhood and Sexuality: Proceedings of the International Symposium*. Montreal: Éditions Études Vivantes, p367-73; Yates, A. (1982) Children eroticized by incest, *Am J Psychia* 139:482-5; Yates, A. (1987) Psychological damage associated with extreme eroticism in young children, *Psychia Ann* 17:257-61; Yates, A. (1990) Eroticized children, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology*, Vol. 7. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p325-34; Yates, A. (1991) Differentiating hypererotic states in the evaluation of sexual abuse, *J Am Acad Child & Adol Psychia* 30,5:791-5

⁶ Corwin, D. (1988) Early diagnosis of child sexual abuse: diminishing the lasting effects, in Wyatt, G. & Powell, G. (Eds.) *Lasting Effects of Child Sexual Abuse*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, p251-71

⁷ E.g., Gil, E. (1993) Sexualized children, in Gil, E. & Johnson, T. (Eds.) *Sexualized Children*. Rockville, MD: Launch Press, p91-100

⁸ Wesley J. K. (2002) Growing Up Sexualized: Issues of Power and Violence in the lives of Female Exotic Dancers, *Violence Against Women* 8,10:1182-1207

have felt, along the thesis that children indeed go to sleep when masturbated or masturbating, an urge to, as was the conviction, satisfy themselves for their own good. The *female* “maid” has a easier job nowadays, while *male* attendants have attracted considerable suspicion by abuse-fearing parents and doctors.

Medical interests in abusive relations, their causes and effects, have changed considerably over time. The French in the 2nd half of the 1900’s were concerned with the child more than the perpetrator; medical authorities seemed occupied with somatic and post-mortem findings rather than eroticisation scenarios. Leaving aside behavioural pathologies like masturbation, the concept of sexual “activities” as psychological correlates of sexual “experiences” seemed established by Freud’s early theoretical attempts to explain adult hysteria. “Degeneration” theorists up to that time declared that this process was most pronounced in hereditarily tainted individuals (in whom *paradoxical* behaviour would also spontaneously arise). It is likely that no statistics on this association were offered before 1986 by Friedrich et al. However, MacFarlane and Waterman (1986 [1987]) report that sexualised behaviours in sexually abused children was then “one of the most consistent findings reported in the literature for children of all ages (although a subset of children may become extremely sexually inhibited” (p108, 114), referring to 14 authors [including Freud]. The sexualised adolescent offender likewise seems to be an item established in the 1980s, although the child remains primarily entitled to this diagnosis. Constantine (1980:p160-2; 1981:p229-31) noted that in 10 of 30 reviewed articles on “intergenerational” sexual interactions, some sort of prepubertal (“early”) sexualisation process was observed to be common or typical. Also, knowledge of [or agreement on] moral negatives, as well as sexual knowledgability may be affected. Concluding:

“Because children are intrinsically sexual beings, actual sexual experiences will tend to sexualize their behavior and their construct of reality. Whether and to what extent this “precocious” sexuality is problematic will depend on the social and familial values with which the child lives. Money’s (1973) threshold model provides the simplest and most general model for the role of the “awakening” sexual experience. The threshold for release of erotic response and sexual behavior is higher prior to puberty, therefore, less will be evident in the absence of direct, non-symbolic stimuli” (1980:p168).

One hegemonic dimension of alleged abuse reactivity would be age *inappropriateness*; this ‘appropriateness’ discourse fits historically well with what Brownlie (2001:p520-1)⁹ discusses as the American ‘discovery’ of the “young [prepubertal] sexual abuser”. Both cause (“abuse”) and effect (“sexualised” behaviours) are identified by this hardly pedagogically sophisticated denominator¹⁰. A narrative analysis of earlier statements is even more revealing¹¹. Generally,

⁹ Brownlie, J. (2001) The “Being-Risky” Child: Governing Childhood and Sexual Risk, *Sociology* 35,2:519-37

¹⁰ For instance, Slager-Jorne, P. (1979) Treating sexually abused children, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 3,1:285-90. The author defines sexual abuse as “exposure of a child to sexual stimulation inappropriate for the child’s age, level of psychosocial development, and role in the family”. Hanes-Seman and Krugman (1989) speak of parental *sexualised attention*, defined as “behavioral interactions between caregiver and child that appear to be sexually stimulating to the adult or that involve the child in sexually stimulating activities [...] [Such sexualised] behavior in the context of repetitive patterns of interaction that are nonreciprocal and that appear to reflect parental needs rather than those of the baby may be indicative of unresolved sexual experiences being repeated in interactions with the child”. Appearance is important, and the theme of traumatic re-enactment is also clear. Further: the behaviours would show a “sexual orientation that appeared atypical for parent-child interactions and [that appeared] potentially damaging to the child”. They might “suggest an

sexual abuse would cause a species of *adult-type conditions* (Powell and Chalkley, 1981)¹², engagement in excessive [?] masturbation, engagement in highly sexualised [?] play, becoming sexually promiscuous (AMA, 1985), “an early [?] and exaggerated [?] awareness of sex, with either seductive interest [?] or fearful avoidance in close contact with others” (Kenward, 1987:p131)¹³, *more hypersexuality*¹⁴ (Kolko, Moser et al., 1988), and so forth. Later standardised measures of sexualisation included Achenbach’s Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) *Sexual Behavior Problems* subscale¹⁵ measuring “sexual behaviours”, Louisville Behavior Checklist-Revised *Sexual Behavior* item (including “having sexual relations and displaying inappropriate sexual behavior such as open masturbation, excessive sexual curiosity, and/or frequent exposure of genitals”), Briere’s Trauma Symptom Checklist for Children “*Sexual Concerns*” subscale¹⁶ (TSCC-SC), along with the Trauma Symptom Checklist for Young Children “*Sexual Concerns*” subscale (TSCYC-SC), and finally the biblical¹⁷ *Child Sexual Behavior Inventory*¹⁸, measuring sexual behaviours, not problems per se¹⁹. Today, the issue is understood in terms of “sexualized copings mechanisms” (Burk and Burkhart, 2002), given the perspective that “[b]iological maturation, onset of puberty and the sex-driven sociocultural atmosphere of adolescence may ultimately open the channel to the instrumental use of sexuality as a strategy of interpersonal control”. More interesting measures include the Children’s Impact of Traumatic Events-Revised (CITES-R) *Sexual*

inappropriate sexualisation to the child [...]”. Other phrases include “unusual sexual orientation” which is compulsive and stereotypic, “sexualised interactions”, and “sexualised behaviors”, which may be either “bizarre variations of normal interactions or precursors of significant sexual abuse”.

¹¹ Some examples: Power (1977): “The victim of paedophilia [...] may have premature arousal of sexual desire which can lead to neurosis, psychosis or psychopathy because the child is not intellectually or emotionally equipped to satisfy or come to terms with these desires” (p806). Storr (1964): “If the seduction of the child does not result in the implantation of a fear of sexuality, it may cause the premature arousal of desire which the child then finds it [sic] hard to fulfil” (p107). Allen (1969): “[...] [W]hen the environmental conditions are such as to induce particularly strong homosexual cravings (when there is an excess of maternal affection and an unsuitable father, when there is complete lack of maternal or feminine influences, and so on), then the child may be swayed into abnormal directions much more than if it had been left alone” (241). Burgess et al. (1981): “Sexual-focused behavior [sic] may be observed by parents [...] [o]r parents may observe that their child is sexualizing pictures by adding genitalia or behaving in a stylized manner” (p115-6). Litin, Giffin and Johnson (1956): “[U]nusual sexual behavior evolves by adaptation of the ego to subtle attitudes within the family, a process that distorts the instinctual life of the child. Perverse sexual acting out and many unusual heterosexual patterns result from unconscious permission and subtle coercion by adults”.

¹² Powell, G. E. & Chalkley, A. J. (1981) The effects of paedophile attention on the child, in Taylor, B. (Ed.) *Perspectives on Paedophilia*. London: Batsford, p59-76

¹³ In Maher (Ed.) *Child Abuse*.

¹⁴ That is, *greater* sexual behaviour, that is, more, or a wider range, or a higher total score [etc.] than controls; the former term was used 4 times, but not in any consequent manner.

¹⁵ Child Behavior Check List (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983: *Manual for the Child Behavior Checklist*), a widely used 118-item standardized parental questionnaire relating to behavioural problems and social competence. Ratings are specific on a three-point scale referring to parentally observed occurrence in past 6 months. There are two age-group specific versions (4-5, 6-11); a Sex Problems subscale was offered, yet some authors, including Friedrich et al. (1986) adopted an alternative Sex Problem scale. The sum of 6 items [## 5, 19, 35, 45, 52, and 53] on sexual “behavior” was used as an indication named Sexualisation (p53). This measure was the forerunner of Friedrich’s later *Child Sexual Behavior Checklist*.

¹⁶ With further subscales named “Sexual Preoccupation” and “Sexual Distress”.

<http://www.johnbriere.com/tscc.htm> and

<http://www.criminology.unimelb.edu.au/victims/resources/assessment/ptsd/tscc.html>

¹⁷ Walker, A. (1997) Childhood sexuality- myths and dilemmas, *Irish Med J* 90,3:94

¹⁸ SCBI-2: <http://www.calib.com/nccanch/pubs/usermanuals/sexabuse/appena.cfm>

¹⁹ A further measure is the 1999 *Multidimensional Assessment of Sex and Aggression* (MASA), revised for juvenile subjects, *Sexualisation* subscale. Knight, R. A. & Cerce, D. D. (1999) Validation and revision of the Multidimensional Assessment of Sex and Aggression, *Psychol Belg* 39,2/3:187-213

Anxiety and Eroticism subscales, and the Sexual Abuse Fear Evaluation's (SAFE) *Sexual Discomfort* (or: *Sex-Associated Fears*) subscale (Cohen et al., 1999:p705-6)²⁰.

As interesting are "sexualisation" measures of young offenders. *The Juvenile Sex Offender Assessment Protocol* (J-SOAP)²¹ accommodates a *Sexual Drive/Preoccupation Scale*, including the item "degree of sexualizing the victim", "intended to capture the degree to which the juvenile sexualized his victims (for example, use of pornography in the offense, filming the victim, engaging in unusual or ritualized sexual acts with the victim)". Research by Rorty, Yager, Buckwalter, Rossotto and Guthrie for the *Parental Intrusiveness Rating Scale* (2000), included the reference to and application of "inappropriate sexualization of father-daughter relationships" (2000:p189)²².

Again, reactive sexuality has traditionally (yet in variably terms) been issued as being "inappropriate" for ages, "phases", and trajectories (Mannarino and Cohen, 1986; Gale, Thompson, Moran and Sack, 1988; Deblinger, McLeer et al., 1989; Goldston, Turnquist and Knutson, 1989; Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993; etc.). Articles appeared in late 1970s about abuse-induced behaviours, along with theoretical framing of these associations. For instance, MacVicar (1979) found many signs of *phase-inappropriate* sexuality (excessive excitement) in four "latency-aged"²³ girls being "participating victims" of sexual abuse; 2 girls exhibited *compulsive* masturbation, while "[t]he need to repeat the trauma [a prelude to PTSD ramifications], most common in adolescents [in the form of promiscuity], occurred in 2 "latency-aged" girls" (p350).

Corwin (1988) presents a revealing account of the vicissitudes of the *Sexually Abused Child's Disorder* (SACD), then in its 4th draft, as it was presented by the *National Summit Conference on Diagnosing Child Sexual Abuse* in 1987, and to be incorporated into the DSM-IIIr manual (which was a failure; the DSM IV also ignored the idea). Unlike the earlier *Child Sexual Accommodation Syndrome* (Summit, 1983)²⁴, the SACD is a diagnostic model differentiating the sexually abused child (rather its symptoms) from other disorders. The data are entirely without reference; yet "there was little objection to the validity of the [SACD]" among the attendants including "many of this country's [U.S.] foremost experts on child sexual abuse" (p252)²⁵.

A primary category involves "displays [of] an increased awareness of differentiated [?] sexual behaviors" as demonstrated by specific knowledge, or by emotional and behavioral reactions

²⁰ Cohen, J. B., Deblinger, E., Maedel, A. B. & Stauffer, L. B. (1999) Examining sex-related thoughts and feelings of sexually abused and nonabused children, *J Interpers Violence* [Beverly Hills] 14,7:701-12

²¹ <http://www.csom.org/pubs/JSOAP.pdf>

²² Rorty, M., Yager, J., Buckwalter, J. G., Rossotto, E. & Guthrie, D. (2000) Development and Validation of the Parental Intrusiveness Rating Scale (PIRS) among Bulimic and Comparison Women, *Int J Eating Disorders* 28:188-201

²³ The use of the concept latency is significant. The "relative calm of the latency period" is "interfered" with [p349]. At least some interpretations of the concept of sexual latency allow the concept of a brutal disruption of a peaceful, drowsy, somnolent, or hypnopompic state, which is the exact essence of the construct of a sexually abused child. The trauma attributed to such forceful awakening might thus be associated with the physical and psychological impact of being forced to wake up from a pleasant [as yet pre-erotic?] dream.

²⁴ As AACAP (1997) remarked, such syndrome should be "intended to help clinicians understand the dynamics of abuse, not to diagnose abuse. There is no such thing as a "child sexual abuse syndrome", that is, a specific cluster of symptoms that are diagnostic of sexual abuse".

²⁵ One third agreed with the syndrome's approach, one third felt inclined to PTSD, and another third, interestingly, "proposed the inclusion of a new [DSM] category under psychosexual disorders that would focus on premature erotization and would not presume the prior occurrence of sexual victimization" (p259).

to direct questions about parts of the body and inquiries about actual exposure to [a variety of sexual behaviours]. A secondary category involves the *ability* of description or demonstration of being subjected to any of the experiences involving force or a partner at least 3 years older. A third category involves one out of 10 examples, including a history of repeated attempts to engage others in sexual behaviour (2), age-excessive preoccupation with genital anatomy or related terms, or “differentiated” sexual behaviour [as mentioned above, including repeated *sexualised* doll play, etc.] (3), and excessive masturbation that would be significantly different from peers [!] (5). The last categories require the child to be under 10 years of age, and his behaviour differentiated from consensual peer sex play [but not repeated!], from the child’s misinterpretation about physical contact, or (apparently not abusive) observed sexual acts, and from fabrication or indoctrination [!!]²⁶.

Some of the Conference’s participants worked on a consensus regarding a list of *Possible Emotional and Behavioral Indicators of Child Sexual Abuse*; the list was printed in full [to stimulate critique and study], with differentiation of the age groups 0-4 and 6-11 (and 12-18); they are organized as *Most Specific to CSA*, *May Be Related to CSA But Least Specific*, and an in-between category. *Premature Eroticization* (a *Most Specific* behaviour and emotion) is defined by 5 items [examples?] for the 0-4 group; in the 6-11 [and adolescent] group, the description of this category refers back to this “explanation” (the summit thus lacking an argument on difference in the age groups concerning “eroticization” processes).

Later literature invested theoretical stamina in the perspective of two main, roughly synchronically suggested symptom formation theories within the traumatising doctrine, being the *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* (PTSD²⁷), and the *Traumatogenic Dynamics Model of Child Sexual Abuse* (Finkelhor and Brown, 1985; also Finkelhor, 1988). Other lines of thought referred to a learning theory construction, appealing to Pavlov’s classical conditioning, Skinner’s operant conditioning, and Bandura’s concept of modelling (Butler and Elliott, 1999:p184)²⁸.

Slightly before it appeared in a specific model, David Finkelhor (1984) issued the same concept of traumatic sexualisation. In a chapter on *Sexual Abuse as a Moral Problem*, the author recognizes the following public “intuitive” arguments against adult-child sex: *intrinsic wrongness* and biological/physiological *unnaturalness*; *premature sexualisation*; and harmfulness (p15). In the later model, these appear to be fused beyond recognition.

Even at the beginning of his writing career on the matter, Finkelhor (1979) suggested that therapists needed a “more adequate”, “more compelling” and “more ethical” position-taking against sexual abuse of children, dismissing arguments concerning abuse being “intrinsically wrong”, leading to “premature sexualisation”, and being “clearly damaging”. He states that “[f]or adults who find sex problematic, [premature sexualisation] is an attractive fantasy”, while “the asexuality of childhood is a myth”. We see that the “inadequate” and “intuitive” arguments against adult-child sex here re-enter the empirical “damage” paradigm (and

²⁶ Strikingly illustrating a diagnostic mania (and etiologic uncertainty), their text includes statements like [italics added]: “If *precocious* sexual behavior is believed to be the result of sexual abuse and the child meets the diagnostic criteria for [SACD], then conduct disorder should not be diagnosed on the basis of *the sexual misconduct* alone” (p257). A confusion with PTSD also fills the scientific gap:

“Consensual sex play should be differentiated from reenactment behavior initiated by a sexually victimized child” [id.]; yet such play/experimentation may occasionally lead to *precocious sexualisation*!

²⁷ Literature suggesting that sexual abuse would be best understood within this framework started off in publications in 1985 and 1986 (cf. Finkelhor, 1988:p62).

²⁸ More esoteric concepts like *identification with the aggressor* [which is a psychoanalytic theme ripped out of its proper context, like *latency*] can not be elaborated upon, since neither of the theoretic constructions can be scientifically substantiated within their frame of reference

actually ranking first here), a process Finkelhor wrongly envisioned to become “more and more controversial”.

After preaching informed consent (as in scientific experiments), he does ask himself, “doesn’t this argument constitute a condemnation of all child sexuality?”

Finkelhor’s *Traumatic Sexualisation*, first of four traumatogenic dynamics refers to “a process in which the child’s sexuality (including both sexual feelings and sexual attitudes) is shaped in a developmentally inappropriate and interpersonally dysfunctional fashion as a result of sexual abuse [leading to] inappropriate repertoires of sexual behavior, with confusions and misconceptions about their sexual self-concepts, and with unusual emotional associations to sexual activities” (1985:p531). Critically, the ages in which traumatic sexualisation would occur vary²⁹. While it is stated that sexual abuse is primarily about “a precocious introduction to adult sexual behavior”, and about *appropriate developmental pathways* (Finkelhor, 1995:p529), the trauma would include a more sophisticated structure: (1) rewarding of behaviour inappropriate for the child’s level of development (1988:p69) or inappropriate considering the child’s age group (p72); (2) [such rewarding leading to] the use of behaviours as a manipulative strategy; (3) fetishisation of body parts; (4) confusion and misconception about behaviours and morality; and (5) association of fright with sexual activity. This dynamic is held both unique and *among the most important [traumatogenically potent?]* of the four regarding “sexual abuse”, having both short-term and long-term effects (the latter including dysorgasmia, flashbacks durante coitu, sex aversion, and *inappropriate sexualisation* of one’s own children³⁰).

As for a short reflection on the above decursus, the studies are methodologically flawed³¹, for instance by lacking support from prospective studies and from a theory on normativity. Thus, a positive localisation of erotic development (i.e., outside a localisation of pathologies) is problematic within contemporary clinical perspectives. Any concrete localisation of pathology is thus compromised as well.

The following three paragraphs demonstrate that the clinical problem (or the medical pursuit of problems) is paralleled in extramural discourses aswell.

²⁹ Friedrich (1990) includes developmental levels (that is, age of onset of abuse) to explain the traumatogenic factor. 1.5-3 years includes “accelerated onset [*sic*] of normal heightened interests”, 3-5 includes “normal increased interest in sexuality is heightened”, and 6-12 includes “normal inhibition may either increase or not be allowed to decrease” (p118). Apparently, there is no argument for sexualisation before age 1.5 years. Adolescent sexualisation includes “adolescent sexuality issues heightened- e.g., homosexuality”.

³⁰ Bentovim’s (1991) schema of traumatic sexualisation shows a top statement of “inappropriate responses rewarded; negative conditioning; identification with victim/aggressor role and activities” as it makes its entry in a triangle of reciprocally linked conditions. It fires up “aversion, flashbacks and phobia”, which then somehow circles around past “sexualising other children” and “sexual preoccupations and activities” (p18).

³¹ Neither the commonly used CBCL or CSBI inquires for post-abuse (thus, *possibly* abuse-activated) behaviours, but to retrospectively observed incidents of the 6 months *preceding assessment*³¹. The chronological relationship of parental suspicion (perhaps after suspicious incidents), the time of disclosure, the time of (non-)admitting of offender, the time of legal procedures, the time of referral, the time of assessment, the time of eventual treatment of either child or parent are commonly left uncommunicated. The question of parental observation retrospectively or prospectively influenced by occurrence, delay or cancellation of any of these entirely inherent sequelae is usually unanswered.

16.1.2 *Ethics and Aesthetics: Intracultural Discursive Movements and the Iconographic Entry*

I would here wish to take up from another chapter (14) the compelling concept of “culturally” “eroticised” or fetishised innocence and innocents as explored by a number of contemporary authors (Kincaid³²; Walkerdine³³; Giroux³⁴)³⁵. Walkerdine (1996/1998, 1997, 1999, 2001; Walkerdine et al., 1999) argued that ‘the nature of the child’ is not discovered but “produced in regimes of truth created in those very practices which proclaim the child in all his [as opposed to *her*] naturalness”. Conrad³⁶ likewise refers to an alleged “cultural fascination with sexualized images of children”. Victorian age, especially, has been marked by a fascination with little girls³⁷, entering the iconography of the era. In fact, there was also a small scene in “erotic” depiction of prepubertal girls³⁸ (some of which was covered in collections by Ovenden)³⁹. Today, the apparent need for childhood erotica provides a *raison d’être* for technological industries and contra-industries, which seems to be a problem typical for Western and Asian technocracies. The issue has provoked some (predominantly historical)

³² Kincaid, J. (1992) *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture*. New York: Routledge; Kincaid, J. (1996) Producing erotic children, in Fuss, D. (Ed.) *Human, All Too Human*. London: Routledge. Reprinted in Jenkins, H. (Ed., 1998) *The Children’s Culture Reader*. New York: New York University Press, p203-19; Kincaid, J. (1998) *Erotic Innocence: The Culture of Child Molesting*. London: Duke University Press

³³ Walkerdine, V. (1996) Popular Culture and the Eroticization of Little Girls, in Curran, J., Morley, D. & Walkerdine, V. (Eds.) *Cultural Studies and Communication*. London: Arnold. Reprinted in Jenkins, H. (Ed., 1998) *The Children’s Culture Reader*. New York: New York University Press, p254-64; Walkerdine, V. (1997) *Daddy’s Little Girl*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; Walkerdine, V. (1999) Violent boys and precocious girls, *Contemp Issues Early Childh* 1,1:3-23, esp. p11-9; Walkerdine, V. (2001) Safety and danger: Childhood, sexuality, and space at the end of the millennium, in Hultqvist, K. & Dahlberg, G. (Eds.) *Governing the Child in the New Millennium*. New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer, p15-34, esp. p21-31; Walkerdine, V., Dudfield, A. & Studdert, D. (Oct., 1999) *Sex and Violence: Regulating Childhood at the Turn of The Millennium*. Paper presented at the Conference *Research in Childhood. Sociology, Culture and History*, Denmark

³⁴ Giroux, H. A. (1998) Nymphet fantasies: Child beauty pageants and the politics of innocence, *Social Text* 16,4:31-53; Giroux, H. A. (2000) *Stealing Innocence: Youth, Corporate Power, and the Politics of Culture*. New York: St. Martin’s Press

³⁵ For a particularist essay, consider DuCille, A. (1997) The Shirley Temple of My Familiar, *Transition* 73:10-32. For a further excursion on Hollywood aesthetics, consult Sinclair, M. (1988) *Hollywood Lolita: The Nymphet Syndrome in the Movies*. New York: Henry Holt / London: Plexus

³⁶ Conrad, J. (1999) Lost Innocent and Sacrificial Delegate: The JonBenet Ramsey Murder, *Childhood* 6,3:313-51

³⁷ Robson, C. (2001) *Men in Wonderland: The Lost Girlhood of the Victorian Gentleman*. Princeton University Press; Kincaid (1992), *op.cit.*; Pearsall, R. (1969) *The Worm in the Bud*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. Penguin ed., 1983, p430-46; Walvin, J. (1982) *A Child’s World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, p147-8. Also Fraser, M. (1976) *The Death of Narcissus*. London: Secker & Warburg; Townsend, Ch. (1996) A picture of innocence? *History Today* 46,5:8-11; Trudgill, E. (1976) *Madonnas and Magdalens*. London; Heinemann, p90-100; Polhemus, R. M. (1994) John Millais’s Children: Faith, Erotics, and the Woodman’s Daughter, *Victorian Stud* 37,3:433-50

³⁸ For works exploring this theme, see Mort, F. (1987) *Dangerous Sexualities*. London & New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p84; Pultz, J. (1995) *Der Fotografierte Körper*. Köln: DuMont, p40-6; Lewinski, J. (1987) *The Naked and the Nude*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p47-52; Dijkstra, B. (1986) *Idols of Perversity*. New York: Oxford University Press, p185ff; Gilman, S. L. (1989) *Sexuality: An Illustrated History*. New York [etc.]: John Wiley, p270-3. One would like further to consult Rodríguez Hernández, G. (1996) The child nude in Porfirian Mexico, *Luna Córnea [Mexico]* 9:44-9, 140-2

³⁹ Ovenden, G. & Melville, R. (1972) *Victorian Children*. London: Academy Editions. Also *Victorian Erotic Photography* [1973]; *Nymphets and Fairies: 3 Victorian Children’s Illustrators* [1976]

reflection on cultural values⁴⁰ by authors discussing the “cultural” narratives rather than activist claims.

At the present time, *cross-cultural* studies on iconographic representations of the child within erotological terms have not been offered.

16.1.3 Child, Childlike and Adultlike: Cultural Boundaries

The iconography of erotic childhood raises questions on the location of the agenda: subjectivities, objectivities or individuals. Another image of sexuality invading the childhood domain is concerned with depictions of “sexual naivety” and “childlikeness”⁴¹. Considering the ill-received work by Reisman, an analogous assessment of contemporary Japan would raise hell: most *hentai* is *kawaii* (cute, paedomorphic). This also calls into question the comparatively late adoption of child pornography rulings, as it would run counter to Japan’s postWar veneration of freedom of expression.

⁴⁰ E.g., Higonnet, A. (1998) *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood*. London: Thames & Hudson; Townsend (1996), *op. cit.*; Elliott, M. (1992) Images of children in the media: “soft kiddie porn”, in Itzin, C. (Ed.) *Pornography: Women, Violence and Civil Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p217-21; O’Donohue, W., Gold, S. & McKay, J. (1997) Children as sexual objects: history and gender trends in magazines, *Sexual Abuse* 9,4:291-301; Edwards, S. (1994) Pretty babies: art, erotica or kiddie porn? *History Photogr* 18,1:38-46; Kitzinger, J. (1998) Defending innocence: ideologies of childhood, *Feminist Rev* 28:77-87; Lucie-Smith, E. (1997) Eros and innocence, *Index on Censorship* 26,2:139-44; Douglas, A. (1994) Childhood: a Molotov cocktail for our time, *Women’s Art Mag* [U.K.] 59:14-8; Coleman, A. D. (1993) Child minders, *British J Photography* 140:6919, 22 April:28-9; Georgieff, A. (1994) As far as the eye is not allowed to see, *European Photography* [Germany] 15,2:48-52; Tallman, S. (1991) Innocence, experience, and naked teenagers, *Arts Mag* [U.S.A.] 65,10:25-6; Ginsberg, A., Richey, J., Sturges, J., Hess, E., Oken, S. C. (1990) The right to depict children in the nude, *Aperture* [U.S.A.] 121:42-9; de Grazia, E. (1990) The big chill: censorship and the law, *Aperture* [U.S.A.] 121:50-1; Lewis, J. (1996) Age of innocence, *Frieze* [U.K.] 26:32-5; Georgieff, A. (1997) Graham Ovenden & Ron Oliver: vice and innocence, *Katalog* [Denmark] 9,2:46-8; Georgieff, A., et al. (1997) Concealed: art or kiddie porn? *Katalog* [Denmark] 9,2:33-7, 42-3, 49; Stanley, L. A. (1991a) Art and perversion: censoring images of nude children, *Perspektief* [The Netherlands] 40:10-5; Stanley, L. A. (1991b) Art and ‘perversion’: censoring images of nude children, *Art J* [U.S.A.] 50,4:20-7; Toynbee, P. (2001) For shame! The arts versus the plod, *Modern Painters* [U.K.] 14,2:18-20; Bennett, J. (1998) The spectre of pedophilia and Dennis Del Favero’s Parting Embrace, *Artlink* [Australia] 18,3:61-3; Berggren, I. (1996) Naked, *Siksi* [Finland] 11,1:34-9; Kampfner, D. (1996) Exposures of innocence, *Image* [U.K.] 251:10-1, 13; Iturbe, M. (1994) Los aromas dibujados del cuerpo [The drawn fragrances of the body], *Luna Córneas* [Mexico] 4:52-7; Gearon, T. & Seaton, M. (2001) Where is the sex? *Guardian*, March 13, 2001, suppt. p2-3; Reardon, V. (1996) A reply: whose image is it anyway? *Art Monthly*, 195:45; Trimming, L. (Interviewer) (2001) Utter zombiedom: a conversation with Dennis Cooper, *Flash Art* [Italy] 34, 219, July-Sept:67-8; Romano, G. (1992) Jock Sturges: bellezza innocente, *Zoom* [Italy] 117, May-June:56-63; Wood, A. (2003) Constructions of Childhood in Art and Media: Sexualized Innocence, *Agora: An Online Graduate Journal* 2.2 (Spring 2003) [<http://collection.nlc-bnc.ca/100/201/300/agora/2003/v2n02/157.pdf>]. In 1984, the US Justice Department had given Judith Reisman a grant for \$734,371 to study pictures in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler. She claimed that these magazines published 6,000 cartoons, photos and other illustrations of children between 1954 and 1984. The American University (AU), where Reisman’s study had been academically based, actually refused to publish it when she released it, after their independent academic auditor reported on it. Dr Robert Figlio of the University of Pennsylvania told AU that, “[t]he term child used in the aggregate sense in this report is so inclusive and general as to be meaningless”. Figlio told the press, “I wondered what kind of mind would consider the love scene from Romeo and Juliet to be child porn” (Carol, A. (1994) *Nudes, Prudes and Attitudes: Pornography and Censorship*. New Clarion Press, Gloucester, p116). See Reisman, J. A. (1985) “Executive Summary,” *Images of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler Magazines*.

⁴¹ Matacin, M. L. & Burger, J. M. (1987) A content analysis of sexual themes in Playboy cartoons, *Sex Roles* 17,3-4:179-86

Within selected contexts, the present work could even be called a “child eroticum” (or “pedophile paraphernalium”)⁴². These currents have greatly problematised and sensitised discussions of the child, the erotic and the Other that might combine or interfere with the notorious pair. It has also led to a culture war on claims of childhood as a space, as a frontier, as a discourse within paedocentric societies, etc.

16.1.4 The “Hurried Erotics” Discourse

There can be no mistake that time and speed take up the larger part of erotological discourses in contemporary Euro-American academia. Not a biological view, the “hurried child” philosophy (Elkind, 1981, 1982, 1993)⁴³ announces that children

“[...] behave like adults and are treated as adults by parents, schools, the workplace, the media, and society in general. This thesis poses numerous methodological, substantive, and empirical problems; these include a limited historical perspective on the changing nature of American childhood, a failure to identify exactly who the hurried children are, and the use of a deterministic model and negative bias in the research⁴⁴. It is argued that these writers fail to take into account the diverse experiences of contemporary American children as they pertain to such factors as age, gender, race, and social class. For the vast majority of contemporary American children, the “hurried child” is more myth than reality” (Lynott and Logue, 1993)⁴⁵.

David Elkind warned that hurried children, whether “clock hurried” or “calendar hurried”, often become the nation’s stressed children. Perhaps the most dreaded aspect of “hurriedness” is erotic precocity. Palumbo (1982)⁴⁶ cries out: “Luscious lips! Mysterious eyes!- Where has childhood gone?”. Maternal hurrying of children has been described as “adultomorphization”, seen in “mothers of some subjects with narcissistic personality disorder: the mother “insists on “grown-up” behavior and the child can please her by developing a facade of competency (and becoming a pseudomature child)”⁴⁷. Elkind states that the media increasingly portrays young people as “precocious”, and presents them in more or less explicit sexual or manipulative situations. Such portrayals may force young children to think they should act grown up before they are “ready” ([1988:p120]), trying on “adult” language and behaviours. This would be confirmed in classrooms⁴⁸.

⁴² Lanning, K. V. (1992) *Child Molesters: A Behavioral Analysis*. 3rd. ed. Arlington, VA: National Center of Missing & Exploited Children, p26-8. Cf. *ibid.*, 4th ed., 2001, p65-9

⁴³ Elkind, D. (1981, revised 1988) *The Hurried Child: Growing Up Too Fast Too Soon*. New York: Addison-Wesley; Elkind, D. (1982) *The Hurried Child*, *Instructor* 91,5:40-3; Elkind, D. (1993) “The Hurried Child: Is Our Impatient Society Depriving Kids of Their Right To Be Children?”, in *Images of the Young Child: Collected Essays on Development and Education*. National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington, DC

⁴⁴ Cf. Logue, B. J. & Passuth, P. M. (1989) *The “Hurried” Child: Some Problems of Identification and Measurement*. Paper for the American Sociological Association

⁴⁵ Lynott, P. P. & Logue, B. J. (1993) The “hurried child”: The myth of lost childhood in contemporary American society, *Sociol Forum* 8,3:471-91

⁴⁶ Palumbo, F. (1982) Growing up too fast, *Pediatrics* 69,1:123-4

⁴⁷ Campbell, R. J. (1996) *Psychiatric Dictionary*, 7th ed. Oxford University Press, p17

⁴⁸ Wason-Ellam, L. (1997) If only I was like Barbie, *Language Arts* 74,6:430-7, at p434

Authors using Elkind's "theory" fail to unravel whether "the world" is hurrying or hurried itself (e.g., McGreevy, 1987)⁴⁹. The concept is closely related to what has been phrased the "teening" of childhood (Hymowitz, 1999; 2001)⁵⁰. This makes for an increasingly complex situation, given the "teening" of culture as a whole⁵¹, that is, "using the trappings of teendom to sell products to grown-ups".

The case for naturalised, normalised chronologies in sexology has been problematic since the rise of its clinical praxis and theory building from the 1870s onward (Janssen, 2001). This is intimately connected with the process of generational Othering, and easy biognomic Othering. How much contemporary discourses are informed by claims of protracted puberties remains to be certified. In the mean time, much of the controversy deals with authority (§16.1.5) and persona (§16.1.6) dimensions, and the use of narrative.

16.1.5 Tracking Down Sexualising Cultures: Locating Authorities and Narratives

The clinical issue is rather problematic given the lack of normative theory. For instance, how "sexualizing" should "attention" be?⁵² Studies suggest that, along with "sexualised" attention, puberty is broadly associated with the "attribution of social meanings to feelings of sexual arousal"⁵³. This question, situated within the construct of paedophilia (Kincaid) and the Othered child, has led to a polarised set of views that either meet the child as a seduced (seducible) or as a seductive (seducing) agent. Reading Victorian classics and cartoons (1992) and studying U.S. TV culture, hometown folklore and the like (1998) Kincaid compellingly argues that "child molesting cultures" "eroticise" "innocence" by repeating various "stories" (1992:p375) "allowing us to construct, watch, enjoy the erotic child without taking any responsibility for our actions". An Aerol Arnold Professor of English, Kincaid's interpretation of "the sexualizing of the child" (1992:p172-6), affirmed by denial, departs from Foucault's observation that through the narrative of denial, child sexuality was presented as a "fundamental problem", society "sexually exciting the bodies of children" (1977:p120)⁵⁴. The way out would again require our embracing of stories, "new" ones (K., 1998:p279-95).

⁴⁹ McGreevy, A. (1987) Gifted Children in a Hurried Society; Implications of Elkind's Theories, *Gifted Educ Int* 5,1:33-6

⁵⁰ Hymowitz, K. S. (2001) The Teening of Childhood, *Arts Educ Policy Rev* 102,6:13-21. Subsequently discussed by four authors. Previously as a chapter in Hymowitz, K. S. (1999) *Ready or Not: Why Treating Children as Small Adults Endangers Their Future—and Ours*. New York: Free Press [Reviewed by West, D., *Public Interest*, Winter 2000;138:109 et seq.; etc.]

⁵¹ Manning, T. (1995) The teening of culture, *New Statesman & Society*, 10/20/95; 8,375:32

⁵² Haynes S. C. & Krugman, R. D. (1989) Sexualized attention: Normal interaction or precursor to sexual abuse? *Am J Orthopsychia* 59,2:238-45

⁵³ "Our findings regarding girls' experiences of arousal indicate only that girls became aware of sexual arousal in response to touch. The data do not allow us to address the questions of whether the threshold for sexual arousal in response to touch was lowered", O'Sullivan, L. F., Meyer-Balhbarg, H. F. L. & Watkins, B. X. (2000) Social cognitions associated with pubertal development in a sample of urban, low-income, African-American and Latina girls and mothers, *J Adolesc Health* 27,4:227-35

⁵⁴ Foucault, M. (1977) Truth and power, in Gordon, C. (Ed.) *Power/ Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*. New York: Pantheon

Kincaid's works, I reckon, are by far the best available to examine, locate and deconstruct the narratives that shape, sell and reinvent the ideas of the intergenerational in the "erotic". Significantly, they have been neglected by contemporary authors.

The argument for a "baseline" condition here is an essential plot in the totality of culturalist views on "developmental sexualities". It is rarely offered. To see children as "sexual objects" is generally considered a "cognitive distortion", represented within "implicit theories" that "function like scientific theories and are used to explain empirical regularities and to make predictions about the world", and as such are ascribed to child molesters⁵⁵ and perhaps to certain environments⁵⁶, or specific agents⁵⁷ as facilitating such theorising. A tendency is noted, however, to describe such impenetrable areas of public discourse as "sexual abuse" in terms of the sociological images⁵⁸ involved, rather than the alleged "realities" (e.g., Jenks)⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ Ward, T. & Keenan, Th. (1999) Child molesters' implicit theories, *J Interpers Viol* 14,8:821-38. For a number of papers referring to this important social matter, see: Abel, G. G., Gore, D. K., Holland, C. L., Camp, N., Becker, J. V. & Rathner, J. (1989) The measurement of the cognitive distortions of child molesters, *Ann Sex Res* 2:135-53; Abel, G., Becker, J. & Cunningham-Ratner, J. (1984) Complications, consent, and cognitions in sex between children and adults, *Int J Law & Psychia* 7:89-103; Blumenthal, S., Gudjonsson, G. & Burns, J. (1999) Cognitive distortions and blame attribution in sex offenders against adults and children, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 23:129-43; Bonnetaud, J. P. (1998) [Critique of the pedophilic argument], *Evolution Psychiatrique* 63,1-2:83-101; Bumby, K. M. (1996) Assessing the cognitive distortions of child molesters and rapists: Development and validation of the MOLEST and RAPE scales, *Sexual Abuse* 8,1:37-54; De Young, M. (1988) The indignant page: Techniques of neutralization in the publications of pedophile organizations, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 12,4:583-91; De Young, M. (1989) The world according to NAMBLA: Accounting for deviance, *J Sociol & Social Welfare* 16,1:111-26; Elliott, M., Browne, K. & Kilcoyne, J. (1995) Child sexual abuse prevention: What offenders tell us, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 19,5:579-94; French, D. D. (1989) Distortion and lying as defense processes in the adolescent child molester, *J Offender Counselling, Services & Rehabilitation* 13,1:27-37; Gibbs, J. C. (1991) Sociomoral developmental delay and cognitive distortion: Implications for the treatment of antisocial youth, in Kurtines, W. M. & Gerwartz, J. L. (Eds.) *Handbook of Moral Behavior and Development Volume 3: Application*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, p95-110; Hanson, R. K., Gizzarelli, R. & Scott, H. (1994) The attitudes of incest offenders: Sexual entitlement and acceptance of sex with children, *Criminal Justice & Behav* 21,2:187-202; Hartley, C.C. (1998) How incest offenders overcome internal inhibitions through the use of cognitions and cognitive distortions, *J Interpersonal Violence* 13:25-39; Hastings, T., Anderson, S. J. & Hemphill, P. (1997) Comparisons of daily stress, coping, problem behavior, and cognitive distortions in adolescent sexual offenders and conduct-disordered youth, *Sexual Abuse* 9,1:29-42; Hayashino, D S; Wurtele, S K; Klebe, K J (1995) Child Molesters: An Examination of Cognitive Factors. *J Interpersonal Violence* 10,1:106; Pollock, N. L. & Hashmall, J. M. (1991) The excuses of child molesters, *Behav Sci & Law* 9,1:53-59; Underwager, R. & Wakefield, H. (1999) *Sex Offender Treatment Requiring Admission of Guilt*. Paper Presented at the 15th Annual Symposium of the American College of Forensic Psychology, April 29, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Schlank, A. M. & Shaw, T. (1996) Treating sexual offenders who deny their guilt: A pilot study, *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment* 8,1:17-23; Stermac, L. & Segal, Z. (1989) Adult sexual contact with children: An examination of cognitive factors, *Behav Ther* 20:573-84; Ward, T., Hudson, S. M. & Marshall, W. L. (1995) Cognitive distortions and affective deficits in sex offenders: A cognitive deconstructionist interpretation, *Sexual Abuse* 7:67-83; Ward, T., Hudson, S. M., Johnston, L. & Marshall, W. L. (1997) Cognitive distortions in sex offenders: An integrative review, *Clin Psychol Rev* 17:479-507; Winn, M. E. (1996) The strategic and systematic management of denial in the cognitive/ behavioral treatment of sexual offenders, *Sexual Abuse* 8,1:25-36. For even more resources and abstracts, consult <http://www.ipt-forensics.com/library/admission3.htm>

⁵⁶ Ho, T. & Kwok, W. (1991) Child sexual abuse in Hong Kong, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 15,4:597-600

⁵⁷ Shields, Ch. J. (1993) How the media eroticizes children, and how sex education courses on "human pumbling" fail to protect them, *Curriculum Rev* 32,8

⁵⁸ E.g., Holland, P. (1992) *What Is A Child? Popular Images of Childhood*. London: Virago

⁵⁹ Jenks, Ch. (1995) Constituting Child Abuse-A Problem of Late Modernity? *Sociol Stud Child* 7:155-75; Jenks, Ch. (1997) Kindheitsbilder und der Diskurs über den sexuellen Missbrauch, *Zeitschr f Sexualforsch* 10,3:208-22

16.1.6 Spotting and Imagining “Erotogenetic” Processes: The Problem of the “Agogue”

Stepping down from criticising cultures, a range of authors has explored the literary and philosophical possibilities concerning reciprocal attraction in agogic situations⁶⁰. The crossing, or fusion of erotics and agogics, particularly from the perspective of the “agogue”, was further explored in frameworks like feminist pedagogy⁶¹, particularist so-addressed

⁶⁰ Needleman, J. (1982) *The Heart of Philosophy*. New York: Knopf; Burch, K. Th. (1997) *Eros, Pedagogy, and the Politics of Soul*. PhD Dissertation, University of Hawai‘I [DAI-A, Nov 1997; 58,5:1889]. Cf. Burch, K. Th. (1999) Eros as the educational principle of democracy, *Studies in Philos & Educ* 18,3:123-42; Wexelblatt, R. (1989) Professors at Play, *San Jose Studies* 15,2:3-18; Hooks, B. (1993) Eros, eroticism and the pedagogical process, *Cultural Studies* 7,1:58-63. Reprinted in Giroux, H. & McLaren, P. (Eds., 1994) *Between Borders: Pedagogy and the Politics of Cultural Studies*. London: Hutchinson & Co., p113-8; McWilliam, E. (1995) (S)education: a risky inquiry into pleasurable teaching, *Educ & Soc* 14:15-24; McWilliam, E. (1996) Touchy subjects: a risky inquiry into pedagogical pleasure, *Br Educ Res J* 22:305-17; McWilliam, E. & Jones, A. (1996) Eros and pedagogical bodies: the state of (non) affairs, in McWilliams, E. & P. Taylor (Eds.) *Pedagogy, Technology and the Body*. New York: Peter Lang, p127-36; Jones, A. (1996) Desire, Sexual Harassment, and Pedagogy in the University Classroom, *Theory into Practice* 35,2:102-9; Barreca, R. & Morse, D. (Eds., 1997) *The Erotics of Instruction*. Hanover & London: University Press of New England; Bauer, D. M. (1998) Indecent Proposals: Teachers in the Movies, *College English* 60,3:301-17; Pryer, A. (2001) What Spring Does With the Cherry Trees: the eros of teaching and learning, *Teachers & Teaching: Theory & Pract* 7,1:75-88; Pryer, A. (2001) Breaking Hearts: Towards an Erotics of Pedagogy, in Hocking, B., Haskell, J. & Linds, W. (Eds.) *Unfolding Bodymind: Exploring Possibility through Education*. VT: Foundation for Educational Renewal, p132 et seq.; Rowland, S. (1997) A Lovers’ Guide to University Teaching? *Educational Action Res* 5,2:243-53; Keroes, J. (1999) *Tales Out of School: Gender, Longing and the Teacher in Fiction and Film*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press. Discussed by Vande Berg, L. R. (2002) Eros and Education, *Rev Communication* 2,1:97-102; Gallop, J. (1995) The teacher’s breasts, in Gallop, J. (Ed.) *Pedagogy: The Question of Impersonation*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. See also Gallop, J. (1992) Knot a love story, *Yale J Criticism* 5:209-18; Gallop, J. (1982) The Immoral Teachers, *Yale French Studies* 63:117-28; Mvogo, D. (1991) Éros et Pédagogie, *Interchange* 22,3:1-8; Myers, M. (1995) The Erotics of Pedagogy: Historical Intervention, Literary Representation, the ‘gift of education’, and the Agency of Children, *Children’s Lit* 23:1-30; Frueh, J. (1996) *Pleasure and Pedagogy: The Professor’s Body*. 84th Annual Conference of the College Art Association, Boston, February 21-24. Cf. equally named chapter in Frueh, J. (2001) *Monster/Beauty: Building the Body of Love*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Kroflič, R. (1999) Eros in vzgoja, *Sodobna Pedagogika* 50,2:224-36; Kroflič, R. (2000) Avtoriteta in pedagoški eros-temeljna koncepta gogalove vzgojne teorije, *Sodobna Pedagogika* 51,5. Further Deimling, K. E. (2001) *Teaching Vice: Mentors and Students in the Eighteenth-Century French Novel*. PhD Dissertation, Columbia University [DAI-A 61/12, p. 4795, Jun 2001]; Garrison, J. (1995) Deweyan prophetic pragmatism, poetry, and the education of Eros, *Am J Educ* 103,4:406-31; Garrison, J. (1994) Dewey, Eros, and Education, *Educ & Culture* 11,2:1-5. Reprinted in the Foxfire Reader; Garrison, J. (1997) *Dewey and Eros: Wisdom and Desire in the Art of Teaching*. New York: Teachers College Press; Autor, O. (1988) Eros in vzgoja [Eros and upbringing], *Anthropos* [Yugoslavia] 18,1-3:247-55; Giarelli, J. (2001) The Education of Eros and Collateral Learning in Teacher Education, *Philos Educ*, 285-7; Uhle, R. & Gaus, D. (2002) Pädagogischer Eros. Hoffnung auf Intimität oder professionelles Ethos? Ein Problemaufriss, in Faulstich, W. & Glasenapp, J. (Eds.) *Liebe als Kulturmedium*. München, p81-120. For some older, particularist applications, consider Tjarks L. D. (1975) *Eros, The New Narcissus, and Facilitating Self-Appreciation*. Paper presented at the 26th Annual Meeting of the Conference on College Composition and Communication. St. Louis, Missouri, March 13-15; Wasson, R. (1969) Herbert Read Now: A Salutation to Eros, *J Aesthetic Educ* 3,4:11-25. For Plato, see Wellman, R. R. (1969) Eros and Education in Plato’s “Symposium”, *Paedagogica Historica* 9,1:129-58, 69; Despland, M. (1985) *The Education of Desire: Plato and the Philosophy of Religion*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Nails, D. (1985) The Erotic Education of the Slave, *South African J Philos* 85,4:1-7; Proudfoot, M. (1980) How Sex can Make Us Good, *Philos Educ* 36:307-16; Ervin, E. (1993) Plato the Pederast: Rhetoric and Cultural Procreation in the Dialogues, *Pre-Text* 14,1-2:73-98

⁶¹ Ebert, T. L. (1996) For a Red Pedagogy: Feminism, Desire, and Need, *College English* 58,7:795-819; Bartlett, A. (1998) A Passionate Subject: Representations of Desire in Feminist Pedagogy, *Gender & Educ* 10,1:85-92

pedagogical Eros models (e.g., Maasen, 1988/1990)⁶², Greek *paideia* concepts, et cetera⁶³. The field incorporates diverse understandings of “erotics” and “seduction”⁶⁴ in teaching, being taught⁶⁵ and the agogic dyad.

For a good understanding, “educational seduction” is classically taken as a situation in which “a charismatic, entertaining instructor obtains favorable student ratings while presenting insufficient lecture content”⁶⁶.

At least for most of these authors, this erotics/exotics/agogics entry opens up a novel, wider understanding of the seduction-transmission sphere (a sphere traditionally pioneered by the psychoanalytic movement) as applied to the modern scholastic experience: erotic/agogic reciprocity. Malone, studying “cultural seduction” issues within historical context (1988:p81-121)⁶⁷, suggests the following (broad) operationalisation:

“At the outset, we might think of cultural seduction as the pleasures, images, stories, kinds of knowledge, demands, desires, opportunities, promises, threats, horizons of expectation, and bodily interactions implicated in the practices of solicitude with which children are attended to. To study cultural seduction is to analyze these practices within cultural, historical, and physical geographies of the possible and the impossible, the moral and the immoral, the pleasurable and the painful, and the aims and ends of human development” (p12).

Clearly advocating constructionist perspectives, Malone argues that “[t]he unwillingness and inability to address education as cultural seduction can be clearly seen in how understandings of childhood, and the child, are isolated from the (adult) cultural landscapes of desires within which children are raised, educated, and prepared for the adult world” (p14).

⁶² Maasen, Th. (1988) *De Pedagogische Eros in het Geding: Gustav Wyneken in de Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf tussen 1896-1931*. Utrecht [Holland]: Homostudiesreeks; Maasen, Th. (1992) *Knabenliebe und pädagogischer Eros am Beispiel Gustav Wynekens*, in *Homosexualität und Wissenschaft II*. Ed. Schwulenreferat im Allgemeinen Studentenausschuß der Freien Universität Berlin. Berlin: Rosa Winkel. Cf. Author's 1983 “*Pedagogische Relaties in het Derde Milieu tussen 1900 en 1945: Een Onderzoek naar Opvattingen over Vriendschappen tussen Jongens en Jeugdleiders*”. Amsterdam: VU, [Subfac. PAW], and 1981 “*Pedagogische Eros: [Onderzoeksproject] Socialisatie en Seksualiteit*”. Amsterdam: VU, and even earlier work [all avail. from [Homodok library](http://homodok.library), Amsterdam].

⁶³ For further essays on the concept, see also Schirlbauer, A. (1996) *Im Schatten des Pädagogischen Eros*. Wien: Sonderzahl; Koller, H. (1990) *Die Liebe zum Kind und das Begehren des Erziehers. Erziehungskonzeption und Schreibweise Pädagogischer Texte von Pestalozzi und Jean Paul*. Weinheim; Koller, H. (1993) *Pestalozzis pädagogischer Eros*, in Heger, R. J. & Manthey, H. (Eds.) *LernLiebe. Über den Eros beim Lehren und Lernen*. Weinheim, p107-27; *Vernieuwing van Opvoeding, Onderwijs en Maatschappij* 44 (1985) 9, Special Issue: Blikken en Blozen; *Sexualiteit, Erotiek en Onderwijs* [Dutch]

⁶⁴ Gauthier, C. & Jeffrey, D. (Eds., 1999) *Enseigner et Séduire*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval; McWilliam, E. (1996) *Seductress or Schoolmarm: On the Improbability of the Great Female Teacher*, *Interchange* 27,1:1-11

⁶⁵ For a creative approach, see Schroeder, C. N. S. (1998) *A Poetics of Embodiment: Cultivating An Erotics of the Everyday*. PhD Dissertation, Simon Fraser University (Canada), esp. p130-59

⁶⁶ Perry, R. P. & Dickens, W. J. (1983) *Educational Seduction: An Attributional Analysis*. Paper presented at the 91st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Anaheim, CA, August 26-30. Cf. Perry, R. P. (1977) *Educational Seduction: The Effect of Teacher Reputation on Student Satisfaction and Learning*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, April 4-8

⁶⁷ Malone, Ch. P. (1988) *Ordering Childhood: Figures of Childhood, Pedagogical Address, Love of the World and the Mis-Education of Desire*. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley

Together with a tendency to isolate sexuality from development, both erotic development and authorities that might direct such evolution suffer from the problematisation of their social identity in Western discourse. For one, they would not exist, and secondly, they lack agreed-upon normative boundaries so that any realisation of their existence might attract oppositional interpretations. In any case, social constructionist perspectives are likely to fit into activist agendas, and to invite counter-activist agendas.

16.2 *Scientific and Activist Traditions*

Two major academic traditions (one dogmatic, one activist) have traditionally addressed what are considered “erotarchic” processes, moments, subjectivities and objectivities; as theoretical domains, they proceed from a biopathological ancestor briefly addressed in §16.2.0. The feminist quarrel with psychoanalysis is chiefly based on implications of its theory of female sexuality⁶⁸, and inherently, the acquisition of sexuality, language, and subjectivity. The following section aims at providing a collage of current narrative and thematic direction, and is not to be taken as a representative overview.

16.2.0 *Biologist and Pathological Accounts*

As demonstrated in a previous account, eroticisation processes fell under the early speculations concerning the neuroendocrinological representation of eroticism. Authors pointed to *erotomania*, *nymphomania*, and *satyriasis* in childhood (Moreau)⁶⁹; to “ererbte Hyperästhesie auf sexuellem Gebiete” [I, p429] or “psychosexuelle Hyperästhesie” [II, p422] causing a *premature psychic puberty* (Moll)⁷⁰; “sexuelle Hyperhedonien”⁷¹, etc. Rohleder (1921)⁷², with a reference to Kohl⁷³ classified “gewisse Koketterie kleiner Mädchen” within the first of three stages of “brain eroticisation”, thus governed by “unconscious sexuality”. Authors (e.g., Peritz, 1932)⁷⁴ defended the endocrinologic onset of eroticism, causing sexuality to awake in the 10th to 11th year (*Vorpubertätszeit*). Pubertas praecox would cause an eroticisation, a *Hyperlibido* (*ibid.*, p602) and a *Frühsexualität* (early sexuality), although the author could only name the example of a retarded boy. Later, pedagogical concerns invading the sexual child pointed to parental failures leading to “the precocious awakening of

⁶⁸ Burniston, S., Mort, F. & Weedon, Ch. (1978) Psychoanalysis and the Cultural Acquisition of Sexuality and Subjectivity, *Working Papers in Cult Stud* 11:109-31

⁶⁹ Moreau, P. (1888) *La Folie chez les Enfants*. Paris: Baillière. German translation, *Irrsinn im Kindesalter*. See p193, 213-5, 231-2

⁷⁰ Moll, A. (1897-8) *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*. Berlin: Fischer

⁷¹ Stier (1910) Über sexuelle Hyperhedonien im frühen Kindesalter, *Charité-Annalen* 34:319-56; Moses (1922) Konstitution und Erlebnis in der Sexualpsychologie und -pathologie des Kindesalters, *Ztschr f Sexualwiss* 8,10:305-19

⁷² Rohleder, H. (1921) *Sexualpsychologie. Monographien zur Sexualwissenschaft* 2. Hamburg: P. Hartung

⁷³ Kohl, Au. (1911) *Pubertät und Sexualität*. Würzburg: Stuber, p22-31

⁷⁴ Peritz, G. (1932) *Die Nervenkrankheiten des Kindesalters*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Fischer, p601-6

sexuality [as] evidenced by conspicuous dress and coquettish behaviour with boys and men teachers"⁷⁵.

16.2.1 Psychoanalytic Accounts

Recent psychoanalytic accounts by Dio-Bleichmar⁷⁶, in a somewhat similar line of reasoning as that of Flaake (1996)⁷⁷ seduces readers into the argument that

"[w]hile the process of sexualization in boys is controlled by the principle of intrapsychic secret, the same process is controlled in girls by the principle of perceived "complicity" that generates shame and guilt in the girls. When the physical attributes of a young girl's body arouse the voyeurism of an adult male, this happens in a way totally exogenous to the girl: the adult male's gaze [⁷⁸] and the exchange of looks between the two protagonists of this unwanted (by the girl) exchange generates in the girl feelings of responsibility and guilt for her supposed seductiveness and provocative behavior".

Using Laplanche⁷⁹'s ramifications of "generalised seduction", Dio-Bleichmar (1995) argues that

"[p]aternal infantile seduction may create an intersubjective topic for sexual meaning through the look. The look sets up an intersubjective space that is silent and secretive in that the interchange does not go beyond looking. The sexual look sets up in the girl's mind a meaning attached to her body as her flesh itself: her body, even clothed, can provoke a look that sees her in the nude. Realization of her provocativeness sets up conflicts of public versus private and exhibitionism versus voyeurism. [...] The intersubjective nature of the operations in woman's constructing and sustaining the meaning of sexuality facilitates attribution of provocativeness to the female.

⁷⁵ Gregor, A. (1933) Psychische Hygiene in der weiblichen Fuersorgeerziehung. / Mental hygiene in the education of delinquent girls, *Zeitschr f Psych Hyg* 6:48-61

⁷⁶ Dio-Bleichmar, E. D. (1996) Topica intersubjetiva del significado sexual in la niña [Intersubjective topography of the sexual meaning in girls], *Rev Psicoanal* 53,2:413-28. Cf. Dio-Bleichmar, E. (1995) The secret in the constitution of female sexuality: The effects of the adult's sexual look upon the subjectivity of the girl, *J Clin Psychoanal* 4,3:331-42; Dio-Bleichmar, E. (1997) *La Sexualidad Femenina: De la Niña a la Mujer*. Barcelona: Editorial Paidós. See also Zak de Goldstein, R. (1983) El "continente negro" y sus enigmas, *Rev Psicoanal* 40,2:237-55

⁷⁷ Flaake, K. (1996) Weibliche Adoleszenz, Körperlichkeit und Sexualität. Von den Schwierigkeiten einer Liebe zum eigenen Geschlecht, *Zeitschr f Sexualforsch* 9,4:303-14. The author argues that "the sexualization of the body through the male gaze, unattainable social standards of beauty, and normative heterosexuality interact to produce girls' negative attitudes about their womanhood. Taboos against homoerotic and autoerotic desire prevent them from finding approval and confirmation of their physical development from their mothers and female friends".

⁷⁸ Cf. Studlar, G. (2001) Oh, "Doll Divine": Mary Pickford, Masquerade, and the Pedophilic Gaze, *Camera Obscura* 16,3:197-227.

⁷⁹ Laplanche, J. (1997) The theory of seduction and the problem of the other, *Int J Psychoanal* 78, Pt. 4:653-66. "Generalised seduction theory" places the origin of infantile sexuality in the intervention of an adult Other. As Laplanche clarifies, "[a] theory of seduction begins with the recognition that it is not situations, but messages, that must be comprehended. Messages originate with other people & are received by agents who must translate them. This translation is the original seduction, which can be uncovered by the analytic seduction". Laplanche, J. (1996) Psychoanalysis as Anti-Hermeneutics, *Radical Philosophy* 79, Sept-Oct:7-12

Rather than stressing paternal erotogenetics, other authors point to certain passages, or rather, certain structuring moments, within the mother-daughter relationship, identified in retrospect as stages of a linear development that leads the little girl to become a woman and mother, acquiring the “erotic feminine essence”⁸⁰. According to Stein (1998:p604)⁸¹, the mother sends an “enigmatic signifier” or message of her sexuality to the child whom she nurtures. Thus, “[a] tension arc is created between bodily sensations and the enigmatic other carrying over into adult life and constituting a bedrock for the sense of enigma and unfathomableness and the sense of the profound revelation that sometimes accompanies sexual experience”.

It is psychoanalysis that has provided the most articulate views on the eroticisation of children’s bodies, and body parts. Views, of course, expectedly lacking empiricism. To proving, for instance, that the girl-child’s frustrated clitoral primacy should, by phallic intervention, be redirected into a passive vaginal end-identity.

Psychodynamically, girls’ first lipstick use potentialises a crisis⁸², perhaps the beginning of “femininity” as “the erotic cathexis of the feminine body in a “hide-and-show” game that is enhanced, in adulthood, by feminine finery and make-up”⁸³.

Using a *discursive psychoanalytic* approach Angelides⁸⁴ elaborates on established representations of seduction in that

“Without a language to express childhood sexuality, we deny human beings the capacity to symbolize the erotic and traumatic child/adult encounter, and it is this capacity to symbolize experience that is essential for coping with desire, loss, guilt, shame, and grief. Furthermore, in psychoanalytic terms, the more extreme the repression the more intense is the neurotic symptomatology. This might well explain many of the exaggerated emotional responses to pedophilia”.

Thus, the author argues that “we can also see an intensified [collective] neurosis at work at the level of cultural representation”.

[Additional refs.: Vergote, A. (2001) *Libido awakened and shaped, libido seduced and disturbed*, Haute, Ph. van & Corveleyn, J. (Eds.) *Seduction, Suggestion, Psychoanalysis*. Figures of the Unconscious, Volume 1. Leuven: Leuven University Press]

16.2.1.1 *Seduced and Sexual Children: The Freudian Switch*

⁸⁰ Schaeffer, J. (1994) “La Belle au Bois dormant”: Comment le féminin vient aux filles? *Rev Franç Psychanal* 58,1:83-94

⁸¹ Stein, R. (1998a) The enigmatic dimension of sexual experience: The “otherness” of sexuality and primal seduction, *Psychoanal Quart* 67,4:594-625. Cf. Stein (1998b) The poignant, the excessive and the enigmatic in sexuality, *Int J Psychoanal* 79,2:253-68

⁸² Cournut-Janin, M. (1988) Le premier rouge à lèvres: ou La peur de la féminité chez les parents de l’adolescente, *Psychiatrie de l’Enfant* 31,2:301-11

⁸³ Cournut-Janin, M. (1997) Sous couvert de féminité, *Rev Franç Psychanal* 61,2:387-97

⁸⁴ Angelides, S. (in press) *Historicizing Affect, Psychoanalyzing History: Pedophilia and The Discourse of Child Sexuality*. Forthcoming in the *Journal of Homosexuality*

In his book *The Assault on Truth*⁸⁵ Masson sets out a radical explanation of Freud's renunciation of the seduction hypothesis on September 21, 1897 (see p107), which pathed the road to the construction of an infantile sexual development, and to psychoanalysis (p188). His "seduction theory" of hysteria would have been to a great extent determined by his 1885 study trip to Paris, where he was influenced by works of Ambroise Tardieu, Paul Brouardel, Paul Bernard (whose work he possessed) and Charcot, who all observed and offered lectures on the sexual crimes against little girls. It is not ruled out that Freud was present at some autopsies of little victims. From a body of unpublished letters (Fliess, particularly), Masson arrives at the conclusion, that Freud's major change of perspective, shifting his attention from external trauma to internal fantasy as a causative agent in mental illness, was not for theoretical or clinical reasons, but because of a "personal failure of courage" (p189), because he, perhaps not consciously, chose to disregard the actual, often sexual, abuse of children as a potent and prevalent instance of psychic disruption⁸⁶. The massive circle of psychoanalysts did not, with the rare exception of Sándor Ferenczi, resist the doctrine of this line of commitment. In fact, Masson's previous collaboration with Anna Freud and Robert Fliess, were terminated because of, as Masson implied, the vast implications of the public awareness of this historical trap for both psychoanalysis and Freud's person. He argues: "If it is not possible for the therapeutic community to address this serious issue in an honest and open-minded manner, then it is time for their patients to stop subjecting themselves to needless repetition of their deepest and earliest sorrow" (p192). He says little to nothing on the theoretical or scientific notion of infantile sexuality, nor does he refer to the then growing social instability on the subject of "child sexual abuse" in the United States of America. This book may be seen as a milestone, announcing the cultural (American) reappraisal, or renaissance, of the seduction theme ("theory", "hypothesis") then begun to be popularised by scientists and community resources⁸⁷.

The paper seemed to trigger a renewed historical interest in the matterⁱ. However "popular" seduction "theories" are now, neither Freud, psychoanalysis at large nor anyone outside this "primal" field has to date presented basic *evidence* for the generally accepted inevitability and gravity of psychological sequelae of what is now called sexual abuse, as far as including a *genetic explanation* of the damage unmistakably prevalent in many "survivors". The (too easy) question seems to be the following: can we blame the individual for what can also be blamed on historical-cultural configurations, as psychohistorians do? Note that I do not which to enter debates on damaging properties: a more fundamental debate is at stake.

Some may argue that Freud's localisation of sexuality (1905) meant "the end of historical innocence concerning infantile sexuality, sexual alterations, and the transformation of puberty" (e.g., Marcus, 1975)⁸⁸; others may stress that Freudian ideas on sexual development were anticipated by other writers (see particularly Sulloway), and arose diffusely within the

⁸⁵ Masson, J. M. (1984) *The Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux

⁸⁶ Of course, Freud did not abandon the seduction thought, although he modified it in terms of primacy and mechanism. In later works (1905, 1906) he (1905), while stressing his prior overestimation of the frequency and significance of (actual) seduction in the aetiology of hysteria, had had acquired the knowledge, that normal [non-hysterical, non-neurotic?] people have had such experience, owing some credit to Ellis's Appendix (1903[1901]).

⁸⁷ Money, in the preface of the 1996 edition of *Man & Woman, Boy & Girl*, comments on Masson, and the social construction of "victimology". He is not too enthusiastic (xiii).

⁸⁸ Marcus, S. (1975) Freud's Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, *Partisan Rev* 42,4: 517-34. See also Krüll, M. (1987) *Freud und Sein Vater*. München: Beck, p22-56ff

growing Austrian liberalism (e.g., Nagler, 1985)⁸⁹. Whatever the historical precedents, Money (1991:p41-2, 44)⁹⁰ remarks that the “recycling” of the seduction theme, integrated in a social movement organised around “abuse”, halted the realisation of a “pediatric sexology”. This is a particularly interesting issue: the positioning (e.g., lateralisation, decentralisation) of the sexual within sexual abuse images. This is very much part of feminist victimologies as well. Even for the post-Freudian case, “[...] the idea of childhood as a phase of development from innocence and dependence to maturity sets up a space of anxiety and establishes a problem space for governance” (Ashenden, 2002:p199)⁹¹. Could this be the governance of erotics?

16.2.2 Feminist Concepts of Cultural Sexualisation and Complementarism

16.2.2.0 Feminism and the Shaped Female

Most works on “female sexualisation” have been offered within feminist antipatriarchal, or at least patriarchy-aware, settings⁹². Thus, the process of “(hetero-)sexualisation” (Lee, 1994; Lee and Sasser-Coen, 1996a:p91-4; Lee and Sasser-Coen, 1996b:p85-110)⁹³ would entail “the social construction of “woman” through the politics surrounding the female body. Given that female bodies are construed as objects of attention and desire, menarche marks the simultaneous entry into adult womanhood and adult female sexualization”.

An interesting exercise would be the American cheerleader icon. Bennett⁹⁴, in discussing “The Cheerleader as Erotic Object”, laments on the apparent dualism involved: “Some mothers, particularly those who were less attractive than others, wanted the cheerleaders’ skirts even shorter than they were. Sex was a taboo subject, though. We were putting out the image of a beautiful sex idol, but no one could think she would be sexually active. She was like an adult Barbie doll. Heaven forbid, though, that she ever be sexually introduced to Ken. Football was only a medium for displaying her”.

⁸⁹ Nagler, N. (1985) Reflexions sur l’historicité de la psychanalyse Freudienne: quelques theses, *Austriaca* [France] 11,21:89-93

⁹⁰ Money, J. (1991) Semen-conservation theory vs. Semen-investment theory, antisexualism, and the return of Freud’s seduction theory, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 4,4:31-55

⁹¹ Ashenden, S. (2002) Policing Perversion: The Contemporary Governance of Paedophilia, *Cultural Values* 6,1/2:197-22

⁹² E.g., Hite, Sh. (1994) *The Hite Report on the Family: Growing Up under Patriarchy*. London: Bloomsbury; Hite, Sh. (1980) Some girls’ experiences of their fathers’ attitudes toward their newly emerging sexuality, in Samson, J. (Ed.) *Childhood & Sexuality: Proceedings of the International Symposium*. Montréal: Editions Etudes Vivantes, p98-104; Wesely, J. K. (2002) Growing up sexualized - Issues of power and violence in the lives of female exotic dancers, *Violence Against Women* 8,10:1182-1207

⁹³ Lee, J. (1994) Menarche and the (hetero)sexualization of the female body, *Gender & Society* 8,3:343-62; Lee, J. & Sasser-Coen, J. R. (1996a) Memories of Menarche: Older Women Remember Their First Period, *J Aging Stud* 10,2:83-101; Lee, J. & Sasser-Coen, J. R. (1996b) *Blood Stories: Menarche and the Politics of the Female Body in Contemporary US Society*. New York: Routledge

⁹⁴ Bennett, J. C. (1990) The secondary school cheerleader and ritualized sexual exploitation, *Clearing House* 64,1:4-7

Not in comparable ways paralleled for boys, girls' sexual positions are explored through the ways by which "girls' knowledge and experiences of their bodies and of their desire [are] shaped, enabled, and undermined by stories available in the culture about female intimate relationships and sexuality" (Tolman)⁹⁵, or the absence of such stories.

Feminists' conclusions always seem to be negative: "Our [U.S.] culture tells girls they are exchangeable, sexualized commodities, thus thwarting their process of becoming whole persons"⁹⁶. Selected research⁹⁷ however, advocates girls' ability "to bring interpretations of their lived experiences" to objectification tendencies rather than being "passive recipients" of such influence. Other authors suggest that girls, "being robbed of their sexual subjectivity and agency", are merely "participating in the process"⁹⁸. Joining this line of ideas, Rossiter⁹⁹ notes how girls indeed experience their first co-ed dance party as "an important moment in learning to become an object of the male gaze" (*ital.add.*).

For feminists, children's writing is "a cultural artefact representing their constructs, critiques, and resistances of locations"¹⁰⁰. Not too hesitant to cover up "recruitment agenda", feminists suggest offering the provision of a "dialogical space for young women to discuss body domain struggles and integrate them into their emerging feminist consciousness"¹⁰¹. After all, " 'Adolescence' is a crucial moment in which young women (and men) must be "won" for

⁹⁵ Tolman, D. & Debold, E. (1993) Conflicts of body and image: Female adolescents, desire and the no-body body, in Katzman, M., Fallon P. & Wooley, S. (Eds.) *Feminist Treatment and Therapy of Eating Disorders*. New York: Guilford Press, p301-17; Tolman, D. (1994) Daring to desire: Culture in the bodies of adolescent girls, in Irvine, J. (Ed.) *Sexual Cultures and the Construction of Adolescent Identities*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, p250-84. Reprinted in Satow, R. (Ed., 2000) *Gender and Social Life*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Expected in Weitz, R. (2002) *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance and Behavior*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press; Tolman, D. L. (2000) Object lessons: Romance, violation, and female adolescent sexual desire, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 25,1:70-9. Cf. Tolman, D. L. (2001) Echoes of sexual objectification: Listening for one girl's erotic voice, in Tolman, D. L. & Brydon-Miller, M. (Eds.) *From Subjects to Subjectivities: A Handbook of Interpretive and Participatory Methods*. Qualitative Studies in Psychology. New York: New York University Press, p130-44; Tolman, D. L. & Szalacha, L. A. (1999) Dimensions of desire: Bridging qualitative and quantitative methods in a study of female adolescent sexuality, *Psychol Women Quart* 23,1:7-39; Tolman, D. L. (1996) Adolescent Girls' Sexuality: Debunking the Myth of the Urban Girl, in Leadbeater, B. J. & Way, N. (Ed.) *Urban Girls: Resisting Stereotypes, Creating Identities*. New York: New York University Press, p255-7; Tolman, D. L. (1994) Doing desire: Adolescent girls' struggles for/with sexuality, *Gender & Society* 8,3:324-42; Tolman, D. L. (1992) Voicing the body: A psychological study of adolescent girls' sexual desire, *DAI* 53(5-A):1407; Tolman, D. L. (1991) Adolescent girls, women and sexuality: Discerning dilemmas of desire, *Women & Ther* 11,3-4:55-69. Reprinted in Gilligan, C. G., Rogers, A. R. & Tolman, D. T. (Eds., 1991) *Women, Girls and Psychotherapy: Reframing Resistance*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press; Tolman, D. L. (1999) *Getting Beyond "It Just Happened": Adolescent Girls' Experiences of Sexual Desire*. Paper presented at the 107th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Boston, MA, August 20-24

⁹⁶ Macdonald, B. L. (1999) Here's to you Mrs. Robinson: Representations of sexual initiation in coming-of-age films and how they limit the imaginary domain of youth, *DAI-A* 60(1-A):0047

⁹⁷ Corby, R. (1998) Resistance and resignation as components of adolescent girls' talk about the objectification of females, *DAI-B* 59(4-B):1881

⁹⁸ Loftus, J. (1999) "Let's Talk about Sex, Baby": Discourses of Female Adolescent Sexuality in Cyberspace. Paper for the American Sociological Association

⁹⁹ Rossiter, A. B. (1994) Chips, Coke and Rock-'n'-Roll: Children's Mediation of an Invitation to a First Dance Party, *Feminist Rev* 46:1-20

¹⁰⁰ Rhedding, J. J. (1994) *Girls, Subjectivity and Language: From Four to Twelve in a Rural School*. Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria, Australia

¹⁰¹ Piran, N. (2001) Reinhabiting the Body, *Feminism & Psychol* 11,2:172-6

the (heterosexual) patriarchal system"¹⁰²; and girls need to be invited for "the uncovering of silenced and subjugated knowledges"¹⁰³.

Sexualization processes are currently measured by their relative chronological properties, and a progressive earliness¹⁰⁴ is frequently noted. In this line, female and feminist authors currently tend to discuss female and childhood (girlhood) identities as having their roots in "the sexualization of their humanity [, that is] transforming [developmental] femaleness to a fetish"¹⁰⁵. The position is taken that "adolescent females today are coming of age in a girl-poisoning culture, saturated with sexualized and sexist media images and expectations"¹⁰⁶. Indeed, it is the media that are doing it¹⁰⁷. Authors have suggested that "[a]dolescents whose main source of information about sex is TV are preoccupied with becoming sexually attractive or engaging in early unprotected sexual intercourse"¹⁰⁸. Simpson¹⁰⁹ argued that the media-generated image of Xuxa (Maria da Graça Meneghel) emerging during the 1980's as the wildly popular queen of Brazilian popular culture, portraying "the standard of beauty, sensuality, and femininity for much of Brazil" has had "a pernicious effect upon younger Brazilians, especially with respect to her erotic marketing to preteen girls".

Thus, the woman-child is "traumatically sexualised" (or at least jeopardised) as a result of an abusive process, and leading to abusive (or hazardous) processes.

In tracking down such abuse/danger, authors from feminist and gay theorist backgrounds have tried to localise sexualisation in specific environments (families, schools¹¹⁰, media) as potentially "highly sexualized sites characterized by constant reinforcement of compulsory heterosexuality through sexist discourses about masculinity and femininity"¹¹¹. Modern feminism has explicated the ways that women, especially, are ascribed meanings of the body in a patriarchal society that "emphasise their sexual or reproductive spheres"¹¹². In these spheres, women would use "body technologies" to both perform and negotiate identity. "Objectification experiences" (including "sexualized" inspection and verbal "harassment") lead to "objectified body consciousness", which would be "the cognitive and affective

¹⁰² Griffin, Ch. (2000) Absences that matter: Constructions of sexuality in studies of young women's friendships, *Feminism & Psychol* 10,2:227-45

¹⁰³ Brooks, A. K. & Edwards, K. (1997) *Rewriting the Boundaries of Social Discourse: Collaborative Inquiry into Women's Sexual Identity Development*. 27th Annual SCUTREA Conference Proceedings 1997

¹⁰⁴ Turkel, A. R. (1998) All about Barbie: Distortions of a transitional object, *J Am Acad Psychoanal* 26,1:165-77

¹⁰⁵ McCloskey, L. (1997) The continuum of harm: Girls and women at risk for sexual abuse across the lifespan, in Cicchetti, D. & Toth, Sh. L. (Eds.) *Developmental Perspectives on Trauma: Theory, Research, and Intervention. Rochester Symposium on Developmental Psychology*, Vol. 8., p553-78

¹⁰⁶ Pipher, M. (1994) *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls*. New York: Ballantine Books

¹⁰⁷ Thorne, B. (1993) *Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School*. New Brunswick, NJ.: Rutgers University Press, p141, 155

¹⁰⁸ Brown, J. D., Childers, K. W. & Waszak, C. S. (1990) Television and Adolescent Sexuality, *J Adol Health Care* 11,1:62-70

¹⁰⁹ Simpson, A. S. (1993) Xuxa and the Politics of Gender, *Luso-Brazil Rev* 30,1:95-106. Cf. Simpson, A. S. (1998) Representing racial difference: Brazil's Xuxa at the televisual border, *Studies in Latin Am Popular Culture* 17:197 et seq.

¹¹⁰ See **Addendix 3**

¹¹¹ Epstein, D. (1997) Boyz' Own Stories: Masculinities and Sexualities in Schools, *Gender & Educ* 9, 1:105-15

¹¹² Wesely, J. K. (2001) Lived Experiences and Negotiated Gender: Female Exotic Dancing, Body Technologies and Violence, *DAI-A* 62, 2, Aug, 782-A. Cf. Wesely, J. K., Allison, M. T. & Schneider, I. E. (2000) The Lived Body Experience of Domestic Violence Survivors: An Interrogation of Female Identity, *Women's Stud Int Forum* 23,2:211-22

experience, including body surveillance, body shame, and appearance control beliefs, related to the construction of the female body as an object"¹¹³.

16.2.2.1 Uneroticising Girls

Conversely, others speak of the "missing discourse of desire" (Fine, 1988)¹¹⁴, teachers having been "[...] positioned within the same discourses of desexualisation to which students are subjected. As purveyors of such discourses, teachers are expected to deny Eros" (Kelly, 1997:p124)¹¹⁵. Tolman discusses the dilemma caused for adolescent girls by "the "missing discourse of desire" in the culture [U.S.], the absence of any acknowledgement of female sexual desire" (1991). Thus, "the tactics of silencing and denigrating young women's sexual desire tend to divert them from realizing the possibilities of empowerment through that desire, regardless of sexual orientation" (1994). Girls would respond to the dilemma in three ways: "simply not feeling the desire, resisting their own desire, or making a claim to their own desire" (1999). In the latter study, it was claimed that no pattern was found of race, ethnicity, or social location, *within the U.S.*, in each of these resolutions voiced by the girls. Thus, sexuality would be "shaped, enabled, and undermined" by cultural texts (2001). The question, then, as Simon Watney (1991:p398)¹¹⁶ observes, "is *not* whether or not children are sexual beings, but how adults respond to children's sexuality, in ways that range from total denial to an untroubled acceptance". More or less contrary to this "response" model, school sexual curricula would be self-devised (Best, 1983)¹¹⁷, and unwritten (Roberts, 1980)¹¹⁸. The ethnographically widespread issuing of genital exposure as "sexually differential ethological shaping of the genital" has provided a useful entry to describing the girlhood sexual scene via the concepts of malpositioned, malinformed, and immobilised bodies.

Summing up, three models are verbalised within the feminist observations on erotic undevelopment: eroticism is (a) not addressed or recognised (the differential "neglect" discourse); (b) corrupted, deflected or wrongly directed (the differential "maltreatment" discourse); and (c) unpromoted, undeveloped, not provided for, diminished or neutralised (the differential "retardation" / "starvation" discourse).

¹¹³ Sinclair, S. L. (2001) Objectification experiences, sociocultural attitudes toward appearance, objectified body consciousness, and wellness in heterosexual Caucasian college women, *DAI-A* 62(6-A):2039

¹¹⁴ Fine, M. (1988) Sexuality, schooling, and adolescent females: the missing discourse of desire, *Harvard Educ Rev* 58,1:29-53. Reprinted in Fine, M. (1992) *Disruptive Voices: The Possibilities of Feminist Research*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p31-59; and in Weis, L. & Fine, M. (Eds., 1993) *Beyond Silenced Voices: Class, Race, and Gender in United States Schools*. New York: State University of New York Press/ Albany: SUNY Press, p75-100; and in Gergen, M. M. & Davis, S. N. (Eds., 1997) *Toward a New Psychology of Gender*. New York: Routledge, p375-402. Also Sheffer, S. (1997) Adolescent girls and sexual desire, *Mothering* 84:78 et seq.

¹¹⁵ Kelly, U. A. (1997) *Schooling Desire: Literacy, Cultural Politics and Pedagogy*. New York: Routledge

¹¹⁶ Watney, S. (1991) School's out, in Fuss, D. (Ed.) *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*. London: Routledge, p387-401. Quoted by Khayatt, D. (1998) Review Essay: Decreed Desires and Sanctioned Sexualities, *Curriculum Studies* 6,1:113-20

¹¹⁷ Best, R. (1983) *We've All Got Scars*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

¹¹⁸ Roberts, E. J. (1980) Sexuality and social policy: the unwritten curriculum, in Roberts, E. J. (Eds.) *Childhood Sexual Learning*. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publ. Co., p259-78

16.2.2.2 Frameworking Girls and Feminist Discourse: "Claiming" Developmental Erotic Selfhoods

Generally, feminist and psychoanalysts operate from what might be designated an essentialist position, which is polluted with traces of constructionism (e.g., Carr, 1999)¹¹⁹. For feminists, there is indeed some innate "female desire" (Tolman), of sexual "sphere" (Wesely), being "not realised" or "resisted" or claimed. Girls are "robbed" of their existent "sexual subjectivity and agency" (Loftus) or entitled to some universal teleos of "wholeness" (MacDonald). It is this "femaleness" or "humanity" (McCloskey) being violated, poisoned (Pipher), "sexualised", in some recruitment process. The issue of "sexism" (e.g., Epstein) likewise suggests an absolute (yet disputed) concept of legitimate sexual identity. Feminist ideologies, as gay activists, tend to stress the concept of "reclaiming" lost, natural, entitled bodies, spaces (e.g., Wex, 1979)¹²⁰, identities and "developments". Although some authors identify a participant role in the process (Corby), most conceptualise "eroticisation" as a passive fate for females, were it not for feminist intervention.

A parallel argument for boys would follow from the common structuralist-functionalist approach, but is badly underrepresented in the rhetoric. The boy is commonly sided the Patriarch, or with the girl in Childhood debates.

16.3 Developmental Subject/Object Eroticism: Cross-Cultural Observations

Leaving an in-depth cross-cultural challenge of Western ramifications to another occasion, below are collected a selection of applications *in alium*. Few comprehensive attempts at localising erotic developments seem to have been offered. This seems odd considering the outpour of gender studies in Western ethnography. It is also clear that contemporary ethnography has not been discovering the issue.

16.3.1 Paternal and Patriarchic Practices

Offering input for psychoanalyst prose, the fact that the pater familias holds a key impact on the erotarche of daughters is uncontested for many Islamic and African societies. His attitudes are often ambivalent.

After menarche a Tunisian girl is not allowed outside the house "for anything but the most legitimate social reasons" (Gram, 1974)¹²¹; paradoxically, they are encouraged to dress up and "look attractive". This corresponds to behaviour of the father towards his three-year-old girl, who "encourages a sort of demanding flirtatious feminine behavior forbidden his wife". Whether traditionally tattooed or not,

¹¹⁹ Carr, C. L. (1999) Cognitive scripting and sexual identification: essentialism, anarchism, and constructionism, *Symbolic Interaction* 22,1:1-24

¹²⁰ Wex, M. (1979) "Let's Get our Space Back". Berlin: Frauenliteraturverlag Hermine Fees

¹²¹ Gram, M. E. (1974) Women of Tazoghane, in Simmons, J. (Ed.) *Village and Family: Essays on Rural Tunisia*. New Haven: HRAF, [p65-175]

"little girls are encouraged to think of themselves as objects, played with and decorated by their male relations". Her transition to adolescence is "hardly noticeable".

A comparable paradox is apparently noted in Puerto Rico:

"Since little girls are expected to grow into demure and virtuous women, they are also supposed to be innocent and ignorant of the physiological processes connected with sex and sexual behavior. They are supposed to be feminine in the sense of being coquettish, yet are to refrain from using their feminine charms to attract men, unless they are addressing themselves to a suitor who has parental approval" (Padilla 1958¹²²).

Blackman (1968:p43, 47, 90)¹²³ relates how, although Egyptian laws prohibited early marriage (before 16, boys until age 18), **Fellahin** girls are dressed up at an early age to attract men, "old enough to be their fathers or even their grandfathers". These cases suggest a tension between eroticisation and nonerotisation discourses.

"Patriarchic eroticisation" occurs within the interactive space of the familia.

In Italy, around the age of six or seven, "the growing attractiveness of the little girl is the focus of considerable teasing from father and older brothers, uncles, etc." (Parsons, 1964 [1969:p255-6])¹²⁴. This interpretation confirms feminist claims of "patriarchic sexualisation".

Lindblom¹²⁵ notes how father-daughter intimacy enters local discourses in Northern Pakistan Pashtun families:

"Girls [...] are much beloved by their fathers, who cuddle them, tease them, and roguishly rub them and bite them; which again is not to claim that daughters are not beaten by their fathers. But the relation is a loving one, and the little girls are coquettish with their fathers. Father and daughter remain close in later life. It is said that a woman respects and obeys only her father and, to a lesser extent, her brothers. The mother gives her daughters little affection. Instead, she is generally harsh and demanding. There is certainly an element of jealousy in the hostile relationship between mother and daughter, for the daughter is treated more sensually and lovingly by her father than the wife is ever treated by her husband. The jealousy is not always unfounded, since cases of father—daughter incest are often the subject of local gossip. Of course, since incest is a domestic offense, the village takes no action against the offender, but his daughter will find difficulty in marrying. In one case in Shin Bagh, the girl ended by being engaged to a very old man living near Peshawar".

The attention may result in girls being geared toward marriage¹²⁶. Whereas the premenarchal girl can be teasingly sensitised, menarche redefines the space in which the girl moves, and in which the extrafamilial male may enter and the familial male is repositioned.

¹²² Padilla, E. (1958) *Up from Puerto Rico*. New York: Columbia University Press

¹²³ Blackman, W. S. (1968) *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*. London: F. Cass & Co

¹²⁴ Parsons, A. (1964) Is the Oedipus complex universal? *Psychoanal Study Soc* 3:278-328. Reprinted in Muensterberger, W. (Ed., 1969) *Man and his Culture*. London: Rapp & Whitting, p331-84

¹²⁵ Lindholm, Ch. (1982) *Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan*. New York: Columbia University Press, p130

¹²⁶ "The play of little girls is most often an enactment of the marriage ritual: faceless dolls are dressed in finery and placed in a decorated replica of the wedding palanquin (dolie). Girls' songs (boys do not sing) are concerned with marriage and wedding gifts. Girls' talk is often about marriage, as they speculate what presents they will get, and whether their husbands will be handsome, young, and rich".

A reverse pattern is noted by Schlegel (1973)¹²⁷, who states that the **Hopi** girl “must be wary of boy’s advances and do nothing to attract their sexual interest, if she is to remain chaste. This is particularly true at menstruation, when the smell of menstrual blood is believed to make the woman more sexually attractive to men as they are made aware of her sexual readiness”. Among the New Guinean **Bimin-Kukusmin**, male and female siblings are to chaperon the neothelarchic girl, since she is now regarded “attractive”. “Among both **Turks and Arabs**, the young unmarried girl is “loved” by her older brothers and father, but as she reaches puberty they are faced with a state they cannot “control”, that is, their daughter’s or sister’s sexuality. The girl must therefore be married, and among both rural peoples, marriage normally occurs promptly after the onset of puberty” (Meeker).

But even before puberty, girls’ sexual spaces may be well-bordered, and smaller than boys’:

Puerto Rican little girls are less encouraged to have “boy-friends” than boys are encouraged to have girl-friends. Instead, they are constantly reminded of their beauty, the need to maintain pleasing looks and demeanor, to keep their legs together when sitting, [...] to never say a “bad” word [...]”. The vulva is covered since birth, the penis may be bare until age 7 years (Mintz, 1956).

In their 1996 *Blood Stories* Lee and Sasser-Coen focus on menarche as “a central aspect of body politics in contemporary [U.S.] society”. Using a social constructivist /post-structuralist view of the subject, the book emphasises that it is in part through the body that women are “integrated into the social and sexual order”, and in part through the discourses and disciplinary practices of menstruation, framed as “feminine” normative practices, that “heterosexuality is constructed and reconstructed in everyday live”. Unfortunately, this process would be perfused with concepts of contamination, alienation, and anxiety (Lee).

16.3.2 *Attractive Bodies: Sociogenetics*

“[...] the main object of tatuing on the part of either males or females is to enhance their attractions in the eyes of the opposite sex and thus to stimulate desire. Tatuing, in this view, is merely an incident of courtship and has nothing to do with religion or totems, while its association with puberty arises solely from the fact that savage people set about their wooing betimes”¹²⁸.

Using HRAF sources, Rogoff et al. (1975)¹²⁹ examined 27¹³⁰ variables that would signify “cognitive or social changes which might occur with age in childhood or be attributed to children in a particular age, and which would be noticeable to an ethnographer visiting a culture”. Among these are (variable 18:) consideration of “sexual” status (“The age when the child is considered capable of sexual activity and stimulation, or when this behavior is bound by the taboos of the culture”) and (v19:) emphasis on “sexual attractiveness” (“The culture encourages the child to be concerned with sexual attractiveness in clothing, self-decoration, hair-styling, personal cleanliness”). Of 50 HRAF cultures, 22 reported ages for variable v18,

¹²⁷ Schlegel, A. (1973) The adolescent socialization of the Hopi girl, *Ethnology* 12,4:449-62

¹²⁸ Risley, H. H. (1902) Note on Some Indian Tatu-Marks, *Man* 2:97-101, at p101

¹²⁹ Rogoff, B. et al. (1975) Age of assignment of roles and responsibilities to children: A cross-cultural survey, *Hum Developm* 18,5:353-69

¹³⁰ 39, of which 12 were rejected on the basis of low reliability, low credibility or lack of information

and 18 for v19. While sexual attractiveness showed a mode age of 13, “considered sexual” seemed to be assigned across a broad age range¹³¹.

This range is most likely caused by the surprising dualistic definition, and the indefinite character of the term “sexual”. Although a central issue in socialisation, the first part of the definition (socially recognised sexual capacity) is not explored elsewhere.

The culture of making bodies attractive has been studied predominantly in monocultural settings. Girls’ entry into “cosmetic culture” (Thorne, 1993:p148-51) entails the trajectory from “pretend” to “real” attractiveness. Thorne (1991)¹³² argued that “a major symbolic disjuncture is bound up in the transition from the sexually innocent child to the publicly sexual teen”. Few qualitative and hardly any numeric studies add to these data.

16.3.3 Hammams and Households: The Knowing Eye and Splitting Universa

[cf. GUS Vol. I, ‘Middle East’ chapter, § ‘Hammam’]

The role of sex in the traditional Mediterranean bath house is widely discussed. North African boys are banned from the women’s Hammam at the date of sexual coming-of-age (Buitelaar and Van Gelder, 1996:p145-6)¹³³. Later, the smouldering memories of naked females would eroticise the institution. According to Serhane ([1995:p169-77])¹³⁴ the Hammam is remembered as a revolution in male sexual development, a transition nicely illustrated in the film *Halfaouine*¹³⁵. In his *Dreams of Trespass*, Mernissi (1994)¹³⁶ describes her cousin’s expulsion from the women’s hammam, which seemed to have resulted from a similar gaze as that of Noura (Halfaouine): “Then came the day that Samir was thrown out of the hammam because a woman noticed that he had “a man’s stare” [...] “He might be four, but I am telling you, he looked at my breast just like my husband does”. [...] [T]hat [...] incident signalled, without Samir [the cousin] and I realizing it, the end of childhood, when the difference between the sexes did not matter. After that Samir was less and less tolerated in the woman’s *hammam*, as his “erotic stare” began to disturb more and more women” (p239-42). The result is dramatic:

“Men do not understand women [...] and women do understand men, and it all starts when little girls are separated from little boys in the *hammam*. Then a cosmic frontier splits the planet in two halves. The frontier indicates the line of power because whenever there is a frontier, there are two kinds of creatures walking on Allah’s earth, the powerful on one side, and the powerless on the other” (p242).

¹³¹ The data are for age (M): 3(1), 4(1), 6(2), 7(1), 8(1), 9(3), 10(1), 12(1), 13(3), 15(8). Identities of societies are not indicated.

¹³² Thorne, B. (1991) *Lip Gloss and “Goin’ With”: Multiple Gender Meanings in the Transition to Early Adolescence*. Paper for the American Sociological Association; Thorne, B. (1993) *Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School*. New Brunswick, NJ.: Rutgers University Press, p135-56

¹³³ Buitelaar, M. & Van Gelder, G. J. (1996) *Het Badhuis tussen Hemel en Hel*. Amsterdam: Bulaaq [Dutch]

¹³⁴ Serhane, A. ([1995]) *L’Amour Circoncis: Essai*. 2nd ed. Casablanca: Editions Eddif

¹³⁵ Ferid Boughedir; Tunisia / France, 1990. For a further impression see Hayes, J. (2000) *Queer Nations: Marginal Sexualities in the Maghreb*. Chicago, Ill. [etc.]: University of Chicago Press, p241-61

¹³⁶ Mernissi, F. (1994) *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley

Other authors mention the hammam is a forbidden place after the stigma of circumcision that announces the bankruptcy of the boy's "asexual" status. According to Bouhdiba (1985)¹³⁷: "The hammam [...] is a highly eroticized place - so much so indeed that the name has come to signify for the masses the sexual act itself [...] "going to the hammam" quite simply means "making love" [...] . Every Muslim can relive his childhood in terms of his experience of the hammam [...] notoriously a place of homosexuality, male and female [...] there the child has all the time in the world to contemplate, examine and compare sexual organs [so that] every Muslim is fixated on his mother [...]" . Bouhdiba even speaks of a *Hammam-complex*.

According to Messina (1991:p201-2)¹³⁸, the Moroccan boy may remember to be expelled from the Hammam at ages three or four, eight and as late as ten.

To summarise the Islamic eye,

"It is the eye that is the root cause of all mischief. It is the spark that fuels the fire. An eye is safe from Hell when it keeps a vigil for the sake of Allah, sheds tears out of His fear and abstains from looking at female strangers"¹³⁹.

Significantly, Newson and Newson (1968:p363-5)¹⁴⁰ discussed a similar developmental difference in "looking" and "seeing" in American four-year-olds. The subjective maternal experience, however, is not likely to sort a revolution in social organisation as radical as in the Hammam case. Still, the effects may be as significant as to sort a culturally specific eroticism that defines intergenerational tensions (Oedipus), as well as the subsequent reorientation of social reference from vertical to horizontal (agogic to erotic)¹⁴¹ dynamics.

16.3.4 Consuming and Producing the Erotic Child

Much of the speculation on eroticism development is, regrettingly, in the eye of the beholder solely (cf. **chapter 9**). Kincaid clearly details how the Western erotic child is both consumed, produced (and not-consumed and not-produced) in an economy of implicit meanings and representations.

Dances at Nharo girls' menarchal rites, for instance, would be "frenzied and replete with erotic gestures" (Guenther, 1986:p280)¹⁴². Various titled "obscene" or "sexual", such gestural curricula are a remarkable attribute of many puberty rites. Probably representative of many such rituals are the Klamath's where "erotic" songs pass under the name of *pilpil* or puberty songs (Gatschet, 1890)¹⁴³. "They include lines on signs of womanhood, courting, love sentiments, disappointments in love, marriage fees paid to parents, on marrying and on

¹³⁷ Bouhdiba, A. (1985) *Sexuality in Islam*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p165, 169, 171, 173; as quoted by DeMause, L. (1991) The Universality of Incest, *J Psychohist* 19,2:123-64

¹³⁸ Messina, M. G. (1991) *Celebrations of the Body*. Dissertation, Stony Brook, State University of New York

¹³⁹ Mukhtar, M. H. (nd?) *Tarbiyat-e-Aulad aur Islam* [The Upbringing of Children in Islam]. dar-ut-Tasneef, Jamiat ul-Uloom Il-Islamiyyah allama Banuri Town Karachi. English translation by Rafiq Abdur Rahman. Transl. Esp. Chapter 11: Responsibility for sexual education.

¹⁴⁰ Newson, J. & Newson, E. (1968) *Four Years Old in an Urban Community*. London: G. Allen & Unwin

¹⁴¹ As detailed in a separate article, *Proto-Erotiek: Agogische Exotiek tussen Leererotische en Psychodynamische Realiteit*.

¹⁴² Guenther, M. (1986) *The Nharo Bushmen of Botswana: Tradition and Change*. Hamburg: Buske

¹⁴³ Gatschet, A. S. (1890) *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon*. Washington: Gov't. Print. Off.

conjugal life. [...] [T]hey all refer in fact to love-making and kindred sentiments, the satiric lines confirming the proverbial inclination of lovers to fight among themselves". Danielsson ([1956]:p84-5; 1961:p834)¹⁴⁴ quotes Cook:

"Dances of an erotic character were common. Cook wrote that in Haiti, dances of this type were "performed by young girls, whenever eight or ten of them can be collected together, and added that they consisted of "motions and gestures beyond imagination wanton, in which they are brought up since their earliest childhood, accompanied by words, which, if it were possible, would more explicitly convey the same idea"¹⁴⁵.

The element of culture-typical complementation norms is universal. Boys in Central Asia, *batshas*, would be "trained" from childhood on in erotic songs and dances¹⁴⁶. Among the "Sambia", "[m]en perceive premenarche females as children, a category of asexual or not exciting erotic objects", in contrast to boys (Herdt). In contrast to the "Sambia", the Gebusi did not declare or imply that men *had* to be inseminated to reach adulthood; "this was simply an erotic act that could help them in this regard" (Knauff). This "simply erotic" status of boys is a typical attribute of cultures with age-structured homosexuality; most of these cultures (Greece, Japan, Pukhtunistan/Afghanistan, Persia)¹⁴⁷ develop elaborate poetry and prose curricula to "celebrate" and document age-structured affects.

The Kogi mother, in addition to masturbating her son, "[...] shows a lively interest in the erotic pleasures which her daughter derives from her body and takes a certain pride in the fact that this instinct is developing in her children"; this would co-occur with "children five or six years old [being] frequently subjected to sexual aggression by adults".

A demonstration of complementarity, Cowgill and Hutchinson (1963)¹⁴⁸ (cited by DeMause, 1989)¹⁴⁹ reported that all the girls were very flirtatious with the grown men, often overtly sexual even as very young girls. When they looked for the reasons why, they found a very high boy/girl ratio and noticed that girls were regularly allowed to die off - through giving them less food and by other neglect - if they did not appeal sexually to the men around them.

Predominantly a manner of speaking, authors definitely identify eroticism, or "erotic components" in the (coital) play of young children (e.g., Malinowski: Trobrianders; Schefold: Mentawaians), such affects being explained by the "instruction in erotic matters from their companions".

Kurtz (1991:p79-83)¹⁵⁰ assumes that the Trobriand mythical "erotic paradise" Tuma is a "conscious depiction of the adult Trobriander's unconscious childhood memories" of erotic [coital?] initiation in early childhood. Theoretically, one entry to developmental eroticism

¹⁴⁴ Danielsson, B. ([1954]1956) *Love in the South Seas*. (transl. F. Lyon). London: Allen & Unwin

¹⁴⁵ Cook, J. (1777) *An Account of a Voyage around the World*. Hawkesworth, Ed., Vol. 1, p206

¹⁴⁶ Gunther, J. (1939) *Inside Asia*. New York: Harper

¹⁴⁷ For a Western parallel, see D'Arch Smith, T. (1970) *Love in Earnest: Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English "Uranian" Poets from 1889 to 1930*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

¹⁴⁸ Cowgill, U. M. & Hutchinson, G.E. (1963) Sex Ratio in Childhood and the Depopulation of the Peten, Guatemala, *Human Biol* 35:90-104

¹⁴⁹ DeMause, L. (1989) The role of adaptation and selection in psychohistorical evolution, *J Psychohist* 16,4:355-71

¹⁵⁰ Kurtz, S. N. (1991) Polysexualization: a new approach to Oedipus in the Trobriands, *Ethos* 19:68-101

would indeed be the alleged “erotic” curricular folklore (e.g., Armalinsky, 1995¹⁵¹; Badalanova, 1993, 1995, 1996)¹⁵² including “erotic jokes” (Covarrubias, 1937 [1938:p132-3])¹⁵³, “erotic” drawings (Koch)¹⁵⁴, and the like.

These operationalisations clearly lie in the sphere of “productive eroticism”, rather than the consumptive sphere. The argument that these formulations serve to project observers’ values onto unexplored realms of functionality is, I reckon, grounded. The mentioned reports are generally informed by indirect methodologies, so that the evolutionary question (erotogenesis) is a matter of interpretation, not observation.

16.3.5 The Curricularised Body: Its Relation to Erotic Curricularisation

On the basis of ethnographic study of 10-12 year olds in the transition from primary to secondary school in England, Jenks (2001)¹⁵⁵ argues that

“[...] the process of learning about the body plays a critical and orienting role. The competencies and capacities of the body are made the focus of the particular temporal regimes associated with the punctuations of curriculum time at school, such that time comes to literally be embodied by children through the twin processes of discipline and empowerment that shape their everyday relations at school”.

This is supported by other material (e.g., Martin, 1998)¹⁵⁶. Further findings suggest that the discourses of power which perpetuate gendered practice are not just to be found in language exchanges, but in practices enacted on and through bodies as well¹⁵⁷.

The current project on sexually growing up suggests just that curricularisation of sexual/erotic bodies.

¹⁵¹ Armalinkij, M. (Comp., 1995) *Detskii Eroticeskii Fol'klor*. Minneanapolis: M.I.P. Co. Reviewed in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 1996, issue 17, April 24

¹⁵² Badalanova, F. K. (1993, 1995, 1996) *Folklore Erotikon*, Vol. 1, 2, 3. Edited by Impressario & Publishing House “ROD”, Sofia

¹⁵³ Covarrubias, M. (1937) *Island of Bali*. London: Cassell & Co.

¹⁵⁴ Koch, W. (1979) Die erotische Kinderzeichnung, *Kunst & Unterricht* 55:52-5; Koch, W. (1980) Die “heimliche” Kinderzeichnung; Die erotische Kinderzeichnung im Unterricht, *Sexualpäd* 8,3:6-8; 8,4:6-7; Koch, W. (1984) Erotische Zeichnungen von Kindern und Jugendlichen, *BKD* [Bund Deutscher Kunsterzicher] *Mitteilungen* 2; Koch, W. (1986) *Erotische Zeichnungen von Kindern und Jugendlichen*. Erziehungswissenschaften 15. Münster Lit.

¹⁵⁵ Jenks, Ch. (2001) The pacing and timing of children’s bodies, in Hultqvist, K. & Dahlberg, G. (Eds.) *Governing the Child in the New Millennium*. New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer, p68-84

¹⁵⁶ Martin, K. A. (1998) Becoming a gendered body: Practices of preschools, *Am Sociol Rev* 63,4:494-511. Martin finds that “the hidden school curriculum that controls children’s bodily practices in order to shape them cognitively” also “turns children who are similar in bodily comportment, movement, and practice into girls and boys--children whose bodily practices differ”. The author identifies five sets of practices that create these differences: dressing up, permitting relaxed behaviours or requiring formal behaviours, controlling voices, verbal and physical instructions regarding children’s bodies by teachers, and physical interactions among children. “This hidden curriculum that (partially) creates bodily differences between the genders also makes these physical differences appear and feel natural”.

¹⁵⁷ Kamler, B. (1993) *The Construction and Reconstruction of Gender in Classroom Discourse: Disciplining the Student Body*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Council of Teachers of English (83rd, Pittsburgh, PA, November 17-22

16.4 Theoretical and Clinical Notes

What can clinical perspectives add to the above delineations? This seems to be restricted to the introduction of objective measures (§16.4.1), and of biosociological entries. The issue somewhere enters anthropology's incest debate (cf. §14.2).

In Bem's¹⁵⁸ *Exotic Becomes Erotic* theory, regardless of the specific source or affective tone, childhood physiological arousal as being evoked by gender-identified otherness is subsequently "transformed" into erotic attraction. Considering the timing of this last step, it is argued that

"[...] social norms and expectations inevitably influence an individual's awareness and interpretation of early arousal. Most individuals in our [U.S.] culture are primed to anticipate, recognize, and interpret opposite-sex arousal as erotic or romantic attraction and to ignore, repress, or differently interpret comparable same-sex arousal. We should also expect to see secular changes and cohort effects"¹⁵⁹.

Thus, Bem allows "cultural" factors to modify "biosocial pathways of "exotification" and "eroticisation", processes that are not primarily generated by "vertical" or generational dynamics. The theory would apply to most individuals "in a gender-polarizing culture like ours [U.S.], a culture that emphasizes the differences between the sexes by pervasively organizing both the perceptions and realities of communal life around the male-female dichotomy". Furthermore, "[c]ultural factors can also enter to create individual differences that appear to be exceptions to the EBE model" (2000:p543).

Just how obviously polarising U.S. society is indeed may depend on the life phase. In this sense, nonpolarising policies in the early life phase modifies (decelerates) the exotic/erotic trajectory. While hinted at very briefly (1997; 2000:p537), a discussion of the theory's use in incest debates was not offered. The theory, while the possibilities are briefly issued (2000:p535), does not factually offer supported generalisations beyond the hegemonic gender axis.

16.4.1 A Clinical Note

As for objectively measuring erotics, an often-used axis to categorise the affective orientation toward "sexuality" is the erotophilia-erotophobia dichotomy¹⁶⁰, or "the disposition to respond to sexual cues along a negative-positive dimension of affect and evaluation". Expanding on the primary definition by including the motivational attitude toward genital/orificial behaviour, it has not been established whether "healthy" children are or ought to be erotophilic: it has never been studied in preadolescents. Some material, however,

¹⁵⁸ Bem, D. J. (1996) Exotic becomes erotic: A developmental theory of sexual orientation, *Psychol. Rev* 103:320-35

¹⁵⁹ Bem, D. J. (2000) Exotic becomes erotic: interpreting the biological correlates of sexual orientation, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,6:531-48, at p539

¹⁶⁰ E.g., Fisher, W. A., Byrne, D. et al. (1988) Erotophobia-erotophilia as a dimension of personality, *J Sex Res* 25,1: 123-51

seems suggestive of a phenomenon that may tentatively be described as *erotomisy*, or opposition to the very concept of sexual behaviour, thoughts or discussion, whether in reference to others or the self. Other than in the nosological rejection of sexual activities, the negative affect would be based on moral or idiosyncratic assumptions, and is generally nondiscriminative for specific behaviour categories (*pan-erotomisy*). In the absence of pre-adolescent baselines, these remarks remain tentative in every respect.

After having interviewed approximately 1,000 children (aged 5-15 years) from nuclear intact families in Australia, England, North America, children could generally be termed *asexual* (up to 7 years old), *presexual* (from 7-9 years), and *sexual* (from 11 years on)¹⁶¹. These concepts (referring to cognitive aspects of sexuality) are important considering the light in which society's concerns for "evil" interference are formulated in concepts of a- and presexuality¹⁶². The extent to which the Goldmans' use of "sexual" categories translates to "erotic" ones is largely unstudied.

Freund and Kuban (1993; Freund, 1994)¹⁶³ investigated age and gender orientation in childhood curiosity for visual nudity as an "indicator of developing erotic interest". Van Goozen et al. (2002)¹⁶⁴ measured preteen "preference" for "sexual" stimuli: "(e.g., a woman with naked breasts, man and women lying on top of each other and kissing)". In a 1956 paper unseen by the author, Mamiya measured "excitability to words, sentences, anatomical figures and pictures with sexual content by means of GSR [galvanic skin resistance?] and respiratory rate recordings" in Japanese peripubescent

Being detailed elsewhere¹⁶⁵, papers have established some insights to the timing of "first" and "early" sexual arousal (see *Fout! Onbekende schakeloptie-instructie*.-Fout! Onbekende schakeloptie-instructie.). Disregarding the methodological problems apparent in these studies, no cross-cultural data are available¹⁶⁶. From these Western data, and within the variance in methodology and definitions, mean age figures indicate timing in late prepubescence to peripubescence. Hypothetically, this figure should be much lower due to unspecific or specific (e.g. Borneman) amnesic processes; further, it *might be* culturally variable. More interestingly, object-specific eroticism may be subject to culture-specific chronologies.

¹⁶¹ Goldman, R. J. & Goldman, J. D. (1984) Perception of sexual experience in childhood: Relating normal development to incest, *Austr J Sex Marr, & Fam* 5,3:159-66, id. (1983) Children's perceptions of sex differences in babies and adolescents: A cross-national study, *Arch Sex Behav* 12,4:277-94

¹⁶² E.g., Beit-Hallahmi, B. (1976) The Turn of the Screw and The Exorcist: Demoniacal possession and childhood purity, *Am Imago* 33,3:296-303

¹⁶³ Freund, K. & Kuban, M. (1993) Toward a Testable Developmental Model of Pedophilia: The Development of Erotic Age Preference, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 17:315-24; Freund, K. (1994) In search of an aetiological model of pedophilia, *Revue Sexologique* 2,1 [http://www.unites.ugam.ca/dsexo/Revue/Vol2no1/10_Freund~1.html]

¹⁶⁴ Goozen, S. H. M. van, Cohen-Kettenis, P. T., Matthys, W. & Engeland, H. van (2002) Preference for aggressive and sexual stimuli in children with disruptive behavior disorder and normal controls, *Arch Sex Behav* 31,3:247-53, at p248

¹⁶⁵ Preparatory literature review.

¹⁶⁶ Gurewitch & Grosser (1929:p521) provided ethnically specific data on "first sexual arousal".

16.5 Concluding Remarks

Within a constructionist approach, the following theses emerge:

- erotic being is a social construct mediated through processes that variably issue **identification**, predominantly by projecting erotic subjectivity of (previously eroticised) age classes, and **complementation**, predominantly in (cultural or individual) situations that require and legitimise “recruitment”;
- (developmental) eroticism is a confrontation between **performances** by individuals and disciplinary structures. Little is known about the young individual’s performance of attractiveness, and of erotic attraction;
- political and scientific agendas have disputed the issue of “**gazes**” or **identified spectators shaping the performance of attractiveness**. Disputes have focussed on the identity of the viewer: these were isolated as the patriarch gaze (feminism), the incestuous gaze (psychoanalysis), the “paedophilic” gaze (sociology), and the “levelled” (though sexist, heterosexist, objectifying, etc.) gaze of male peers. This (normative vs. perverse) “traumatic gaze curriculum” is an essentially complementary concept. The crucial issue of “being gazed at” has been underrepresented in academic discourse, as well as heavily politicised, until recently; the masculine side appears to be neglected as well.

16.x Additional Reading

- 04-01-1995 Panel chair, "The Sexualization of Childhood". Presented at the conference *Women, Sexuality, and Violence: Re-Visioning Public Policy*, Annenberg Public Policy Center, University of Pennsylvania
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- Hey, V. (1996) *The Company She Keeps: An Ethnography of Girls' Friendship*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press
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- Lees, S. (1989) Learning to love: Sexual reputation, morality and the social control of girls, in Cain, M. (Ed.) *Growing Up Good: Policing the Behaviour of Girls in Europe*. London: Sage
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- Murnen, S. K. & Smolak, L. (2000) The Experience of Sexual Harassment among Grade-School Students: Early Socialization of Female Subordination, *Sex Roles* 43,1-2:1-17
- Rapoport, T. (1992) Two Patterns of Girlhood: Inconsistent Sexuality-Laden Experiences across Institutions of Socialisation and Socio-Cultural Milieux, *Int Sociol* 7,3:329-46
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- Silver, A. K. (2000) A Caught Dream: John Ruskin, Kate Greenaway and the Erotic Innocent Girl, *Children's Lit Assoc Quart* 25,1:37-44
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16.y Appendices: Some Data on Erotarche

Note: Clearly peripheral to GUS' current theoretical workup, the following appendices provide the suggestion of "objectives" includible in the above discussion. The insertion of quotation marks highlights the problem of interpretation with these broadly accepted measures, at least in the attempt of tracing and remembering "first occurrences".

Table 1 “First Sexual Arousal”: Mean Age

	Mean Age “First Sexual Arousal”	Specification ¹⁶⁷	Remarks
Harry (1985:p4) ¹⁶⁸	12	[median]	Homosexuals
Friedman & Stern (1980) ¹⁶⁹ ; Friedman (1988:p195-6) ¹⁷⁰	9.5 9.9	HoM HeM	Homosexuals vs heterosexuals, range 4-13 resp. 5-13
Gurewitch & Grosser (1929:p521) ¹⁷¹	14.9 16.2	M F	[see also ethnically specific data on p522]
Petrenko (1923) acc	13.1	M	[?]
Gurewitch & Grosser (1929:p521) ¹⁷²	15.5	F	
Knoth, Boyd & Singer (1988) ¹⁷³	10.8 13.4	M F	-
Kinsey et al. (1948) ¹⁷⁴	10.28	M	-
Bell, Weinberg et al. (1981) ¹⁷⁵	11.6 12.9 13.1 11.6	HoM, ss HeM, ss HoM, cs HeM, cs	[data pertain to males sexually aroused by objects of specified gender, in childhood or adolescence]

¹⁶⁷ HoM=homosexual males, andsoforth; ss=same-sex; cs=cross-sex

¹⁶⁸ Harry, J. (1985) Defeminization and social class, *Arch Sex Behav* 14,1:1-12

¹⁶⁹ Friedman, L. H. (1985) Beating fantasies in a latency girl: Their role in female sexual development, *Psychoanal Quart* 54,4:569-96

¹⁷⁰ Friedman, R. C. & Stern, L. O. (1980) Fathers, sons, and sexual orientation: replication of a Bieber hypothesis, *Psychiatr Quart* 52,3:175-89

¹⁷¹ Gurewitch, Z. A. & Grosser, F. J. (1929) Das auftreten der ersten Geschlechtsempfindungen und die Quellen der geschlechtlichen Aufklärung, *Ztsch f Sexualwiss & Sexualpädagog* 15:520ff

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Knoth, R., Boyd, K. & Singer, B. (1988) Empirical tests of sexual selection theory: predictions of sex differences in onset, intensity, and time course of sexual arousal, *J Sex Res* 24:73-89

¹⁷⁴ Kinsey, A. et al. (1948/1998) *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders

¹⁷⁵ Bell, A. P., Weinberg, M. S. & Hammersmith, S. F. (1981) *Sexual Preference; Its Development in Men and Women*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Table 2 *Prepubescent “Sexual” Arousal, Quantitative Studies*

		Ages ¹⁷⁶	G	N	Variable	Meth ¹⁷⁷	Sample
1	Money & Alexander (1969) ¹⁷⁸	-	B	18	Erections and erotic arousal	I, L	Children with a history of precocious puberty, <18
2	Weißenberg (1924) ¹⁷⁹	<7,7-9,10-15	G	324	Sexual feelings, love feelings <13; causes of early awakening of sexual feeling	Q	Students
3	Shapiro et al. (1968) ¹⁸⁰				Spontaneous sexual arousal		
4	Achilles (1923:p49) ¹⁸¹	<13	G	41	Sexual arousal ¹⁸²		
5	JASE (1975, 1983, 1988, 1994; Hatano, 1988; 1991a,b; 1993) [reported by Francoeur, ed., 1998] ¹⁸³	<=12	BG	-	Sexual arousal; desire to touch body of opposite sex and sexual arousal	R	Students, 12-22
6	Schbankow (1922) [cited by Weißenberg, 1924a] ¹⁸⁴	<10	G	324	Sexual arousal	Q, R	Russian students, 17-35>
7	Hellmann [cited by Weißenberg, 1924b] ¹⁸⁵	<=10,10-14, pm	G	338	Sexual arousal		
8	Vassilchenko (1980) ¹⁸⁶	-	B	147	“Libido awakening”	CI?	Nonsexopathic sex clinic visitors
9	Gurewitch & Grosser (1929) ¹⁸⁷	-	BG	B>	Awakening of sexual awareness	R [?]	-

¹⁷⁶ pp=prepuberal; pm=premenarchal¹⁷⁷ I=Interview; Q=Questionnaire; R=Retrospective; MO=Maternal Observation; CI=Clinical Interview¹⁷⁸ Money, J. & Alexander, D. (1969) Psychosexual development and absence of homosexuality in males with precocious puberty, *J Nerv & Ment Dis* 148,2:111-23¹⁷⁹ Weißenberg, S. (1924) Das Geschlechtsleben der russischen Studentinnen, *Zeitschr f Sexualwiss* 11,1:7-14¹⁸⁰ [under review]¹⁸¹ Achilles, P. S. (1923) *The Effectiveness of Certain Social Hygiene Literature*. Cited by Kinsey et al. (1953), *op cit*.¹⁸²¹⁸³ JASE (1975, 1983, 1988, 1994); Hatano (1988; 1991a,b; 1993).¹⁸⁴ Schbankow (1922), *Wratschebnoje djelo* 10-2:225-34. Cited by Weißenberg (1924:p7), *op.cit*.¹⁸⁵ Hellmann, as cited by Weißenberg (1924b), *op.cit*.¹⁸⁶ Vassilchenko (1980) Age aspects of the male sexual activity, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 6:11-3

1000							
10	Dück (1949) ¹⁸⁸	<=10			Sexual arousal	-	-
11	Davis (1925; 1929) ¹⁸⁹	3...12; <12	G	2200	First sex feelings	I, R	Adults, 21-47
12	Kinsey et al. (1953) ¹⁹⁰	5...13	G	[?]	[First] erotic arousal from socio-sexual, heterosexual and homosexual sources	SI	Adults [?]
13	Bell, Weinberg et al. (1981:p99-100,106) ¹⁹¹	-	BG	?	First sexual arousal to male, female	I	Home- and heterosexuals
14	Kinsey et al. (1948) ¹⁹²	1...12	B	[604]	First sexual arousal	SI	Adults [?]
15	Ryan, Miyoshi & Krugman (1988) ["mini study" cited by Ryan, 2000] ¹⁹³	pp	BG	[?]	Sexual arousal	R, Q	Adults, 26-80
16	Meirowsky ([1912]) ¹⁹⁴	5-6,7-8, 9-10,11-12	B	68?	First sexual arousal	I, R	Students
17	Weinberg & Williams (1995) ¹⁹⁵	-	B	262	Mean age of sexual arousal by feet/footwear	Q, R	Homo-/bisexual foot fetishists, 21-65 (M=38)
18	Ramsey (1941/1943) ¹⁹⁶	-	B	291	"Sexual responsiveness" [erections]; erotic and non-erotic correlates	I	Boys, 10-20
19	Conn and Kanner (1940) ¹⁹⁷	0...10	B	128	Spontaneous erections	MO	Mothers
20	Knoth, Boyd & Singer (1988) ¹⁹⁸	1-8, 9...12	BG	[var.]	First sexual arousal	Q, R	Various samples, Adolescents

¹⁸⁷ Gurewitch, Z. A. & Grosser, F. J. (1929) Das auftreten der ersten Geschlechtsempfindungen und die Quellen der geschlechtlichen Aufklärung, *Ztsch f Sexualwiss & Sexualpädagog* 15:520ff

¹⁸⁸ Dück, J. (1949) [unpublished charts]. Ref. Kinsey, A. et al. (1953/1998) *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders

¹⁸⁹ Davis, K. (1924/5) A study of certain autoerotic practices [part I & II], *Mental Hygiene* 8:668-723; 9: 28-59; Davis, K. (1929) *Factors in the Sex Life of 2200 Women*. New York/London: Harper & Brothers

¹⁹⁰ Kinsey, A. et al. (1953/1998) *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders

¹⁹¹ Bell, A. P., Weinberg, M. S. & Hammersmith, S. F. (1981) *Sexual Preference; Its Development in Men and Women*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

¹⁹² Kinsey, A. et al. (1948/1998) *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders

¹⁹³ Ryan, G., Miyoshi, T. & Krugman, R. (1988) *Early Childhood Experience of Professionals Working in Child Abuse*. Seventeenth Annual Symposium on Child Abuse and Neglect, Keystone, CO.; Ryan, G. (2000) Childhood sexuality: a decade of study. Part I—research and curriculum development, *Child Abuse & Negl* 24,1:33-48

¹⁹⁴ Meirowsky, E. (1912) *Geschlechtsleben der Jugend, Schule und Elternhaus*. 2nd ed. Leipzig

¹⁹⁵ Weinberg, M. S. & Williams, C. J. (1995) "If the shoe fits...": Exploring male homosexual foot fetishism, *J Sex Res* 32:17-27

¹⁹⁶ Ramsey, G. V. (June, 1941) *Factors in the Sex Life of 291 Boys*. Unpublished Thesis, Indiana University; Ramsey, G. V. (1943) The sexual development of boys, *Am J Psychol* 56:217-33

¹⁹⁷ Conn, J. H. & Kanner, L. (1940) Spontaneous erections in early childhood, *J Pediatr* 16:337-40

¹⁹⁸ Knoth, R., Boyd, K. & Singer, B. (1988) Empirical tests of sexual selection theory: predictions of sex differences in onset, intensity, and time course of sexual arousal, *J Sex Res* 24:73-89

Table 3 Sexual Arousal: Accumulative % First before Age of 15¹⁹⁹

G	Sample ²⁰⁰	Age								
		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
M	KBS (1988) Sand M			40	44	60	80	96		
	KBS (1988) Retro M			31	31	41	50	100	100	100
	KBS (1988) Retro M, Spont.				19			72		
	Gurewitch & Grosser (1929)				5.4	9.4	10.6	16.8	23.7	36.7
	Helman acc Gurewitch & Grosser (1929:521)									50.9
	Meirowsky ([1912])	8.9		13.4		26.7		58		74.6
F	KBS (1988) Sand F			0	4	9	18	43		
	KBS (1988) Retro F			3	5	13	21	29		
	KBS (1988) Retro F, Spont.				4			21		
	Davis (1929)								46	
	Dück (1949)					77.4				
	Achilles (1923)								10	
	Schbankow (1922)	7.4			19.8					48.5
	Gurewitch & Grosser (1929)				2.2	5.4	5.8	9	13.6	25.4
	Kinsey et al. (1953) Het				[2]				[12]	
	Hom				[1]				[6]	
	Sociosex				[5]				[16]	
	Helman acc Gurewitch & Grosser (1929:521) and Kinsey et al. (1953)					15				37.9

¹⁹⁹ Partially taken from Kinsey et al. (1952:p103,n3), *op. cit.*²⁰⁰ KBS= Knoth, Boyd & Singer (1988), *op.cit.*

Table 4 Homosexual “Attraction”: Available ²⁰¹ Data for the Timing of First Occurrence

[See also separate Bibliography]

	Notes: “First homosexual”...
Grossmann (2000)	Attraction
Spada (1979)	Attraction
Rosario, Meyer-Bahlburg et al. (1996)	Arousal
Allen et al. (1998)	Feelings
Dawood, Pillard et al. (2000)	Feeling
Caletti (1980)	Physical attraction
Remafedi (1987)	Awareness of attraction
Remafedi et al. (1991)	Attraction
Rust (1993)	Attraction
Kooden et al. (1979) acc. Savin-Willaims & Cohen (1995)	Attraction
McDonald (1982) acc. Savin-Willaims & Cohen (1995)	Attraction
Rodriguez (1988) acc. Savin-Willaims & Cohen (1995)	Attraction
Sears (1991) acc. Savin-Willaims & Cohen (1995)	Attraction
D’Augelli (1994) acc. Savin-Willaims & Cohen (1995)	Attraction
Herd and Boxer (1993)	Awareness of attraction
Dank (1971) acc. Savin-Willaims & Cohen (1995)	Attraction
Newman & Muzzonigro (1993) acc. Savin-Willaims & Cohen (1995)	Attraction
Savin-Williams & Diamond (2000)	Attraction
Hamer et al. (1993)	Attraction
Pattatuci & Hamer (1995)	Romantic/ sexual attraction
Toronto Sun (1999 and 2000)	Attraction
Adelman (1980)	Awareness of [gay] feelings
Remafedi et al. (1992)	Attraction

ⁱ See Porter, R. (1994) The Assault on Jeffrey Masson, *Contention* 3,2:3-21; Albach, F. (1993) *Freud’s Verleidendstheorie*. Diss., University of Amsterdam [Dutch]; Schimek, J. G. (1987) Fact and fantasy in the seduction theory: a historical review, *J Am Psychoanal Assoc* 35:937-66; Blass, R. B. & Simon, B. (1992) Freud on his own mistake(s): the role of seduction in the aetiology of neurosis, *Psychia & Human* 12:160-83; Blass, R. B. & Simon, B. (1994) The value of the historical perspective to contemporary psychoanalysis: Freud’s seduction hypothesis, *Int J Psya* 75:677-94; Birken, L. (1988) From Seduction Theory to Oedipus Complex: A Historical Analysis, *New German Critique* 43:83-96; Makari, G. J. (1998a) The seductions of history: sexual trauma in Freud’s theory and historiography, *Int J Psya* 79,5:857-69; Makari, G. J. (1998b) The seductions of history: Sexual trauma in Freud’s theory and historiography, *Int J Psychoanal* 79,5:857-69; Makari, G. J. (1997) Towards defining the Freudian unconscious: seduction, sexology and the negative of perversion (1896-1905), *Hist Psychia* [Great Britain] 8,4:459-85; McOmber, J. B. (1996) Silencing the patient: Freud, sexual abuse and “the aetiology of hysteria”, *Quart J Speech* 82,4:343-63; Israëls, H. & Schatzman, M. (1993) The seduction theory, *Hist Psychia* 4:23-59; Makari, G. J. (1998) Between seduction and libido: Sigmund Freud’s masturbation hypotheses and the realignment of his etiologic thinking, 1897-1905, *Bull Hist Med* 72:638-62; Powell, R. A. & Boer, D. P. (1994) Did Freud mislead patients to confabulate memories of abuse?, *Psychol Rep* 74,3, Pt. 2:1283-98; Powell, R. A. & Boer, D. P. (1995) Did Freud misinterpret reported memories of sexual abuse as fantasies? *Psychol Rep* 77,2:563-70; Davis (1994) A theory for the 90s: traumatic seduction in historical context, *Psychoanal Rev* 81,4:627-40; Wasserman, S. & Rosenfeld, A. (1992) An overview of the history of child sexual abuse and Sigmund Freud’s contributions, in O’Donohue, W. & Geer, J. H. (Eds.) *The Sexual Abuse of Children: Theory and Research. Vol. I*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Hillsdale, New Jersey, p49-72; Slipp, S. (1988) Freud’s mother, Ferenczi and the seduction theory, *J Am Acad Psychoanal* 16,2:155-65; Westerlund, E. (1986) Freud on Sexual Trauma: An Historical Review of Seduction and Betrayal, *Psychol Women Quart* 10,4:297-310; Salyard (1994) On not knowing what you know: object-coercive doubting and Freud’s announcement of the seduction theory, *Psychoanal Rev* 81,4:659-76; Rego (1989) Sexual abuse in childhood and Freud’s seduction theory, *Am J Psychia* 146,8:1082-3; The seduction hypothesis. Panel report, *J Am Psychoanal Assoc* 36,3:759-71; Eissler, K. R. (1993) Comments on erroneous interpretations of Freud’s seduction theory, *J Am Psychoanal Assoc* 41,2:571-83; Garcia (1987) Freud’s seduction hypothesis,

²⁰¹ Preparatory literature review.

Psychoanal Study Child 42:443-68; Kuhn, Ph. (1997) Sigmund Freud's discovery of the etiological significance of childhood sexual traumas, *J Child Sexual Abuse* 6,2:107-22; Gleaves, D. H. & Hernandez, E. (1999) Recent reformulations of Freud's development and abandonment of his seduction theory: historical / scientific clarification or a continued assault on truth? *Hist Psychol* 2,4:304-54; Good, M. I. (1995) Karl Abraham, Sigmund Freud, and the fate of the seduction theory, *J Am Psychoanal Assoc* 43, 4:1137-67; Esterson, A. (1993) *Seductive Mirage: An Exploration of the Work of Sigmund Freud*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company; Esterson, A. (1998) Jeffrey Masson and Freud's seduction theory: a new fable based on old myths, *Hist Hum Sci* 11,1:1-21; Esterson, A. (2002) Misconceptions about Freud's seduction theory: Comment on Gleaves and Hernandez (1999), *Hist Psychol* 5,1:85-91. Reply at p92-8; Geyskens, T. (2001) Freud's letters to Fliess. From seduction to sexual biology, from psychopathology to a clinical anthropology, *Int J Psychoanal* 82,Part 5:861-76; Sayers, J. (1996) Exposing Fathers: What's New? *Feminism & Psychol* 6,2:286-9. Before Masson's import, the issue was covered by Miller, A. (1981) *Du Sollst Nicht Merken*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, and Rush, F. (1977) The Great Freudian Cover-Up, *Trouble & Strife*, 4:29-32; Rush, F. (1980) *The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, p80-104. Cf. Rush, F. (1996) The Freudian coverup, *Feminism & Psychol* 6,2:261-76

“Reactive” Sexuality: Numeric Studies (<2001)

Author’s Note: Since the early 1980s some 90 studies have provided numeric and statistical impetus to the concept of “reactive sexual behaviour” in prepubertal children, thought of as “symptomatic” of “abusive” experiences. The following table provides evidence of this clinical genre including studies until 2001, divided by three subgenres: “sexualised” “sexual” behaviour, “sexualised” doll play, and “sexualised” drawings. In the case of doll and drawing studies, some additional illustrative side studies are included as well.

1. “Reactive” Sexual Behaviour: Numeric Studies
2. Dolls
3. Drawings

1. "Reactive" Sexual Behaviour: Numeric Studies [1](#)

Original Publication (by PY) 2	Instrument 3	Controls 4	Girls/Boys	Sample Size		Age Range (Mean)
				Indic.	Controls	
Moses (1932) acc. Baurmann (1983:p172)	?	-	G	60	-	4-14
MacVigar (1979)	CO; ?	-	G	4	-	Latency-age
Adams-Tucker (1982)	CR, PO, I (LBCL)	-	BG	28	-	2-15,5
Yates (1982)	PO	-	BG	3	-	2.5-6?
Elwell (1984)	PI, PQ	-	BG	22	-	<13
Burgess, Hartman et al. (1984)	I	-	BG	62	-	6-16 5

[1](#) Inclusion criteria: *numeric* data on (at least possibly) sexually abused children with specification on at least one age or age group before the age of 13. Includes sexual behaviour (or sexual behaviour problem) categories for sexually abused children, and correlation studies using at least presumably nonsexually abused or nonabused control samples (as indicated). See also Kendall-Tackett (1990); Schneider (1994). Symbol "/" signifies unavailable data.

[2](#) References available from the author.

[3](#) **CBCL**: Child Behavior Check List; **CBCL-S**: Sex Problems on CBCL; **CSBI**: Child Sexual Behavior Inventory; **PO**: Unstructured Parental Observation; **I**: Interview with Child; **CO**: Clinical Observation; **CR**: Clinical Record; **MR**: Medical Record; **LBCL**: Louisville Behavior Check List; **SASA**: Structured Interview for Symptoms Associated with Sexual Abuse; **TSC-C**: Trauma Symptom Checklist: Children. Child-completed measure, including Sexual Concerns subscale; **TAT**: Thematic Apperception Test; **FSQ**: Family Sexuality Questionnaire (Friedrich et al., 1991); **PPVT-R**: Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised; **PSCs**=Projective Storytelling Cards; **CITES-R**: Children's Impact of Traumatic Events Scale-Revised; **Rorsch.**=Rorschach

[4](#) **PhA**: Physically Abused; **NA**: Non Abused; **PsOut**: Psychiatric Outpatient; **SA**: Sexually Abused; **Ped.**: general pediatric clinic; **PNA**: Probably Non Sexually Abuse; **CAT**: Children's Apperception Test (thematic stories); **TRF**: Teacher Report Form; **RATC**: Roberts Apperception Test for Children

Original Publication (by PY) 2	Instrument 3	Controls 4	Girls/Boys	Sample Size		Age Range (Mean)
				Indic.	Controls	
Tufts (1984)		/				
Purcell, Beilke & Friedrich (1986)		/				
Friedrich, Urquiza & Beilke (1986)	CBCL	-	BG	85(61G)	-	3-12 (6.2)
Mannarino & Cohen (1986)	PO, I	-	BG	45 (B:G=39:6)	-	3-16 (5;3)
Mian, Wehrspann et al. (1986)	MR	-	BG	125	-	0-6
Conte, Berliner & Schuerman (1986); Conte & Schuerman (1987); Conte & Berliner (1988)	PO	NA	BG	369	318	4-17
Gilgun (1986)	I	-	G	20	-	10-15
Livingston (1987)	?	PhA (C)	BG	13		6-12
Tong, Oates & McDowell (1987)	CBCL	NA	BG	49 (37G)	idem	?/
Friedrich & Reams (1987)	PO, CBCL	-	BG	8 (7G)	-	3-7
Kohan, Pothier & Norbeck (1987)	CO	NA	BG	?		12-
Kolko, Moser et al. (1988)	PO, I, CO	PhA (C)	BG	103 (3/4 B)		5-14 (9.9)
Friedrich [paper discussed A] (1988)	CBCL-S	Conduct d.	B	20		4-7

[5](#) At time of disclosure

Original Publication (by PY) 2	Instrument 3	Controls 4	Girls/Boys	Sample Size		Age Range (Mean)
				Indic.	Controls	
Friedrich [paper discussed B] (1988)	CBCL-S	NA, PsOut	BG	72		?
Friedrich & Luecke (1988)	PO?, CBCL, Rors., etc.	Diverse	BG	16(12B)	22	4-11 (7.3); C:5-13
Gale, Thompson, Moran & Sack (1988)	PO	PhA, NA	BG	37		7-
White, Halpin et al. (1988)	/	Ngl., NA	BG?			
Koverola (1989) [Suspect-SA]	CBCL-Sex	-	BG	50	-	Latency-aged
Mannarino, Cohen & Gregor (1989)	CBCL	/				
Goldston, Turnquist & Knutson (1989)	CR	NA (C)	G	70	43	2-11
Deblinger, McLeer et al.(1989)	MR	PhA, NA	BG	29		3-13 (8.8)
Einbender & Friedrich (1989)	CBCL-S	NA	G	46	46	6-14 (10.3)
Friedrich et al. (1989); Friedrich (1990)	CSBI	NSA	BG	260	880	2-12
Gomes-Schwartz et al. (1990)	LBCL (CBCL)	(SA)	BG	30;58	-	4-6; 7-13
Gordon, Schoeder & Abrams (1990)	PO, I	NA	BG	22(13G)	22	2-7
Lanktree & Briere (1990)	TSC-C	NA				8-15
Stovall & Craig (1990)	TAT	PhA, NA	BG	20	20+20	7-12

Original Publication (by PY) 2	Instrument 3	Controls 4	Girls/Boys	Sample Size		Age Range (Mean)
				Indic.	Controls	
Johansen (1990)	CSBI	NA (C)	BG	32	23	3-6
Wolfe et al. (1991)	CITES-R					
Harper (1991)	Play	PhA, NA S&PhA	BG	40	40+37+37	3;5-9;10
Singer (1991)	SSI/CO	NA	G	76	32	3-6
Smith (1991)	RATC	NA-C, NA	BG	?	?	?
Maing (1991)	CBCL, TRF	-	G	20	-	5-12
Hewitt & Friedrich (1991)	CSBI, PPVT-R	PNA	BG?	111	?	1-5
Levitt et al. (1991)		/				
Mannarino, Cohen et al. (1991)	CBCL	/				
Cosentino (1991); Cosentino, Heino et al. (1995)	CSBI, CBCL-S	Ped. (psychia/nonpsychia)	G	20	20	6-12
Katz-Plotkin (1991)	CSBI (CBCL)	NA	BG	60	60	3-11
Friedrich, Grambsch et al. (1992)	CBSI-2	“Norm”+C.	BG?	276	880	2-12 (7.1)
Rappaport (1992)	RATC	-(gender, age)	BG	20+55	-	6-13
Scarf (1993)	? (CBCL)	PhA, SphA, NA	BG	[74 total]		?
Chantler et al. (1993)	LBCL	NA (Clin.), NA	BG	26	37+39	6-12
Friedrich (1993)	CSBI-R	/				
Hall-Marley & Damon (1993)	CSBI	/				
Johnson & Aoki (1993) [acc.	?	S&PhA vs. PhA, NA	BG?	83	31+29	6-11

Original Publication (by PY) 2	Instrument 3	Controls 4	Girls/Boys	Sample Size		Age Range (Mean)
				Indic.	Controls	
Burton, Rasmussen et al., 1998]						
Monck, Bentovim et al. (1993)		/				
George (1993)	CBCL-Sex (CSBI)	-	BG	61	-	4-16
Fishman (1994)	CAT	PhA, Ngl, NA	BG	[113 total]		Preschool age
Glaser & Leonard (1994) [cited by Davies et al., 2000]		/				3-8
Hewitt, Friedrich & Allen (1994) [cited by Hewitt, 1999]	CSBI	PNA	BG?	21	?1	2
Pistole & Ornduff (1994)	TAT	NA	G	30	30	6-16
Young et al. (1994) [acc. Burton, Rasmussen et al., 1998]	?	-	B vs G	20+20	-	Latency
Thompson et al. (1994)	?	-	BG	300 (57%)	-	?
Wilshire (1995)	CSBI (CBCL)	-(B vs. G)	BG	32	-	4-12
Cortisio (1995)	CSBI (CBCL)	NA, uncertain	BG	39	18,26	3-12
Billinsley (1995)	Rorcshach, CBCL- Sex	NA-C	BG	20	18	6-11
Adams, McClellan et al. (1995); McCellan, McCurry et al. (1996); McCellan, McCurry et al. (1997); McCurry,	CR	[various; no external]	BG	499	(-)	5-18

Original Publication (by PY) 2	Instrument 3	Controls 4	Girls/Boys	Sample Size		Age Range (Mean)
				Indic.	Controls	
McCellan et al. (1998)						
Grayston and De Luca (1995)	CSBI	/				
Grocke, Smith & Graham (1995)		/				
Slusser (1995) [acc. Burton, Rasmussen et al., 1998]		/				
Wells, McCann et al. (1995)	SASA	ASA, NA	G	68+68 6	68	2-11;5 (7)
Wherry, Jolly et al. (1995)	CSBI-2; FSQ	PNA	B	16	8	6-12 (9.8)
Yee (1995)	PSCs	-[only NA]	G	20	-	6-12
Currier & Wurtele (1996)	CSBI	NSA	BG	13	13	3.2-7.1
Cohen & Mannarino (1996a; 1996b)	CSBI	SA	BG	67	-	2.11-7.1
Mannarino & Cohen (1996c)	CSBI	NA	G	77	88	7-12
Mannarino & Cohen (1996b)	CSBI	NA	G	60	85	7-13
Mian, Marton & LeBaron (1996)	CBCL-S (CSBI, I, CO)	NA (NC)	G	70		3-5
Mok (1996)	CSBI (CBCL, TSC-C)	- (gender)	BG	452	-	3-17
Estes (1997)	CSBI (CBCL)	(incest vs. nonincest)	BG	104	-	?
Briere & Elliott (1997)	CSBI	/				

[6](#) Sexually Abused (**SA**): Abuser Confessed; Allegedly Sexually Abused (**ASA**): No Confession

Original Publication (by PY) 2	Instrument 3	Controls 4	Girls/Boys	Sample Size		Age Range (Mean)
				Indic.	Controls	
Cohen & Mannarino (1997); Cohen (1998)	CSBI	SA	BG	43(56%G)	-	4; 2-7; 11
Friedrich, Jaworski et al. (1997)	CSBI, CBCL, TSC- C, Rorsch.	NP, PNA, PA, PsuA 7	BG	350	[75:165:72:38]	7-18
Spaccarelli & Fuchs (1997)	CBCL	/				
Reeker (1997)	CSBI (CBCL)	-	BG	19	-	5-8
Wright (1997)	CSBI (CBCL)	(asympt. vs. symptomatic)	BG?			
Hall, Mathews & Pearce (1998)	CR	Diverse (C)	BG	99(63B)		3-7
McLeer (1998)	CSBI	/				
Miller-Perrin (1998)	Interviews	-	BG	42	-	4-16
Schrivar (1998) [cited by Hewitt, 1999]	CSBI	?	BG?	31	?	2;0-3;0
Feiring et al. (1999)	CITES-R	-	BG	96	-	8-11 [,12-15]
Albrecht (1999)	CSBI (CBCL)	NA	BG	30	30	Latency-age
Morhaime (1999)	CSBI (CBCL)	-	BG	113	-	2?-12
Cohen & Mannarino (2000)	CSBI	/		49		7-14
Drach et al. (2001)	CSBI, [CBCL]	*	BG	247	*	5.9

[7](#) Non-Psychiatric, Psychiatric Non-Sexually-Abused, Psychiatric Sexually Abused, Psychiatric Suspected Sexually abused

2. Dolls

[by PY: 1985-1999]	Ni, Nc 8	Age Range 9	Boy/Girl	Type 10
1 Gabriel (1985)	16/19	2,5-5	BG	NR
2 August & Forman (1986, 1989)	16:16	5-8	G	SA versus NR
3 White et al. (1986)	25:25	2-5	BG	Suspected SA versus NR
4 Jensen, Realmuto & Wescoe (1986)	?	?	?	SA versus NSA and psychiatric controls
5 Aman & Goodman (1987); Goodman & Aman (1990)	30+30; 80	3 and 5	BG	1 week recall rates
6 DeVoss (1987)	11:11	2-6	BG	SA vs NSA
7 Herbert et al. (1987)	?	?	?	NSA
8 Jampole & Weber (1987)	10:10	3-8	BG	SA versus NSA
9 McIver & Wakefield [unpubl.] (1987)	10:50	3-8	BG	SA versus NR
10 Sivan, Schor et al. (1987, 1988); Scor & Sivan, 1989)	144	3-8	BG	NR
11 Cohn (1988, 1991)	35:35	2-6	BG	Suspected SA versus NR
12 Mackinnon Hirniak (1988)	26	3-6	BG	NA
13 Glaser and Collins (1989)	78	3-6	BG	NSA

[8](#) N (indicator), N (control)

[9](#) In years

¹⁰ NR=Nonreferred; DFM= Doll-Facilitated Memory of genital examination

14	McIver et al. (1989)	50:10	2;6-7	BG	NSA (50) versus SA
15	Boat et al. (1990)	30	3-5	BG	NSA: Maternal perceptions of behaviours after exposure
16	Everson and Boat (1990); Boat & Everson (1994)	223	2-5;11	BG	NR
17	Kenyon-Jump et al. (1990; 1991)	9:9	3-5	BG	SA versus NSA
18	Realmuto, Jensen & Wescoe (1990)	6:9	4-7 / 4-8	BG	Specificity and Sensitivity
19	Britton & O'Keefe (1991)	136	2-10	BG	Anatomical vs. nonanatomical dolls
20	Dawson & Geddie (1991)				
21	Saywitz, Goodman et al. (1991)	72	5 and 7	G	DFM
22	Dawson et al. (1992)	20	3.8-6.0	BG	NR
23	Kendall-Tackett (1992)				Professionals' standards of normal play for NSA
24	Geddie (1993)	68	Preschool	BG	NA
25	Sutherland (1993)	?	?	BG?	NA; ACDs vs. CSBI
26	Bruck, Ceci et al. (1995)	40+20	3	BG	DFM
27	Katz et al. (1995)	21	3-7	BG	
28	Boat et al. (1996)	40	M=6.2	BG	Follow-up; sexual knowledge
29	Dawson & Geddie (1996)	36	3;11-5;11	BG	NA
30	Weil, Dawson & Range (1999)	16:44	3-16	BG	NA; externalizing vs. nonexternalizing
31	Bruck, Ceci et al. (2000)	84	3-5	BG	DFM
32	Realmuto & Wescoe (19??)	13	5;3-6;8	G(B)	Professionals' agreement

3. Drawings

By PY (1949-2000)	Ni, Nc 11	Age Range 12	Boy/Girl	Type / Methodology 13
1 Machover (1949)	-	-		Genitals in projective HFDs adults/children
2 Koppitz (1968)	?	?	BG	Genitals in HFDs
3 Müller-Thalheim (1969)	4	2-5??	BG	Drawings of sexually disturbed children
4 Munari et al. (1976)	635	5-13	BG	/
5 Johnston (1979)	/			
6 Bartalow-Koch (1980)	16:22	7-8	BG	Sexual knowledge in drawings; cross-cultural
7 Stermer (1980)	/			
8 Burgess, McCausland & Wolbert (1981)	/			
9 Cohen & Phelps (1985)	89:77	4-18	BG	Features [incl. "psychosexual level of development"] in standard drawing assignments; incest versus nonincest clinical controls
10 Yates et al. (1985)	17:17	3,5-17	G	Sexually victimized versus disturbed children
11 Hibbard et al. (1987)	57	3-7	BG	SA vs. NR
12 Miller et al. (1987)	-	-	(BG)	[3 examples of drawing-facilitated disclosure]
13 Amann-Gainotti (1988) [cited by Amann-Gianotti et al., 1989]	?	6-11	BG	NR; IADs

[11](#) N (indicator), N (control)

[12](#) In years

[13](#) **HFD**=Human Figure Drawing; **HTP**=House Tree Person projective drawing; **IAD**= Inner Anatomy Drawing

14	Amann-Gainotti et al. (1989)	275	11-18	G	NR; IADs
15	Goodwin (1989, 2nd ed.)	19	-13	G	Suspected incest victims
16	Hardin (1989); Peterson & Hardin (1997)	842	6-10	BG	Genitals explicit, concealed, omitted, emphasized in HFDs: SA (341) versus clinical (252) and NR (249) controls
17	Amann-Gainotti & Antenore (1990)	573	5-14	BG	Genital parts in IADs
18	Hibbard & Hartman (1990a)	65:64	5-8	BG	Alleged SA versus NR
19	Hibbard & Hartman (1990b)	94:100	3-8	BG	Genitals in HFDs (free, completion); Alleged SA versus NA; PO
	La Roche (1994)	10	[14-21]	BG	SA (in childhood)
20	Peterson (1995)	842		BG	HFDs; SA vs. NSA vs. NR
21	Liebert (1998)	/			
22	Palmer, Farrar et al. (2000)	47:82	4;6-17;5 (M=9;7)	BG	HTP: SA (in childhood) vs. NSA

17

Selected Theoretical Proceedings

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17.0 Introduction

The following statements include a selection of general formulations resulting from the project “*Growing Up Sexually*”. In part, these are confirmations of explicit and implicit hypotheticals associated with the constructionist entry. Further remarks are made on the position of sexologists and sexology in the interpretations and claims reviewed.

17.1 Locating Processes via Cross-Cultural Data

As detailed in **chapter 16**, in Western discourse the process of eroticisation of personhood (and bodies) is an avoided issue. This was explained by addressing the fact that such categories are not positively defined within the socialisation process (but rather by a negative proxy processes) and therefore have no *performative* contextual or textual autonomy. This cultural perspective, however tentatively, can be challenged by cross-cultural data. In contemporary sexology, as a whole, the issue of the “manufactured” and “consumed” person/body is addressed without a due reference to “developmental” processes. Here too, cross-cultural perspectives are able to address, deconstruct and reformulate these tendencies. Developmental eroticism, clearly, contemporarily is of a cultural “substance” other than that of “gender” (“identity”, “orientation”) and bodiliness (“image”, “attitude”, etc.). The review offers, but does not address fully, the hypothesis that “eroticism” is a factor for which the cultural barriers to “operationalisation”, both within sexological praxis (*to define*) and pedagogical discourses (*to make practicable*), are variable, rendering its curricular performance less contextual, more optional, and more ambiguous in some societies as compared to others.

17.2 Locating Agents: The Instructor

Cultural and subcultural differences are noted in the specifics of developmental sexologies (§3.4). Specifically, the identification of promoting agents is a salient factor (**chapter 7**). Cross-culturally, this ranges from the employment of an exclusively appointed Instructor, providing a fully integrated, personal, pragmatic (or *practical*) sexological curriculum, to a situation where authorities leave (however critical) issues to more or less unchecked (optional) peer dynamics. In the last case, the extent and content of the curriculum may be variable, largely unmonitored, and more likely to evoke contextual ambiguity. Theoretically,

the persona of the Educator thus ranges from a single key informant to a mist of influences that renders any organised or purposeful localisation of (control of, participation in) eroticisation and gendering processes a complex and perhaps unfruitful quest. This relates to the antithesis between the use of ritual-derived discontinuity, and the highly indefinite (yet increasingly proscribed) chronology that characterises post-industrial growing up sexually. In technocratic societies, this has created a culturalist free run on the matter for academics as well as moral observers. As some may argue, a traditionalism-versus-modernism curriculum has been replaced by two other curricula: the perpetual redoing of modernism in Western societies (e.g., “post-modernism”), and the struggle between modernism, revival and reinvention in “developing” regions. Thus, any Educator’s role is likely to undergo continuous change, which has only recently been monitored by anthropologists and sociologists.

17.3 Locating Sexologies

The “Educator problem” identified above can be traced along the lines of development characterising European scientific discourses, which, very globally speaking, appear to be synchronised with lay developmental sexologies. Genetic agents have successively been located within the biological realm, within the pedagogical and sexagogical situation (pedagogues, parents, extraordinary agogues), and lastly within what would be a dense cultural soup of sexologies that vicariously, and *agentlessly*, determines power configurations. The presence of these sexological principles in non-European settings (§3.3) is hard to interpret historically given the paucity of information provided by older sources. The preliminary conclusion reads that for most cases, traditional developmental (ontogenetic) sexologies are not available. Future research has to address what appears to be socially and sociologically parallel evolutions, specifically by disentangling pre-contact and post-contact sexology, and by separating native from (implicit) interpretative and comparative sexology. Research is further to address curricular (age graded) sub- and countercultural sexologies and their vicissitudes and interactions over time.

17.4 Locating Objects: The Salient and Significant Body

Convincingly suggested by data collected in **chapters 5, 12 and 13**, the body is socialised and culturalised (a) along a spectrum of meanings, ranging from patriarchal-complementarist interpretations (reproduction), to the individualist-essentialist commercial interpretations of industrial society; and (b) along a gradient of definition and insistence with which meanings are made available, particularly intergenerationally. Cross-culturally, this produces chronological and operational differences within gender (at least hypothetically dyadic), reproductive (economic/medical/social), and erotic (individualist, private) spheres. Specifically, it produces ‘sexologically’ monovalent, oligovalent or polyvalent cultures, and inherently, curricular subculturing. As feminist perspectives have argued, the body is invaded with meanings within a complex, culturally specific complementation-identification schema based on and inspired by larger socioeconomically informed political agendas.

Within a constructionist perspective it was argued that bodies have no meaning until they are given meaning, a perspective not compromised by currently available data. Descending to the level of organs and organ functions, the theory applies as well, or even better. Organs and bodies are instrumentalised (*operationalised*) to secure and consolidate familial, dyadic and/or individualist agendas, however poorly defined, curricularly consistent or mutually conflicting. This occurs at a gradient of centralising – decentralising factual bodies as the sites of social significance (**chapter 13**). Expanding on the classical constructionist perspective, the body represents a medium through which the active doing and the active not-doing (**IV.4**) of sex shape the identities that are ascribed to these performances. “Cultures”, thus, determine how bodies contribute to sexuality-as-praxis, and *as such* inform sexuality-as-identity or sexuality-as-orientation discourses.

17.5 Locating Significant Sex

Following from the previous observations on operationalisation, the activities that be scheduled and pursued *toward* as well as *with the help of* bodies acquire a definition within collateral interest agendas and schedules. Within the so created *curriculum* of possibilities and probabilities, guiding principles are to direct the child toward gender stereotypes, allosexual orientation, heterosexual orientation, and to coital orientation (**chapters 9, 8, 6**). Cultures differ in their tenacity to effect this end, but it is hypothesised that these four positively formulated principles are either dealt with within the same compelling efficacy (Puerto Rico for a convincing ideal type), or are collectively underrepresented in factual pedagogical curricula (consider 20th century U.S. white middle class), regardless of an obvious appeal to academic productivism. **Chapter 6** on coitocentrism and coitality offers the perspective that a variety of factors (e.g., age) renders it salient only in a carefully organised (age-graded) interactive dimension or discursive curriculum. The child does not grow up to meet one specific discursive truth about sexuality owing to some specific educational effort; rather, (s)he grows up while manufacturing his / her own, perhaps *in spite* of such efforts (cf. §4.5.3), perhaps not. The gender dimension, for instance, is actively engineered and instrumentalised, curricularly (gradually) and continuously so, and in variable degrees of opposition to established dominant (“adult”) discourses.

17.6 Locating “Sexual Behavior Identity”: Cultural Self and Spaces between Construct and Performance

Concluding from §7.2.11, pedagogical practices are capable of defining “sexual identities” on the basis of specific behaviours rather than hypothetical scenarios. This relocates western discourses around such “identities” as absolute (universal) entities. Throughout the project, there have been arguments in classifying self-concepts as operational (practice-based, pragmatic), or as characterised by a compromised “operationalisation” potential. By this is understood the manner in which images of the self are informed by images of the performing self. In other words, cultures differ in the degree of dissociation or approximation of imagined (construed) and actualisable (performed)

sexuality/intimacy/erotics. In most cultures for which data were collected, it is reasonable to assume that “developmental sexuality” is less physically performative than it is verbally performative, and less verbally performative than it is “cognitively performative”. The “sexual self” as performing self, thus, varies in the ways by which it acquires existence, as well as its “developmental” relocalisation.

17.7 Construct and “Control”: An Interpretation

As a result of the methodological choices made (see also §1.7 further on), the inevitable conclusion reads that control of sexual behaviour is generated through the execution of communications that narrow possibilities, or rather, direct probabilities. The child is manoeuvred into a position that makes certain sexual agenda plausible, yet, depending on formal or informal communications, optional and variably feasible. This view reserves a high salience for the “operational” element in sexual communications: *how* is and should the thing be done?

As detailed in **chapter 8.1**, parents utilise various discursive pedagogisms to operationalise preadult sexual behaviour along a gradient from promotion to antagonism. Thus, it was concluded that discourses, rooted in larger, structuring complexities, add up to developmental sexologies producing the various pedagogical spaces that locate and legitimise curricularising interventions. Moving into and out of these sexological spaces, children themselves rework and recombine (fragmentary) discursive material to curricular identities/roles that govern complementation, identification, discomplementation and disidentification *activities* as such. The localisation of control, authority, agency and power in this interactive system depends on the continuous, subjective, situated repositioning of the localiser.

17.8 The Segmental Hierarchy of Sex: Suggestions for Further Exploration

A cross-cultural perspective on the formation of age based sexual and sexological subcultures has not been offered previously. Various sections of the current project offer the perspective that erotic societies are actively being segmentalised ([vide chapters on *coital development*, *sexologies*, *verbal subculturing*; also *genital preparations*, and *primal scene*, i.e. chs. 3, 6, 10, 13), age based segments being governed by their own social principles and discourses, and deserving their own sociology. A hypothetical schema to explain the sexological orientation and agenda of peer subcultures on the basis of the agenda of authority subcultures should receive further attention. These contra-agendas would counteract authorial tendencies to limit the freedom of social choice and social intercourse. Contemporary sociologists, having begun to explore the heterosexual and gendered geography of school environments via ethnographic accounts, might attempt a bicultural or non-Western approach. These matters are important guidelines for school policies on education, awareness and rapport; cross-cultural efforts, furthermore, provide an entry to understanding these subcultures at a more fundamental level. Of course, a “grass-roots”

concepts of curricular segmentalism should be a priority issue. The question is: how do children produce, lament or appreciate their segmental world?

17.9 *Sexuality and Sexologist*

During the data collecting, it was tacitly assumed that sexology creates sexuality which then re-creates sexologies. A reformulation of this (sexuality creates sexology re-creating sexualities) was to some extent test-cased in the Mead/Freedman controversy, Freedman suggesting that Mead in part operated from personal agenda to incorrectly interpret Samoa adolescent sexuality, and was “hoaxed” by informants (see *Atlas* Volume under *Samoa*). A comparatively similar example is the Money / Colapinto case (see *Atlas* Volume under *Australia / Yolngu*), which, I believe is entirely negotiable on this point (*ibid.*). Another case in which personal interest may have biased ethnographic output is that of Lizot’s alleged sexual excursions with young Yanomamö. Outside the ethnological setting, developmental sexologists appear to be likely objects for morality quests in general (Kinsey, Bullough et al. / Reisman, Sandfort / Penthouse, Rind et al. / U.S. Congress), providing an entry for a view on sexological cultures and academic identity.

Please note that the argument here is not in defence of any party. The case is that most of these debates extend to the persona behind the thesis, which of course is beside the current point. Still, how have, in these or other cases, counterhegemonic (?) agenda contributed to coverage of preadult sexualities? In general, how have arbitrary entries (consider §2.7) shaped academic performance on the matter?

17.10 *Sexology and Culture*

The collective of “cultural” paradigms defining “the sexual” has a decisive impact on “developmental sexology”. So much so, the construct and the process of “doing developmental sexology” forms an object of study and deconstruction in itself. The current project only fragmentarily addresses this issue within historical and ethnographic academic writing (e.g., **chapters 1, 2 and 16; §14.4; appendices 1 and 2**).

17.11 *Constructionism and Activism*

Contemporary American constructionist-interactionist-performative ideologies of sexuality are definitely inspired by, directed to, and legitimised by certain activist agendas, all closely related to the concept of abuse of (legitimate or fraudulent) hierarchies; these authors typically address “sexist” / gynecomysic, “homophobic”, and otherwise victimising, abusive performances. Apparently normalising less “hegemonic”, more “adult” sexual discourse, the male adolescent (and increasingly “pre-adolescent”) trajectory is characterised by a culpable, unjust, abject and erroneous sexualism, to be corrected by the pedagogical context in which

they arise. While one may or may not identify with these of other reformatory, protectionist and accusatory agendas, the unilateralism implied tends to compromise an open understanding of processes, as well as non-political hypothesis testing.

17.12 Cultures and Developments: Perspectives for Theoretical Elaboration

The currently available literature sensitises any discussion of sexual behaviour development. Importantly, the application of developmental narratives warrants further study, or perhaps a specific methodological attitude (**appendix IV**).

Note on Further Study

Research Format

In my opinion, further study primarily needs to reflect on the question on methodology. Most of the entries opened up in the present literature study need to be confirmed and expanded by future researchers' "descendence" to the discursive level of parent-child, and peer-peer interactions, either by means of in-dept autobiographical or semi-participant methods. In consistency of the currently chosen theoretical motives, a preference is reserved for detailed semi-structured interviews, which need to be examined on rhetoric and narrative in relation to content. The need for children (opposing adolescents) as research objects is debatable, not because of ethical concerns, but given the infrastructure of sexological cultures which is governed by age stratification. On the other hand, this is the only source that might clarify the reconstructive processes inherent in autobiographical data (cf. Ernest Borneman).

Numeric Approach

Hypothesis generating correlations may be further elaborated upon using the "cross-cultural" approach (as pioneered by Textor). Data and processing tools can be derived from the SCCS Codebook, available on CD-ROM. In selected cases additional data can be drawn from the *Atlas* Volume using phrase search via PDF format. The *Atlas* does not embody a "pinpointed" standard sample, and does not allow easy processing. Only a portion of the SCCS sources could be reviewed for the *Atlas*; this awaits expansion using the entire collection. On the other hand, many *Atlas* sources provide relevant data for SCCS societies but were probably or definitely not examined for the original ratings (as judged from the *Focussed Bibliography*).

Nonnumeric Approach

There appears to be a paucity of in-dept descriptive accounts of the erotic experience of growing up. These accounts are an absolute necessity for (a) a delineation of what is to be understood as eroticism arguing from a developmental point of view; (b) an exploration of entries to the study of erotogenesis and its environmental determination; (c) an exploration of the possible range of trajectories that are to form the basis of a conceptual appreciation of normality within "cultural" settings; and (d) an exploration of the possible preconditions of adverse reactions to experiences that can not be appreciated as normative within these settings. "Curricular salience" can be studied at the level of inter-cultural analysis, and focussing on intracultural variability and subcultural patterns.

Developmental Sexualities: Culture to Community to Individual

A rather well explored theme is that of the development / construction of “variant” orientation within alleged “variant-phobic” or “normalist” environments (“homosexuality” within U.S. “homophobic”¹ and “heterosexist”² society). A rather unexplored theme is that of “deviate” orientation within “deviance-hostile” environments (“paedophilia” within U.S. “abuse culture” [Kincaid]). Both the fact that such studies are apparently not appreciated or funded³, and the data they might generate are dramatically and immediately “culture”-identifying, and of obvious interest to constructionists. In identifying and mapping cultures as construing agents from the individual’s experience, study needs to be directed to these nonnormative or nontypical experiences.

¹ This concept was explored in at least 47 dissertations (DAI) featuring the term (or derivatives) *in the title* since 1994.

² This concept was explored in at least 12 dissertations (DAI) featuring the term (or derivatives) *in the title* since 1996. See for instance Flowers, P. & Buston, K. (2001) “I was terrified of being different”: Exploring gay men’s accounts of growing-up in a heterosexist society, *J Adolesc* 24,1:51-65

³ However, see Ivey, G. & Simpson, P. (1998) The psychological lives of paedophiles: a phenomenological study, *South Afr J Psychol* 28,1

I

Structural Determinants of Sexual Curricula. **A Review and Critique of the “Cross-Cultural Method”**

Abstract: The following appendix presents an overview of systematic cross-cultural studies investigating the structural determination of the human sexual behaviour curriculum, together with rough description of their conclusions as organised by a selected number of entries to the problem. [For a more detailed and complete analysis, the reader is referred to a preliminary overview¹ and a separate bibliography not included in GUS]. The reason for this section being “appendicised” reads that it covers “cultural” rather than individual experience, which falls outside the project’s scope. The first three entries explore the control of sexual behaviour from within the macrocultural, sexological and pedagogical frameworks. The last entry more descriptively covers the cross-cultural patterns of (gender-specific) curriculum. A short summary and focal critique of the cross-cultural method is followed by a challenging of its fundamental operationalisation (“permissiveness” / “restraint”).

¹ *Focal Review of Previous Literature: Cross-Cultural Material.*

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Structural Determinants of Sexual Curricula.

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I.0.a Preliminary Outline of Previous Systematisation Efforts

Before the current inventarisation, six major efforts (arranged chronologically) have provided more or less systematic insights in the cross-cultural patterning of sexual behaviour socialisation and development. Efforts 1-5 have provided original (semi-)numeric measures, and all offered a localisation of “sexuality” regulation practices within the larger culturalist scope. Beside these efforts, minor, incidental descriptive contributions and small collections of data have been offered. To anticipate on the review offered infra, a number of interesting studies can now, but have not been, reissued. A further discussion of the contribution of these resources is provided in the **next Appendix**.

Table 1 Focussed Appraisal of Cross-Cultural Efforts in Developmental Sexology. Includes abbreviations used in the present article.

- (1) *World Ethnographic Sample* and *Ethnographic Atlas* measures of Premarital Sexual Freedom (Murdock)². Used by a number of authors³ to test anthropological hypotheses.
- (2) **(e)HRAF** OCM coding 864 (1937-...). HRAF provided a selected anthropological bibliography with page-specific references to selected number of topics including “sex training” for a selected number of societies. The HRAF selection of cultures was used by studies to gather specific data⁴. eHRAF allows [online](#), including thematically (code) specific and fulltext, searches.
- (3) Ford and Beach (**F&B**)⁵. Suggested a trichotomisation according to permissiveness illustrated by a selection of descriptive material. The Ford and Beach categorisation was used by Textor, Heise and DeLeeuwe to test anthropological hypotheses.
- (4) Whiting and Child (**W&Ch.**)⁶. Provided diverse ratings and cross-correlations for a selected number of societies. The Whiting and Child ratings were used in a number of studies⁷ examining mainly psychodynamic and anthropological hypotheses.

² Westbrook, J. T. (1963) Norms of premarital sex behavior, *Ethnology* 2:109-33. The measure was later incorporated in Murdock, G. P. (1967) *Ethnographic Atlas*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press; Murdock, G. P. (1964) Cultural correlates of the regulation of premarital sexual behavior, in Manners, R. A. (Ed.) *Process and Pattern in Culture: Essays in Honor of Julian Steward*. Chicago: Aldine, p399-410; Eckhardt, K. W. (1971) Echange theory and sexual permissiveness, *Behav Sci Notes* 6:1-18

³ Broude, G. J. & Greene, S. J. (1976) Cross-cultural codes on twenty sexual attitudes and practices, *Ethnology* 5,4:409-29; De Leeuwe, J. (1970) Society system and sexual life, *Bijdr Taal- Land- & Volkenk* 126:1-36. Said to be based on an unpublished manuscript *Maatschappijvorm en Seksualiteit*.

⁴ Rogoff, B. et al. (1975) Age of assignment of roles and responsibilities to children: A cross-cultural survey, *Hum Developm* 18,5:353-69; Minturn, L., Grosse, M. & Haider, S. (1969) Cultural patterning of sexual beliefs and behavior, *Ethnology* 8,3:301-18

⁵ Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Paul J. Hoeber, Inc., p167-98

⁶ Whiting, J. & Child, I. (1953) *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

⁷ Whiting, J. W. M. (1967) Sorcery, sin, and the superego: cross-cultural study of some mechanisms, in Ford, C. S. (Ed.) *Cross-Cultural Approaches*. New Haven: HRAF Press, p147-68. Orig. in Jones, M. R. (Ed.) *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (1959). Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, p174-95; Prothro, E. T. (1960) Patterns of permissiveness among preliterate peoples, *J Abnorm & Soc Psychol* 61,1:151-4; Roberts, J. M. (1962) Child training and game involvement, *Ethnology* 1:166-85; Stephens, W. N. (1962) *The Oedipus Complex: Cross-Cultural Evidence*. Free Press of Glencoe; Stephens, W. N. (1967) A cross-cultural study of menstrual taboos, in Ford, C. S. (Ed.) *Cross-Cultural Approaches*. New Haven: HRAF Press, p67-94. Critical conclusions excepted in Price-Williams, D. R. (Ed., 1969) *Cross-Cultural Studies*. Middlesex: Penguin, p338-42; Shirley, R. W. & Romney, A. K. (1962) Love magic and socialization anxiety, *Am Anthropol* 64:1028-31; Ayres, B. (1967) Pregnancy magic: a study of food taboos and

- (5) SCCS rating studies (SCCS). Providing ratings (see **Volume I**) and selected cross-correlations for a standardised selection of 186 societies as published in diverse studies⁸. Unpublished re-examinations have been performed by Frayser, who earlier (1985)⁹ provided a major work on cross-culturalist sexology. SCCS ratings allow computerised statistical processing, facilitated by CD-ROM availability.
- (6) Sections in Francoeur's *International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*¹⁰. Provided native sexologists' contemporary reviews and insights on childhood/adolescent auto-, homo-, and heterosexuality in a selected number of countries. [Online available](#).
- (7) Janssen¹¹. Provided an extensive literature review using previous material (1-6) organised in (a) an **ethno-/geographic atlas**, and (b) a **thematic volume**. Also provided multi-entry bibliographic volume, and limited numeric interpretations on the basis of SCCS material. Online available.

I.0.b Introduction: Structural Dimensions of the Early Sexual Experience

Scott et al. (1998:p692)¹² suggested that

“[t]he construction of childhood needs to be understood at a number of different levels: the structural, the discursive and the situated. Childhood is institutionalised through family, education and the state, resulting in dependence on adults and exclusion from full participation in adult society. Indeed, it can be argued that many aspects of childhood today have been shaped through the structural and institutional changes of the last two hundred years [...]”.

Mostly explored in the 1960s through 1980s, the contribution of what is referred to as the “cross-cultural method” to the influx of hypothetical starting points for descriptive elaboration today is considerable, as is concerned the sexological study of the life span. The studies here identified embody what can be called a “cross-culturalist” tradition, which supports the process of generating explanatory curricula that identify the (macro-)structural

sex avoidances, in Ford, C. S. (Ed.) *Cross-Cultural Approaches*. New Haven: HRAF Press, p111-25; Heise, D. R. (1962) *Socio-cultural Correlates of Sex Behavior: A Cross-Cultural Study*. Unpublished Master's paper, Dept. of Sociology, University of Chicago; Heise, D. R. (1967) Cultural Patterning of Sexual Socialization, *Am Sociol Rev* 32,5:726-39; Spiro, M. E. & D'Andrade, R. G. (1967) A cross-cultural study of some supernatural beliefs, *Am Anthropol* 60:456-66. Reprinted in Ford, C. S. (Ed.) *Cross-Cultural Approaches*. New Haven: HRAF Press, p196-206; Textor, R. B. (1967) *A Cross-Cultural Summary*. New Haven: HRAF Press; Allen, M. G. (1967) Childhood experience and adult personality: a cross-cultural study using the concept of ego strength, *J Soc Psychol* 71,1:53-68; Minturn, L., Grosse, M. & Haider, S. (1969) Cultural patterning of sexual beliefs and behavior, *Ethnology* 8,3:301-18; Barry, H. III, Josephson, L., Lauer, E. & Marshall, C. (1977) Agents and Techniques for Child Training: Cross-Cultural Codes 6, *Ethnology* 16:191-230

⁸ Barry, H. III & Paxson, L.M. (1971) Infancy and early childhood: cross-cultural codes 2, *Ethnology* 10:466-508; Broude, G. J. & Greene, S. J. (1976) Cross-cultural codes on twenty sexual attitudes and practices, *Ethnology* 5,4:409-29; Barry, H. III, Josephson, E. et al. (1976) Traits inculcated in childhood: cross-cultural codes 5, *Ethnology* 15:83-114. Codes are reprinted in Barry III, H. & Schlegel, A. (Eds., 1980) *Cross-Cultural Codes and Samples*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press; Schlegel, A. & Barry III, H. (1979) Adolescent initiation ceremonies: a cross-cultural code, *Ethnology* 18,2:199-210. Reprinted in Barry, H. III & Schlegel, A. (Eds.) *Cross-Cultural Samples and Codes*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, p277-88; Barry, H. III & Schlegel, A. (1984) Measurements of adolescent sexual behavior in the standard sample of societies, *Ethnology* 23,4:315-29; Barry, H. III & Schlegel, A. (1986) Cultural Customs That Influence Sexual Freedom in Adolescence, *Ethnology* 25,2:151-62. See also Schlegel, A. & Barry III, H. (1991) *Adolescence*. New York, N.Y.: The Free Press, p167-9

⁹ Frayser, S. G. (1985) *Varieties of Sexual Experience: An Anthropological Perspective on Human Sexuality*. New Haven: HRAF Press

¹⁰ Francoeur, R. T. (1997, 2001) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. 3 vols. published in 1997, 4th vol. in 2001. Three volumes available online, 4th to be available online in 2002.

¹¹ Current project, covering Atlas and Subject Volumes.

¹² Scott, S., Jackson, S. & Backett-Milburn, K. (1998) Swings and Roundabouts: Risk Anxiety and the Everyday Worlds of Children, *Sociology* 32,4:689-705

“non-sexual” as conditional, and conceptualise “sexuality” as a set of potentially dependent variables or “functions”. A subdivision of this tradition has operated from a cross-culturalist position that accommodates psychodynamic interpretation, which broadly allows predictions that tend to relateralise early “psychosexual” variables as conditional, and the adult-generated “cultural” as resultant. From a conservative point of view, the legitimisation for this historical hybridisation remains arguable.

For historical reasons, the data are organised according to three approved lines of approach (culturalist, pedagogist, sexologist), and two approved lines of interest (life phase and gender). This choice, of course, is arbitrary, and several conclusions from one approach apply to others as well. Graphically, these approaches locate “sexual developments” within what are appreciated as “larger frameworks” of its effectuation or expression: the “cultural”, the “pedagogical” and the “sexual”. The *-ism* qualifications here used refer to the (variably obvious) tendency of essentialising these three peripheries or backgrounds within which the sexual is to be centralised.

Obviously, the issue of culturalisation, pedagogisation and sexualisation of “sexual development” processes, is as much an academic as a family-level pursuit. In contemporary U.S. discourse, the sexual factor is heavily negotiated, the pedagogical view is largely uncontested, and the cultural entry is progressively politicised within a global spectre. This last development facilitates nationalist, regionalist and continentalist articulation of sexual politics, but it has not been obvious how this would address early erotics, beside female education, mobility, family planning, career building, AIDS prevention, abuse prevention, and the distribution of associated prestige factors.

The “cross-culturalist” approaches do not resist constructionist/performance based ones, but are nonetheless less practical given the eventual choice of entry in this volume, and were therefore relocated in this Appendix.

I.1 Culturalist Framework

These studies investigate sexual standards as the result of some cultural meta-organisation. It is probable that findings tested for monocultural validity explain a considerable proportion of the variance encountered cross-culturally, but generally these two fields have somewhat restricted themselves to their own set of variables, excepting bi- or oligocultural comparisons. There does not seem to be a general significant correlation between regionality and any of the “sexual restraint” measures, except a marginal one for late girlhood (SCCS 200x333, Pearson 2-tailed, 0.05 level).

Theoretically, cultural positions toward sexuality are controlled by their ways of organising the curricular interplay of three concepts: (a) virginity, (b) pregnancy and (c) institutional pairbonding. This places high levels of salience on both the position and contribution of females in reproductive matters as well as the wider social context. Also, it suggests an important role for religious “doctrines”, though not immediately apparent for all matters premarital. Still:

"[...] whatever is said about childhood sexuality in religious doctrines is, invariably, subordinate to and derived from the broader context of adult beliefs and values which focus on the pivotal adult sexual relationship, marriage" (Francoeur)¹³.

Marriage type indeed seems to be correlated with global cultural traits, but only indirectly to normative traits including sex taboos (premarital, post-partum)¹⁴. A backdraw of the cross-cultural codes, however, may be that they do not examine the diverse aspects of what is globally indicated by the phrase "premarital liberty"¹⁵. An overview of cross-cultural studies was provided by Broude (1981)¹⁶.

I.1.1 Society: "Complexity" and Substructures

One might hypothesize that when the cultural structure of "fertility" (the level reproduction) roughly coincides with the cultural structure of sexual trajectory legitimisation (as far as postmarital fertility is concerned), such legitimacy will relate to what is known as the *demographic transition* model. This would predict a surplus of legitimacy (freedom of expression) in societies experiencing the first two demographic phases (characterised by high birth rate and high or dropping death rate) as compared with societies experiencing subsequent (fourth, fifth) stages being characterised by low birth rate (and low death rate). This obviously problematic entry is corrupted by a range of factors including triumphing reproduction technology, factually emancipating postpubertal sexual trajectories from reproductive trajectories, and the wider bureaucratic and discursive dissociation of these two human agendas, particularly governed by the institutionalisation of the "sexual" within the economic and reproductive unit of the household. More significantly, the age-old "freedom" and legitimacy question of human sexuality traditionally has addressed the pre-institutional more centrally than the extra-institutional experience; and also the fertile experience more centrally than the prefertile.

Among the first to speculate on interrelations between economic status and premarital freedom, or *promiscuity*, were Westermarck, Wikman and Malinowski¹⁷. Using premarital standards as a starting point, Murdock (1964)¹⁸ published "suggestive" but not statistically verified associations with subsistence economy, technology, demography, and political organisation. Data "suggested" that "[...] norms of premarital sex behavior tend to become progressively more restrictive with an increase in cultural complexity, however the latter may be measured" (p409)¹⁹. An alike finding was arrived at by Levinson and Malone (as cited by Hotvedt)²⁰, Stephens (as cited by Naroll)²¹, and by Broude (1975)²² using a previously

¹³ Francoeur, R. T. (1990) Current religious doctrines of sexual and erotic development in childhood, in Money, J. & Musaph, H. (Eds.) *Handbook of Sexology*, Vol VII. Amsterdam [etc.]: Elsevier, p81-112. Cf. Francoeur, R. T. (1994) Religion and sexuality, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc.

¹⁴ Osmond, M. W. (1965) Toward Monogamy: A Cross-Cultural Study of Correlates of Type of Marriage, *Social Forces* 44,1:8-16, see p14

¹⁵ Christensen, H. T. & Carpenter, G. R. (1962a) Timing Patterns in the Development of Sexual Intimacy: An Attitudinal Report on Three Modern Western Societies, *Marr Fam Living* 24,1:30-5; Christensen, H. T. & Carpenter, G. R. (1962b) Value-Behavior Discrepancies Regarding Premarital Coitus in Three Western Cultures, *Am Sociol Rev* 27,1:66-74; Christensen, H. T. (1960) Cultural Relativism and Premarital Sex Norms, *Am Sociol Rev* 25,1:31-9

¹⁶ Broude, G. (1981) The cultural management of sexuality, in Munroe, R. L., Munroe, R. & Whiting, B. (Eds.) *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Human Development*. New York: Garland STPM, p633-73

¹⁷ Cf. Günther, H. F. K. (1943) *De Geschiedenis van het Huwelijk*. Amsterdam: Roskam, p82-93

¹⁸ Murdock, G. P. (1964) Cultural correlates of the regulation of premarital sexual behavior, in Manners, R. A. (Ed.) *Process and Pattern in Culture: Essays in Honor of Julian Steward*. Chicago: Aldine, p399-410

¹⁹ Cf. Caputo, G. C. (1974) A cross-cultural analysis of sexual restrictions and cultural complexity, *DAI* 34(11-B): 5647-8

²⁰ Levinson, D. & Malone, M. J. (1980) *Toward Explaining Human Culture*. New Haven, CT: HRAF Press; Hotvedt, M. E. (1990) Emerging and submerging adolescent sexuality: culture and sexual orientation, in Bancroft, J. & Reinisch, J. M. (Eds.) *Adolescence and Puberty*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, p154-72, at p 163

unpublished measure of premarital freedom. Regression analysis by Broude showed that high (or low) *accessibility of caretakers for children* is strongly associated with permissiveness toward premarital sex (or restrictiveness), as is SSA (W&Ch.). Broude finds that *class stratification* and *cultural complexity*²³ are also significant predictors, indicating that restrictiveness has different origins in different social contexts²⁴. This is not surprising since the diversity of native explanations for restrictiveness would lead to the expectation that no one social structural or psychological factor will explain norms of premarital sexual behaviour in all societies. These three predictors account for only 33% of the total variance, showing that studies of restrictiveness have not isolated all the reasons for premarital sexual behaviour.

Somewhat contrary to these findings, De Leeuwe found that both factors (male) "internal oppression" (composed of class/caste distinction, and presence of slavery) and development of production forces (subsistence) predicted a higher (moral, not factual) tolerance for selected categories of sexual activity lumped together (which may not appear to be interrelated; p11), including pre-adult sexuality (F&B).

Testing subcultural structures, Goethals²⁵ had pointed out a significant relationship with residence and descent rules, which was tentatively explained by the degree with which premarital pregnancy disrupts personal, familial and social cohesion. Unpublished material by the author established the influence of status (ascribed vs. achieved), and explored the issue of bride price (which proved nonsignificant) (as cited by Broude). Eckhardt²⁶ further used earlier measures of premarital sex to test some basic hypotheses concerning the association of sexual permissiveness and the distribution of power and other social resources. Factors tested included rule of descent, rule of residence, female subsistence contribution, and level of courting autonomy. Data modestly suggested the following idea:

"[...] sex is an exchange good offered by females and controlled by males for advancing self-interest. The nature of the controls exercised by males as prospective spouses or as women's kin, in conjunction with sex drives, determines the level of sexual permissiveness in society" (p11-2).

Confirming previous findings, SCCS data (Barry III et al., 1976:p105) suggested that late childhood sexual restraint for both sexes progressively increased with the level of political integration²⁷, a correlation greater for girls [SCCS v330-3, 329-30x149-158]. Correlation analysis (Barry III and Schlegel, 1986) shows that adolescent sexual freedom was low in societies with the highest level of social stratification and intensive agriculture. High degrees of sexual freedom were associated with several customs within specific categories of societies: with initiation ceremony for adolescents of either sex in highly socially stratified, mostly intensive agricultural, societies (positive, $p<.05$), female initiation in nonagricultural societies (negative,

²¹ Stephens, W. N. (1972) A cross-cultural study of modesty, *Behav Sci Notes* 7,1:1-28, at p11f, Table 3, Columns 8 and 10. Cited by Naroll, R. (1983) *The Moral Order*. Beverly Hills [etc.]: SAGE, p345, 347.

²² Broude, G. J. (1975) Norms of premarital sexual behavior, *Ethos* 3:381-402

²³ Composite score by Murdock.

²⁴ It was hypothesized that if inaccessibility of the mother or caretaker is an important antecedent of anxiety about attachment, then a high association would be found between accessibility and norms of premarital sexual behaviour across cultures. Only SSA and accessibility of caretakers predict premarital sex norms at an acceptable level of significance, as the relation with five other measures of sex anxiety proved nonsignificant (display of affection, age and style of independence training, age of weaning, and diffusion of nurturance). Regression analysis determined that accessibility of caretakers accounts for .23 of the variance, class stratification accounts for .046 of the variance, and cultural complexity accounts for .027 of the variance.

²⁵ Goethals, G. W. ([1971]) Factors affecting rules regarding premarital sex, in Henslin, J. M. & Sagarin, E. (Eds.) *Studies in the Sociology of Sex*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1978 rev. ed., p41-58

²⁶ *Op.cit.*

²⁷ Murdock, G. P. & Provost, C. (1973) Measurement of cultural complexity, *Ethnology* 12:379-92

$p < .05$), exogamy in less socially stratified intensive agricultural societies (positive, $p < .01$), matrilineal descent in horticultural societies (positive, $p < .01$), and monogamy in nonagricultural (simplex) societies (negative, $p < .05$). For the total of societies (but for none of the specific subcategories), community size was negatively associated with sexual freedom ($p < .01$). In a 1969 study by Zern²⁸, a cross-cultural sample of linguistically independent and geographically separate societies was rated on degree of group cohesiveness (with items such as presence or absence of localised clans, lineage systems, and extended family residence patterns), and values and norms describing premarital sexual behaviour. The more cohesive family units placed more restrictions on premarital sexual behaviour; there was no relationship between family structure and norms.

I.1.2 Female Status and Role

Using 1982 SCCS ratings, it was found that where girls are being trained for high future contribution, they are significantly less likely to be sexually restrained ($p = .034$, later childhood) (Schlegel and Barry III, 1986:p146)²⁹ [SCCS v733-8/821-6x v330-3]. Also, premarital permissiveness characterised societies with high female contribution to subsistence (*ibid.*, p147).

I.2 Sexological Framework

I.2.1 Confronting Essentialist Concepts of “Permissiveness”

The sexological approach aims to analyse patterns of attitudes toward distinct categories of sexual behaviour. Cross-culturally speaking, the operationalisation of sexuality according to the reproductive principle is potentially the most informative. Frayser³⁰ suggests that the degree to which *reproductive* and *sexual* [nonreproductive] relationships are allowed to coexist varies according to cultural definition and social arrangement. Both male and female options for reproductive success must be examined. Frayser (1989) did not rule out that it may be possible to reduce all of the attributes of sexual relationships to reproductive ends. The “cultural fit” of the sexual within the reproductive can be studied at various levels, most notably the intrafamilial (intergenerational), dyadic, and, more problematic, “individual”.

²⁸ Zern, D. (1969) The relevance of family cohesiveness as a determinant of premarital sexual behavior in a cross-cultural sample, *J Soc Psychol* 78,1:3-9

²⁹ Schlegel, A. & Barry III, H. (1986) The cultural consequences of female contribution to subsistence, *Am Anthropol* 88:142-50

³⁰ Frayser, S. G. (1989) Sexual and reproductive relationships: Cross-cultural evidence and biosocial implications, *Med Anthropol* 11,4:385-407

Challenging the simplex notion that a permissive-nonpermissive dichotomy, or any “permissiveness” scale, is sufficient to describe variations across countries, Widmer et al. (1998)³¹ examined the hypothesis that there are distinctive sexual regimes with different moral standards depending on the type of sexual behaviour. Attitudes toward premarital sex, teenage sex, extramarital sex, and homosexual sex were examined in a selection of 24 countries. Cluster analysis reveals that there are six groupings of nations which have alike “moral standards”. However, a variance decomposition analysis also shows that all countries included in the sample share relatively similar attitudes toward nonmarital sex.

I.2.2 Construing Sexual Systems

A specifically interesting question is whether there is a relation between attitudes toward phase-specified activities (or all activities of phase-specified participants of the sexual system). Stephens’ work on modesty/obscenity produced the tentative division of two “sex-restriction” factors, with some degree of mutual exclusion cross-culturally: (1) “taboo”, including kin avoidances, menses and birth-related taboos, and a variety of “occasional” taboos; and (2) “modesty-chastity”, including [not specifically curricularised] clothing³²/conversational explicitness (“modesty”), *extramarital* liberty and, speculatively (1972:p13)³³, sex training (acc. W&Ch)³⁴. Minturn et al. (1969)³⁵ further published correlations of sexual satisfaction potential (SSP) and sexual socialisation anxiety (SSA; both W&Ch) with a number of sexual beliefs and practices in 135 HRAF societies. SSA was found to be associated with adolescent sex segregation³⁶ ($p < .01$); this was weak for SSP ($p < .10$). Textor had earlier found good correlations between SSP/SSA and premarital (*but not with extramarital*) “permissiveness” in the expected directions (Textor, 305/311x390-3; replicated by Broude, 1975), thus compromising Stephen’s second cluster. This was also suggested by SCCS data (Barry III et al., 1976:p101, 102). On the other hand, sexual permissiveness (F&B) was not correlated with premarital but indeed with extramarital freedom (Textor, 386x392-3)! As suggested by these incongruencies, an important finding is the noncorrelation of the concepts SSA (W&Ch.) and restrictiveness (F&B) (Textor 311x386 e.v.v.). This may be due to the use of alternative sources, or suggest a genuine curricular phenomenon. Measures of extramarital liberties (SCCS 169,597,598,963,964) tend to correlate better with the female adolescent rather than male “adolescent” case.

SSA and SSP were significantly (negatively) correlated (Textor 305x311 e.v.v.). Adolescent sexual freedom (expression plus “nonrestraint”) appears to be well correlated to previous

³¹ Widmer, E. D., Treas, J. & Newcomb, R. (1998) Attitudes toward nonmarital sex in 24 countries, *J Sex Res* 35,4: 349-58

³² Barry III et al. (1976:p101, 102) found that the earlier clothes are assumed to be worn, the higher sex restraint was likely to be.

³³ “I believe that severity of sex training belongs here too, but that cannot be demonstrated at this time”, which would be based on the fact that Whiting and Child sample lacked the less “primitive” civilisations.

³⁴ It must be noted that Stephens ultimately, though with hesitation, expresses psychoanalytic sentiments in order to explain cultural sexualities (vide p17).

³⁵ Minturn, L., Grosse, M. & Haider, S. (1969) Cultural patterning of sexual beliefs and behavior, *Ethnology* 8,3:301-18

³⁶ Measured on an 8-point scale, from segregation within the nuclear family to unchaperoned dormitories.

phase-blind ratings of premarital sex (frequency, norms and attitudes) (B&Schl, 1984:p327-8), and also with sexual restraint of both preceding phases.

De Leeuwe found that the permission regarding “sexual activity of children” (adapt. F&B) and that regarding homosexual activity of persons other than children (adapt. F&B) were uncorrelated; Textor had earlier found a negative correlation using W&Ch data (SSP).

“Children”’s presence during sexual activity or sex talk of older people was present in the most permissive societies more often than in the most prohibiting societies.

Many more correlations can be calculated using SCCS data (corrected, 2002). This study awaits future efforts, especially using SCCS data offered in SPSS format.

I.3 Pedagogical Framework

These studies investigate sexual standards as the implicated within some pedagogical situation or system that anticipates is co-occurs with the expression of and socialisation of “the sexual impulse”. Selected writings suggest that the subjective use of rationale in sexual behaviour socialisation may be a poorly developed variable³⁷. Exactly how “sex” fits in the grand scheme of shaping the child’s behaviour is open for much conjecture. Lancy (2002)³⁸ suggested that “[...] the benefits of play to children must be extensive and profound in order to overcome [the] pervasive attempts at restraint” of such play. The application of this in the sexological sphere would depend on whether pedagogues operationalise early sexuality as “play”.

The “problem” entry seems to have been an informing method³⁹, but this operationalisation of salience is open for debate; cultural definitions, for instance, may manipulate the notion of cross-cultural variability. Ford and Beach’s classical trichotomisation of cultural permissiveness patterns was rightly⁴⁰ expanded by a fourth, “supportive” dimension by Currier in the late 1970s. A visual representation of world-wide severity ratings specified for the three phases according to SCCS ratings, points out that “sexual restraint” severity *in the ethnographic sample* can indeed globally be identified by means of a three-point scale (corresponding with two, three and four on the original five point scale), thus supporting Ford and Beach’s original classification. This roughly applies to all gender/phase configurations, though in some it is less apparent than in others. However, one should

³⁷ Thus, it was observed that “[t]he majority of the Guajiro seem to act as passive carriers of their tradition and do not question, to any appreciable degree, the reasons why they socialize sex the way they do” (Watson, 1972:p155). Sears et al. observed that mothers apply curricular arguments, but remark: “As far as we could tell, [...] most of the mothers had not rationalized their antipathy for masturbation. They simply said it was something they did not like to see; they felt it was not “nice”; and they were embarrassed when their child did it, especially in the presence of others”.

³⁸ Lancy, D. F. (2002) Cultural constraints on children’s play, in Roopnarine, J. L. (Ed.) *Conceptual, Social-Cognitive, and Contextual Issues in the Fields of Play*. Play & Culture Studies, vol. 4, p51-60

³⁹ According to a comparison by MacClenathan (1934:p331-2), “masturbation” ranked third most undesirable among Brooklyn elementary school teachers’ “undesirable modes of behaviour” (after stealing and temper outbursts)³⁹, seventh among mothers attending a “child-study” class, and 21st among a sample of seven unselected parents. Yourman (1932:p335) found that New York City elementary school teachers ranked “heterosexual activity” as the foremost Grave Problem; “masturbation” ranked fifth, “obscene” notes and talk ninth, and “profanity” as nineteenth.

⁴⁰ A detailed analysis of the operationalisation of supportive attitudes is found in preparatory material for **chapter 7**.

consider a rater's or even observer's bias in this respect, and, obviously, the choice of measure. An earlier *general* permissiveness rating (SCCS v465-8), for what it is worth, does not provide for an obvious di- or trichotomisation cross-culturally. Still, there appears to be a significant ($p < .01$) correlation of sexual and general restraint measures in all four gender/phase cells.

I.3.1 Sex and Pedagogy

An analysis of interrelations among training categories by Whiting and Child (p115-8) revealed that, while systems were "almost entirely independent", there was a very high positive relation between the age of socialisation for modesty and heterosexual training. Prothro elaborated on this issue by using Whiting and Child's data for a factor analysis. One polarity described an inverse association of "oral" and "sexual" permissiveness. This was tentatively approached via (1) psychodynamic arguments; and (2) maternal attitudes allowing that sex and suckling are alternative means of gratification. Factor analysis by Broude and Green (1976) on the basis of SCCS data suggests that sexual restraint can be grouped together with "Obedience" and "Self-Restraint" into a category labelled "Submission"; there was little correlation with any of the other categories (demands of toughness, maturity and dutifulness) for either sex.

Textor further found significant correlations of both SSA (positive) and SSP (negative) with average socialisation anxiety and with aggression socialisation anxiety (vide 305x308, 305x313, 311x308, 311x313). Barry III et al. (1977:p228) correlated SSA (W&Ch.) with their measures on general permissiveness ($N=33$) and affection ($N=29$). Correlations with permissiveness produced scores of $r = -.50$ (girls, early childhood) to $-.56$ (boys, early childhood). Looking at SR vs. Permissiveness *transitions* from early to late childhood, however, a considerable number of cases suggest an inverse, or at least not a parallel, pattern. Also, two in three societies apply in their sexual restraint a gender principle to some degree consistent with the general pedagogical application in early childhood. This figure drops to just over half in late childhood. 34% (early childhood) and 42% (late childhood) of cultures apply some type of curriculum suggesting that the choice for the sexological policy (DS or no DS) stands out against (but is not contrary to) the general pedagogical background of permissiveness.

I.3.2 Double Standard: Pedagogical Consistency

The organisation of a double standard in sexual permissiveness is most effective when curricularly consistent with general permissiveness, that is "atraumatic". Ninety-one of 138 of known early childhood cases are consistent in their standard (either no DS of any kind or boys more lenient sexually as well as generally). 77 of 144 known late childhood cases are consistent in their standard (either none of any kind or boys more lenient sexually as well as

generally); seven patterns⁴¹ are contrary to expectation (A/-A, -A/A). While the hypothesis is met for early childhood better as for late childhood, for a remarkable minority of societies with SR DS type A (boys more lenient) it could be considered consistent with a generalised pedagogical principle.

I.4 Curricular and Curricularisation Frameworks

I.4.1 Chronology and the Timing of Sexuality Processes

Specific timing data for sexual socialisation practices are rare, but depend on the variables chosen. Invariably, the whole concept of timing in psychosexual development/socialisation is debatable regarding the measures under examination. Whiting and Child could rate the “age at beginning of [serious] training in heterosexual play inhibition” only for 17 of 75 HRAF societies; the age of initial “serious” “modesty training” could be established for 19 societies (25%). “Sexual satisfaction potential” (SSP) could only be rated for 17 societies in the case of “masturbation”, for 26 in the case of “heterosexual play”, and for a further, unidentified small amount in the case of “homosexual” (same-sex) behaviour.

Specific timing data are not established for the SCCS, this being explained by their earliest phase apparently already universally being characterised by some measurable form of “sexual (non-)restraint”⁴².

In the interesting study by Rogoff et al., examining timing structures in a selection of 50 HRAF cultures, 22 could be rated for “considered sexual” (“The age when the child is considered capable of sexual activity and stimulation, or when this behavior is bound by the taboos of the culture”), 18 for “stressing sexual attractiveness” (“The culture encourages the child to be concerned with sexual attractiveness in clothing, self-decoration, hair-styling, personal cleanliness”), and 30 for “stressing sex differentiation”. Studies also reveal large differences in the measurability of timing of relatively unambiguous variables⁴³.

I.4.2 Continuity: Intracurricular Coherence

⁴¹ SR=A, GP=-A: Ibo, Menabe Tanala, M. Gilbertese, Zuni; SR=-A GP=A: Comanche, Cubeo, Shavante

⁴² After interviewed approximately 1,000 children (aged 5-15 years) from nuclear intact families in Australia, England, North America, the Goldmans termed children *asexual* (up to 7 years old), *presexual* (7-9 years), and *sexual* (from 11 years on). This reflects their (initial) disregard for sexual behaviour as well as gender development.

⁴³ In Whiting and Child the age of initial “serious” “modesty training” could be established for 19/75 societies (25%), Rogoff found 24/50 (48%) HRAF ethnographies reporting ages for modesty training, Barry III and Paxson (1971) rated the age of modesty training (genitalia first covered, as would be typical for males) for 140 SCCS societies, while a restudy for the same sample (Broude and Green, 1976) revealed data on “the age at which clothing begins to be worn” for only 42 (males) and 53 of 186 cultures (females; 23 vs 28%).

Benedict (1938:p164-5)⁴⁴ stated that “[c]ontinuity in sex expression means [...] that the child is taught nothing it must unlearn later”⁴⁵. Apart from the number of (contradicting) insights pertaining to curricular continuity are presented under the heading “sexological framework”, Heise tested five major hypotheses on their ability to correctly identify occurring from nonoccurring patterns of phase-specified sexual restraint, three of these being found promising. Homogenising material from three sources (F&B, W&Ch., Textor), four hypotheses were further tested on their ability to predict the frequency of pattern occurrence. Neither *normative consistency* or *normative continuity* were found necessary conditions for occurring sex socialisation patterns. Strong arguments could be made for (1) the adolescent strain hypothesis (occurring socialisation in adolescence at least as permissive as childhood); (2) inhibitions imitation hypothesis (occurring shifts toward permissiveness rare and not extreme); (3) a combination of both latter hypotheses.

To anticipate on a tentative retest, some basic inaccuracies⁴⁶ in the SCCS ratings render the argument on curriculum continuity on the basis of this quantitative material rather limited, as for, for example, the question whether a long early childhood is met with less severe restraint than a short one, or whether a (consequently) short late childhood is met with more severe restraint than a long one. Due to timing variability, it is not clear how obvious psychosexual discontinuities (initiation, communal residence, marriage) enter (or in fact *define*) the phase schema; in other cases the factual organisation of transitions remain altogether unclear. Rather than phase ratings, transitional ratings should have been offered.

Globalised sexual restraint ratings as well as SDs increase for every next phase regardless of gender, but, strictly, this was not tested for significance. Also, some contamination occurred with the distinction of late childhood with adolescence, and rating procedures were not exactly alike for preadolescent versus adolescent phases (B&Sch, 1984:p324, 325). Adolescent freedom was well correlated with childhood sexual restraint (better for later childhood), predictably as a function of general cultural differentiation from both “phases”⁴⁷. Only in two societies there was a less severe restraint (that is, greater SNR) in late versus early childhood; both societies were again more restrictive in adolescence. A considerable number of societies,

⁴⁴ Benedict, R. (1938) Continuities and discontinuities in cultural conditioning, *Psychiatry* 1:161-7

⁴⁵ Benedict, thus, recognises a culture of sexuality apart from a culture of sexual socialisation, while the latter may not be determined by political or economic necessity, but rather by “conceptual dogma”.

⁴⁶ “Childhood” is defined as the time when the child walks and talks “proficiently”, “or when the society considers the child past infancy” [while infancy is not further defined], to the time of “onset of major physiological changes [?] or status changes, usually associated with puberty” [?]. This would mean that childhood lasts from “approximately” age four to “approximately” age twelve. “Adolescence” was nowhere defined by the SCCS authors, but seems to be regarded as a “premarital” measure, leaving the chronological matter to the highly variable age of first marriage. Early and late childhood were divided by “an [sic] important changes in treatment or status [marking] the transition from early to late childhood”; there is no mentioning of possible gender differences here. The early/late dichotomy is maintained for every measure in the 1976 article, which seems to suggest that sexual restraint transitions, if occurring, are exponents of an all-encompassing multi-task schedule, its timing either being defined by it, or contributing to its time-bound definition. The whole narrative seems self-referring, so that the universality and significance of this so-called transition remains to be clarified. In the case of a “long” “early” childhood (especially coinciding with an early puberty) “late” childhood would be absent, or very short (one year or less). The authors do not address historical, racial, and gender differences in pubertal timing, nor do they take into consideration that puberty is a multi-staged, multi-faceted transition in both sexes. Apparently, biological and social transitions are globally assumed to coincide, which is contrary to facts over a cultural and historical span. As for the marriage question, prepubertal marriage denies the existence of adolescence, and perhaps even late childhood. Issues of pre-betrothal sexual restraint are not examined cross-culturally. This would add up to a rather complicated situation, since concepts of marriage and betrothal, especially when occurring early, more than once prove to be blurred. Rosenblatt et al. (1969) discussed sexual restriction during betrothal in 27 societies, but did not take into consideration the timing of the betrothal. See Rosenblatt, P. C., Fugita, S. S. & McDowell, K. V. (1969) Wealth transfer and restrictions on sexual relations during betrothal, *Ethnology* 8,3:319-28

⁴⁷ The definition of this variable allows a contamination with a difference in sexological status.

however, go against the general tendency of more severe restraint in adolescence as opposed to late childhood. This global negative phase effect is not seen for at least one of both genders in a total number of 70 societies, which almost approaches half of the societies for which male adolescent sexual freedom could be measured ($N=150$). In more than half of these, both sexes are met with less severe restraint.

Judging from a reexamination of SCCS findings on curricular organisation of sexual restraint, the most frequent patterns include gender-egalitarian maximum in late childhood, and that of progressive restriction. Curricular patterns are consistent for gender in 63% of examined cases. Transitions between adjacent phases differ in severity from -5 to 6 on a theoretical -10 to 10 scale, weighted means varying from 0.19 to 1.40 . Some support was found for Heise's *adolescent strain hypothesis*, predicting that SR in adolescence is at least as permissive as childhood (tested for later childhood/adolescence transition).

Another aspect of curricularisation continuity is represented by the sexological implications of ceremonial initiation. It is suggested that puberty rites function generally to provide intensive instruction in adult sex roles, instil cultural loyalty, regulate and publicise the attainment of adult status, and enhance the mate value of the initiate (Weisfeld, 1997)⁴⁸; as such the timing would tend to following biological principles (p45-7)⁴⁹. Schegel and Barry III (1979) found that in 13 of 63 SCCS societies ($\approx 1/5$) practicing these ceremonies for boys, it is "intended for or clearly results in the initiation of [hetero]sexual relations". This is the case for 28 of 84 societies ($1/3$) practising such ceremonies for girls. Of both boy and girl cases, ceremonies are held as early as "before genital maturation"⁵⁰ but, in the case of girls, mostly "at" genital maturation, which would be at the occasion of menarche or ejacularche⁵¹. Sexual permissiveness (F&B) does not seem to be related with the presence of female initiation rites (Textor 386x382). Likewise, Barry and Schlegel (1984) failed to find a significant interaction between degree of childhood-adolescence continuity and restraint severity (SCCS).

I.4.3 Gender Informed Standard: Curricular Consistency

Judging from a reexamination of SCCS material, double standards are encountered in late childhood more than before or after, but not for more than half of societies. More leniency for girls is very rare. Apart from the typical curricularly consistent pattern of egalitarianism, most frequent patterns include that of dissolution of a previous double standard at adolescence ($N=20$), and that of a temporary double standard for late childhood only ($N=19$). The only minor though significant alternative patterns describe either an *adolescent onset*, or a

⁴⁸ Weisfeld, G. (1997) Puberty rites as clues to the nature of human adolescence, *Cross-Cult Res* 31,1:27-54

⁴⁹ This would be supported by SCCS data. See Kitahara, M. (1983) Female puberty rites: Reconsideration and speculation, *Adolescence* 18(72):957-64; Kitahara, M. (1984) Female Physiology and Female Puberty Rites, *Ethos* 12,2:132-50

⁵⁰ Thus putting the expression "pubertal initiation" in perspective, 21% of boy and 9% of girl cases were scheduled "before genital maturation".

⁵¹ In 10 of 62 (11%) boy initiation cases "sexuality" (referring to "sexual capacity or attractiveness") was the "principle focus" of the ceremony; this would be so in 18 of 84 (21%) girl initiation cases. *Fertility*, in contrast, would be the principal focus in 10 boy cases, and 34 girl cases. Taken together, sexuality/fertility accounts for the *focal agenda* in about $1/3$ of exclusively boy cases ($N=17$), $1/2$ of exclusively girl cases ($N=39$), and up to 71% for girls where there are ceremonies for both sexes ($N=45$).

late childhood onset double standard. Less than half of societies are consistent, in only two curricula are contrary to expected consistency. Of the societies applying some degree of double standard in any phase, only 11% is wholly curricularly consistent. The strength of the double standard varies from -2 to 8 on a theoretical -10 to 10 scale, the weighted mean varying between 0.47 to 0.86. Extramarital and adolescent double standards are in agreement for 39% of examinable societies, and in only 9 of 71 societies (13%) applying some form of double standard for either “phase”. This suggests that when addressing double standards, one should at least specify the type of sexual behaviour measured and the phase under investigation.

I.5 Interim Conclusions

Interpreted within the numeric, narrowly unilateral and only indefinitely curricular definition of sexual permissiveness, this attitude seems to be related to societal complexity, as well as to various subcultural economic and political dimensions; in fact, it seems to be a combination of global social structural parameters and subsocietal organisations that predict sexual restrictiveness. A number of authors have tried to fit these findings in models that attempt to cover all or most societies under investigation. Within the sexual behaviour system, curricular coherence is *generally* found, while selected other variables appear to be consistent with such curricular system, though not unambiguously so. As a whole, the description of the system of motives vs (curricular) sexual behaviour categories lacks a coherent framework. Based on numeric material, it does not directly seem to fit into some coherent pedagogical system.

I.6 Major Limitations and Inaccuracies of the Cross-Cultural Method

As is concerned the anthropology of life phase sexualities, a number of arguments can readily be made contra the cross-cultural method, most of them extendable to alternative subjects. Among these:

1. Conceptual reductionism. Nummerification does nothing to prevent a simplex concept of sexual socialisation patterns. Instead, the current study points out that the comparability thus created is fraud with the loss of vital insights to the matter.
2. Definitions. “Permissiveness” does not unambiguously address regulation dynamics. Further, permissiveness cannot solely be represented by *ad hoc* attitudes and practices, instead should be informed by *ante hoc* and *post hoc* dynamics as well.
3. Scales. Unidirectional scales do not permit cultural juxtaposition (rather than comparison).
4. Theoretical baseline. Most studies, interpreters and reviewers embrace structural-functional theories. This renders its conclusions less useful for or of less immediate applicability in alternative, say, constructionist or poststructural approaches.
5. Curricularity and developmentalist / “curricularist” essentialism. Variables are either dissociated from curricular implications, or resulting from inconsiderate application of

curricular operationalisations. Further, presentations do not confront reductionist and essentialist ideologies concerning curricula and curricularisation processes.

6. "Behaviourist" essentialism. Variables describe behavioural measures lifted from an attitudinal and psychomental context.

7. Culturalist essentialism. Cultures tend to be represented as static uniform structures, according to limited, individual and at times morally biased casuistics. Intracultural, microgeographic, (micro-)historical and interindividual variability are not represented.

8. Disregard for methodological (e.g., historical) standards and lumping of methodological approaches. Especially in older material, these are indeed variable and rarely accounted for.

In broad terms, numeric cross-culturalists have reduced cultures and sexuality (hence, possible notions of "sexual cultures") beyond the level required for what I believe connotes qualitative understanding. This has "produced" comparability and divergence inherent to methodology rather than suggestive of qualitative similarity or dissimilarity. By its definitions, the use SCCS in sexological categorisation has introduced an occidental bias that monolaterally issues sexuality as dominated by individualist concepts of liberalism, and, paradoxically, a distinctly Marxist concept of the family.

1.7 Reconceptualising Sexual Control: Cross-Cultural Method vs. Becker

The concept of "control" in sexual socialisation is a function on the theoretical presuppositions. Within a symbolic interactionist perspective, such terms as "control" are replaced by "manufacture" or "creation" (Gagnon, 1977:p82)⁵². Rethinking S. Freud's imagery of an irremediable antagonism between sex and society on the grounds that sexual repression is necessary to counteract social contraction and its dysfunctional effects, Becker⁵³ formulated a framework of two ideal-typical sexual orientations and utilised it to select societies approximating some configuration of sex-promoting and sex-inhibiting definitions on one hand, and of the tendency to actively intervene in sexual lives on the other. Organising this within a four-cell matrix, cultural configurations could be demonstrated using the examples of the "sex-negative" Manus, the "sex-positive" Manganians, the "sex-neutral" Ik (East Africa), and the "sex-ambivalent" Americans [U.S.]. Examination of these societies, with particular attention to the relationship between sexual orientation and the tendency either to "contract" toward individualistic sexual consumption, or "expand" toward co-operative social relations, leads to the conclusion that sex "regulation" for the purpose posited by Freud (expansion) is not confined to sexual *repression*, but may also take place in the context of "sexual *permissiveness*". In other words, "[t]he issue is not whether a society represses or fails to repress sex, but whether it avoids the potential hazard of nonregulation", that is, of an indifferent, "neutral" attitude. A matter unexplored by Becker is that of socialisation, or perhaps anticipation, or continuity.

⁵² Gagnon, J. H. (1977) *Human Sexualities*. Illinois: Scott, Foresman & Co.

⁵³ Becker, G. (1984) The Social Regulation of Sexuality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, *Curr Perspect Soc Theory* 5:45-69

Becker addressed an important issue not adequately represented in the cross-culturalist tradition, and more authors have taken an alike stance at a monocultural level. Thorogood⁵⁴ argues that “[...] sex education, as any education, does not take place in a neutral environment. It is always about the transmission of values and by implication acts as a form of control. This is most clear in the traditional, “restricted information” approach, which uses the twin bases of “objective scientific fact” and “moral frameworks” to achieve the “sexual socialisation of young people” [...]. Even acts of rendering “alternative” forms of experience valid and visible simultaneously also construct them as “sites for monitoring and regulation, as the objects of disciplinary power”. Thus, “[l]iberal pluralist “empowerment” models of sex education have the unintended consequence of producing micro-techniques of power and are not unequivocally liberating or resisting”. Not cited by Thorogood, Monk⁵⁵ previously had sets out to demonstrate how sex education programmes are “deployed to govern [teenage] sexuality” by problematising its interactional identity.

On the basis of the presented examples it would be an obvious choice to try and view cross-generational attitudes and control measures as creating continuous sexual curricula on the basis of *proscriptive* and *prescriptive* principles, producing positive, negative, neutral or ambivalent ways of growing up sexually, and of socialising adjacent generations. This requires a study of the inherent vertical stratification in the formation of sexual sub- and countercultures between generations, that is, the issue of operationalising authority, and a curricular system.

A numeric elaboration of Becker’s hypothesis seems compromised by the fact that sexual attitudes are measured via an (inverted) negative definition only: there is no (SCCS or any standardised cross-cultural) measure describing *antithetical* positions toward sexual behaviour. The present study, however, offers some semi-quantitative material. Operationalising measures for the cross-cultural study of sexual permissiveness revolves around the issue of measuring the same thing in cultures where it isn’t the same thing⁵⁶. A cross-cultural examination of the cultural factors that predict regulation/nonregulation choices probably reveals differences in phases of life and categories of behaviour which would compromise any monolithic concept.

I.8 Perspectives

A conclusion that could be anticipated, neither any single entry or level of analysis will be able to explain the total variance of cultural attitudes toward sexological phases. The literature suggests an interplay of pedagogical, sexological and otherwise curricular dynamics, which make a particular activist curriculum seem logical.

⁵⁴ Thorogood, N. (2000) Sex education as a disciplinary technique: Policy and Practice in England and Wales, *Sexualities* 3,4:425-38. Cf. Thorogood, N. (1992) Sex Education as Social Control, *Critical Public Health* 3,2:43-50

⁵⁵ Monk, D. (1998) Sex education and the problematization of teenage pregnancy: a genealogy of law and governance, *Social & Legal Studies* 7,2:239-59

⁵⁶ LaBeff, E. E. et al. (1978) *A Note on Cross-National Methodology: Measuring Sexual Permissiveness among College Students in New Mexico and the U.S.* Paper for the Southwestern Sociological Association

II

Ethnographic Coverage of Early “Sexual” Behaviour Development and Socialisation.

An Impression

Summary: This Appendix provides a rough outline of ethnographers’ tendencies to cover sexual developmental issues. The extent of this coverage is specified using numeric indications as provided by cross-cultural studies; this is followed by a focal critique of this type of studies. Ethnographer’s coverage in a qualitative sense is explored via a rough historical appraisal, and further by a discussion of selected problems in descriptive material encountered in the current study.

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Table 1 Rough Contextual Analysis of eHRAF (2002) Code 864, “Sex Training”

II.3.2 Selected Problems in Descriptive Accounts

II.4 Summary

II.1 General Observations

Anthropologists “don’t like children”¹; at least they don’t study them. Nevertheless, coverage of the “sexual” life “cycle” has been a more or less institutional item in American ethnography. A number of ethnographic series routinely included a chapter on the life cycle, but these appear rather variable in their integration of the sexological compartment. At times, marriage seems to follow birth, or puberty does. Authors of all times have claimed a considerable degree of freedom in their limitation criteria in describing what is taken to be the sexual socialisation curriculum. One can only suspect that the evident infrequency and the scarcity of data on the childhood age curriculum are due in some indeterminable degree to personal choice and ideology not inherent to native ideologies. This seems to be a fundamental problem within general sexological coverage in ethnography. It makes the interpretation of inter-observer differences a complicated matter, especially when observations are temporally and spatially segregated. Contrary to adolescent courtship, pre-adolescence rarely is described as a period of *institutional* sexuality, be it not for marriage; where it is patterned, it is likely to be designated “adolescent” even despite its commencing place before puberty.

Photographic instances of infant or childhood sexual expression in academia are rare², so one is limited to descriptive material. Children’s Eros in “adult” prose seems also to be a relatively infrequent phenomenon³, so that the body of literature suffers the limitation of academic representations. This also seems to limit the clues to culturally specific arguments on growing up within an erotic framework (polity, economy) to ethnographers’ communications on the matter. American culture has studied its childhood sexualities rather extensively but never, it seems, without a secondary agenda, and rarely with the hypothetical objectivity of ethnography.

¹ Hirschfeld, L. A. (2002) Why Don’t Anthropologists Like Children? *Am Anthropol* 104,2:611-27

² Examples (mostly debatable) may be found in Williams, Th. R. (Ed., 1975) *Psychological Anthropology*. The Hague [etc.]: Mouton, plates 6-8; Sorenson, E. R. & Gajdusek, C. (1966) The study of child behavior and development in primitive cultures, *Suppl to Pediatrics* 37,1, Pt. II, p168; Sorenson, E. R. (1967) A Research Film Program in the Study of Changing Man, *Current Anthropol* 8,5, Pt.1:443-69, at p460 [comment on p464 by De Heusch]; Sorenson, E. R. (1976) *The Edge of the Forest*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, p179; Bryk, F. (1928) *Neger-Eros*. Berlin [etc.]: Marcus & Weber, p118; Bateson, G. & Mead, M. (1942) *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*. New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, p130-1; Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. (1972) *Die !Ko-Buschmann-Gesellschaft*. München: Piper, p158, etc.; Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. (1989) *Human Ethology*. New York: De Gruyter, p247; Schiefenhövel, W. (1982) Kindliche Sexualität, Tabu und Schamgefühl bei “primitiven” Völkern, in Hellbrügge, Th. (Ed.) *Die Entwicklung der Kindlichen Sexualität*. München: Urban & Schwarzenberg, p145-63, at p154, 155; Diamond, M. (1990) Selected Cross-Generational Sexual Behavior in Traditional Hawai’i: A Sexological Ethnography, in Feerman, J. R. (Ed.) *Pedophilia: Biosocial Dimensions*. New York: Springer Verlag, p422-43. Money (1976/ 1986:p522; 1988: p64/65) draws a visual parallel between animal and human copulatory play. See Money, J. (1976) Childhood: the last frontier in sex research, *The Sciences* 16,6:12ff. Reprinted in *Reflections* 12(1977):13-21, and in Money, J. (1986) *Venuses Penuses*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, p520-5. Cf. inclusion in Money, J. (1988) *Gay, Straight and In-Between: The Sexology of Erotic Orientation*. Oxford University Press. Despite increasingly tight regulations, many recent examples appear to find their way to popular works, such as Molcho, S. (1996) *Körpersprache der Kinder*. München: Mosaik Verlag, p7, 190-1 [and how about p58?]

³ Consider the following examples: Friedman, M. (1953) Valery Larbaud: The Two Traditions of Eros, *Yale French Studies* 11:91-100; Shaw, P. W. (1984) My Antonia: Emergence and Authorial Revelations, *Am Lit* 56,4:527-540[539]; Fong, G. S. (1994) Inscribing Desire: Zhu Yizun’s Love Lyrics in Jingzhiju qinqu, *Harvard J Asiatic Stud* 54,2:437-60

II.2 Numeric Coverage

II.2.1 Extent of Coverage: Selected Numeric Observations on Prepubertal Sexuality

The following chapter roughly explores the *extent* of (English-language) ethnographic coverage of “sexual socialisation” items via a numeric approach. Hypothetically, the quality of ethnographic coverage on the sexual life span can be measured by its including *specific* data on *prepuberty*. Specific chaptering of this part of the life cycle is rare⁴. This appears to be author-related in some cases (e.g., Tessmann), but mostly it seems to be suggestive of the phenomenon’s public nature, that is, its entering public discourse or display.

(1) **(e)HRAF**. The *Human Relations Area File* (1937), presently also in electronic form ([eHRAF](#), 2002, covering a current selection of 90 societies, presently⁵ including 431 matches in 138 documents for 64 societies in category 864, *Sex Training*) contains no separate categories on early “sexual” behaviour, socialisation or cognition; the inclusions focus on data for childhood/ adolescence/ puberty. Given the all-inclusive character of the OCM code⁶, HRAF as well as eHRAF identifications tend to be pluriform, at times incomplete, and at other times debatable. The full extent of HRAF coding of category 864 could not be established⁷; eHRAF data are updated annually. Using 75 selected HRAF societies, Whiting and Child found “sexual satisfaction potential” (SSP) to be measurable for 17 societies in the case of “masturbation”, for 26 in the case of “heterosexual play”, and for a further, unidentified small amount in the case of “homosexual” (same-sex) behaviour.

(2) **Ford and Beach** rated only a selection of societies (94/190) on the basis of socialisation severity by means of a three-point scale (permissive, #=33; semi-restrictive, #=47; restrictive, #=14); the work includes relevant though fragmentary descriptive data on only a third of these societies (De Leeuwe).

(3) **SCCS**. Taken into consideration the rather loose definitions utilised by the 1976 Sexual Restraint ratings, the matter apparently proved measurable for about 160 of 186 SCCS societies, with little sex differences (156 vs. 154 for early childhood b/g, 164 vs. 165 for late childhood, 155 vs. 159 for adolescence), and, thus, some phase difference. Adolescent sexual expression could be measured for 154 vs. 158 societies. One might imagine that the amount of cases where boys and girls received the same rating, and where phases are rated equally (see *literature review*), suggests that arguments in the original sources might not have been gender or phase specific. The figures are not much less than those for *general non-permissiveness*, measurable for about 168 societies with even less gender/phase differences. [See **overview**]

⁴ The more detailed cases include Malinowski (Trobrianders), Firth (Tikopia), Chuuk (Gladwin), !Kung (Shostak), Kaguru (Beidelman), Asaba Ibo (Isichei), Zaire (Erny), Baushi (Kokonge and Erny), Ghana (Kaye, Bleek), Bengali (Roy), Muria (Elwin), Lepcha (Gorer), Santal (Mukherjea), Tibetans (Ludwar-Ene), Morocco (Serhane), Hopi (Simmons).

⁵ 25-04-2002

⁶ Description reads (*Outline of Cultural Materials*, 4th revised, 1961; *eHRAF*, 1997) as follows: “adult beliefs, standards, and aims concerning sex behavior in children and methods of sex training; incidence of specifically sexual behavior in infants and children [...]; rules for the control of such behavior [...]; training in sexual modesty; imparting of knowledge and beliefs about sex and reproduction; reactions to curiosity of children about sex; normal age for each aspect of sex training; reactions of children to sex training; etc”.

⁷ Various personal communications.

(4) **“Timing” Variables.** Specific timing data are rare, but the applicability of the mere concept depends on the variables chosen. Studies reveal large differences in measurability of the timing of even relatively unambiguous variables⁸. Within their sample and definitions, Whiting and Child could rate the “age at beginning of [serious] training in heterosexual play inhibition” only for 17 of 75 selected HRAF societies; the age of initial “serious” “modesty training” could be established for 19 societies (25%). In the study by Rogoff et al., of 50 HRAF cultures, 22 for “considered sexual” (“The age when the child is considered capable of sexual activity and stimulation, or when this behavior is bound by the taboos of the culture”), 18 for “stressing sexual attractiveness” (“The culture encourages the child to be concerned with sexual attractiveness in clothing, self-decoration, hair-styling, personal cleanliness”), and 30 for “stressing sex differentiation”.

(5) **Numeric Studies.** The full extent of numeric studies not being measured, it appears from a previous inventory that data on the prepubertal sexual behaviour development and socialisation of non-European non-U.S. societies are very sparse; this applies even more to cross-cultural comparisons.

II.2.2 Focal Critique of Previous Comparative Numeric Studies

Reductionism. The problem with most of existing numeric data is that they “condense” a potentially complex socialisation mechanism into a set of ratings that entirely obscures the mode of its organisation, its effectors, its potential intracultural (subcultural, interfamilial, interindividual) variability, and its potential historical variability.

Sampling. Also, the SCCS provides only a modest selection of cultures (N=186), with a definite underrepresentation of given societal classes, historical cross-sections and geographic regions.

Referencing. Another problem is that (*exact*) references are not available in any of the SCCS works and most of the earlier work (unlike HRAF), which renders both historical and cultural comparison problematic. Historical updates, such as provided for some codes, are not provided for the critical codes.

Definitions. Terms appear rather loosely utilised. Specifically, implicit and explicit handling of definitions regarding both independent and dependent variables may be biased for the various life phases, which makes comparisons controversial.

Curricular Setting. The concept of curricularisation, for various reasons⁹, cannot properly be examined on the basis of this material. Specific limitations exist regarding the issue of age

⁸ In Whiting and Child the age of initial “serious” “modesty training” could be established for 19/75 societies (25%), Rogoff found 24/50 (48%) HRAF ethnographies reporting ages for modesty training. In a 1971 SCCS study, Barry III and Paxson rated the age of modesty training (genitalia first covered, as would be typical for males) for 140 of 186 societies (75%). The measure demonstrated relative large sex differences. A SCCS restudy (Broude and Green, 1976) revealed data on “the age at which clothing begins to be worn” in 42 (males) and 53 of 186 cultures (females) (23 vs 28%).

⁹ The ratings do nothing to prevent the suggestion that sexual socialisation curricula are commonly biphasic, (or triphasic, including “adolescence”), a hypothetical organisation perhaps even interacting with the image of an “early” versus “late” childhood. These issues are probably even more urgent in the case of “adolescent” age sexual socialisation (Barry III & Schlegel, 1984). For instance, the content of the concept “adolescence” in case of a society that betroth and marry girls well before puberty, but not boys, can hardly be determined by the same measures as can most cases of contemporary European adolescence. Data suggest these concepts are ethnographically and

or phase specificity of ratings. Barry III, Josephson et al. (1976) used the distinction of early and late “childhood”. Apart from the variability in timing and duration of phases (*ibid.*), the meaning of this term appears extremely multidimensional, especially so *in sexualibus*, and when comparing for alternative (e.g., economic) definitions of maturity.

Conceptual Framework. As explored elsewhere¹⁰, the whole concept of training, socialising, educating and controlling sex urgently needs to be rephrased within terms of *operationalisation* and *curricularisation*.

Concluding, it is suggested that the existing quantitative data on sexual socialisation are ultimately dissatisfying for a number of reasons, most of which are methodological or refer to the very concept of such socialisation. Specifically, it is not fit to explore historical discussions, and the addressing of fundamental theoretical issues (curriculum).

II.3 Descriptive Coverage

II.3.1 Rough Historical Considerations¹¹

It is evident that anthropological narrative on sexual development has always been formulated through current perceptions on the matter. Previously¹², I have suggested that the biomedical discourse on prepubertal sexuality has known four thematic epochs (pre-history, Paradoxia, Freud, and abuse), and it appears these laterally correspond to anthropological epochs of “child sexology”.

Pre-20th century material consists of isolated remarks on the “precocity” of the individual, which was generally well tuned to the academic discourse on childhood sexuality. Where early sexuality was dealt with in positive formulations, it was so through the euphemism of courtship (“love instincts”) crudely separated from imaginable physical perspectives¹³, on the basis of biomedical arguments¹⁴. The derogative terms in which the sexuality of the “savage” was portrayed surely were to include his alleged neglect of the duty of impulse socialisation. The child was father of the man. This typified a moral concern for socialisation before any clear ideology on socialisation existed, not exclusive to the erotic sphere.

With Moll and a few less central authors, a more multidisciplinary argument was made for the variations of early erotic life. With the arrival of Freud, whose reference to Groos and Ellis was inevitable, matters changed in benefit of the ethnographic appraisal of “instinct” socialisation and “habit training”, giving a definite curriculum and thesaurus for the spectrum of early development: weaning, toilet-training, aggression, infantile sexuality (masturbation, sex play, primal scenes, birth explanations, castration threats), and latency. This ultrastructure was to become the skeleton of American ethnological thought on

historically rather fluid. Comparison of life phases *within cultures* are also problematic, given the lack of context of the data relative to the organisation and meaning of age/phase stratification.

¹⁰ See **chapter 7**.

¹¹ See also **chapter 2**.

¹² See *Paradoxia Sexualis*.

¹³ This may be best illustrated by Bell’s arguments on this matter in his 1902 paper.

¹⁴ See *Paradoxia Sexualis*.

childhood, and sporadically, few other elements than these were offered. Concurrently, with the ethnographic recognition of adolescence (e.g., Hall) the paradigm of courtship was given full attention, and a second traditional mode of communicating human sex was through the adolescent period¹⁵.

Lateral from colonialist, missionary and early anthropological sexology from the United States and Europe, a slow expansion of sexological interest in non-Western areas of the world was motivated by mapping demographic and medical issues particularly concerning the adolescent. Ethno- and “native” sexology further tuned in to early adolescence through the paradigm of STD and AIDS, centralising coitarche patterns and, frequently, little more. In the ethnography of AIDS, pre-adolescent socialisation was almost invariably considered of minor importance. Also, sex (STD, AIDS) education programs seemed primarily directed to early adolescents rather than children, thereby re-issuing the wide-spread cult of coitarche, combined with epidemiological interests informed by current medical issues.

Table 1 *Rough Contextual Analysis of eHRAF (2002) Code 864, “Sex Training”*¹⁶

	Mixed	8	
“Life cycle”	Infancy/Childhood	17	
	Puberty/adolescence	4	} 43
	Infancy/Childhood	7	
	Puberty/ adolescence	7	
	Betrothal/Marriage Customs	6	
	Family	7	
	Gender	1	
	Women	6	
	(Auto-)Biographic	4	
	General	8	
Sexuality	Specific	1	} 15
	Development	5	
	Life Cycle/Sex	1	
	Mixed	23	

¹⁵ This “adolescent” paradigm of human sexuality was to remain aside from the psychodynamic curriculum, and still seems fundamental due to its “lateral” claims to social relevance, that is, in terms of medical and demographic anthropology.

¹⁶ Methodology: Examines code 864 for contextual significance, for all 138 eHRAF documents currently including the code (June, 2002). This measure provides a (very rough) indication of *approach and significance*, not necessarily of content. Contextuality is determined by interpreting chapter headings on two levels, less if appropriate, or more, if necessary. If uninformative, sections are judged on the basis of their content. If ambiguous or atypical, works are judged to be of “unclassified” context. If more than one here identified approach are encountered (e.g., via family and marriage) the works are judged to be of “mixed” context.

Unclassified	33
Σ	138

Taking into account the broad definition of the code, the even more diverse nature of the rated sections, along with the obvious omissions, the historical and thematic span of the works included, etc., ethnographers come to discuss “sex training” via a number of entries ([Table 1](#)). In this unrepresentative sample of 138 works, measurable material is first approached via life span approaches only, subsequently via more than one here identified approach, and thirdly via some sexological entry. Only in 5, the matter is approached via appreciable concern for sexuality, and within this an appreciable concern for development.

II.3.2 *Selected Problems in Descriptive Accounts*

The reciprocal relationship between fieldworker and preadolescents in the process of field entry and data collection are of imminent importance for the quality and nature of its outcome¹⁷. The use of techniques may be especially important in this respect. A group of girls tell amatory secrets and present themselves for future readers in front of a tape recorder, while boys use the video camera to spy on girls and show off game performances.

A number of factors renders the validity of ethnographic and cross-cultural work disputable:

Identification of Methodology. The mode of eliciting material is rarely specified in an adequate manner. Several ethnographic studies are excluded from this general problem, for instance the valuable doll mediated observations by the Henries, and by Róheim. This renders the extent of specific cross-cultural comparisons limited.

Methodological Diversity. Whether or not associated with cultural norms, methods used to generate data are diverse. This renders cross-author comparison a delicate case.

Sexologisms (Coitocentrism). A large part of the literature seem to equate sexual development with coital development, which can be further simplified as the transition of coitarche. This essentialist, reductionist approach, whether congruent with native perspectives or not, does not routinely address important culturally diverse matters of anticipation, and such frameworks as love.

Developmental Idio-Logisms (Ethnocentric Phase Ideologies, Biologism, Developmentalism). A large part of the literature seems to equate sexual development with adolescent sexual development. Whether congruent with native perspectives or not, this attitude fails to challenge the fundamental convictions that surround biologist, developmentalist and culturalist interpretations of phase-identified sexual behaviour phenomena.

Agenda. Reviewed in §1.2, agendas both operationalise otherwise unissued research formats, but also limit hypothetical, theoretical and, more dramatically, outcome space. According to the Dr. Brongersma Foundation’s current position on this point, pre-adult sexualities

¹⁷ Evaldsson, A. C. (2000) *Don’t Write That We’re Children! On the Dual Nature of Ethnographic Research with Preadolescents*. Paper for the American Sociological Association

should be researched within an at least nonactivist frame of mind; on the other hand, activist formulations demonstrate existing political discourses that perforce “sexologies” so guarded for objectivity. This is also apparent in the limited number of

Cultural Interests. Whether congruent with native perspectives or not, anthropologists have largely refrained from studying psychological determinants and precursors of sexual behaviour (romantic attachment, subcultural dynamics, etc.). This is peculiar regarding the paedocentrism and sex-centrism that tend to co-occur with the presence of an academic sexology. This closely relates to

Ethical Limitations/Taboo Observance interfering with the acquisition of data. Whether congruent with native perspectives or not, ethical limitations to the study of early sexual behaviour are rarely discussed by ethnographers, except from *lateral* or *general* indications. At times the presence or absence of sexological material is posed in terms of possibility or probability, due to the unavailability of, or distrust of existing, sources; in other instances the credibility of diverse informants is weighed to best abilities. This problem closely interacts with that of the interpretation of data being subject to

Moral, Political, Idealist Bias. Mapping sexological geographies, perhaps especially *developmental* sexological geographies, is likely to fall subject to extensive debate (e.g., Mead-Freedman), in which the “hidden” or personal agendas of either party are publicly identified as critically informative to the (counter-)positions taken. Refraining from specifics in these difficult yet important matters, I expect such controversies to become possible for many societies as both political and academic orientations change over the course of time.

In summary, all factors are associated with the scientific, cultural bias in approaching the theme.

II.4 Summary

Concerning sexual behaviour development, several problems with both numeric and descriptive material are identified. These problems generally compromise any numeric or qualitative comparison between authors and ethnographic settings.

III

Playground Sexualities.

The Performative-Interactionist Localisation of Schools

“I see that you are exploring each other’s penises. Penises are private parts of the body and are usually not shared on the playground. Is there a problem that I can help with?”¹

“It’s flippin’ Friday”²

Abstract: This Appendix provides a rough “ethnographic” outline of contemporary preadult sexualities within the American school setting. An argument is made for the curricularising properties of schooling systems, determining the key issues of stratification, mobility, and sexual identity/orientation. Taking a performative-interactionist approach, feminist and gay activist agendas have in the past decade localised school environments as the central arenas in which sexualities “have their go” in the form of positioning and oppositioning, and through the agonism and antagonism of talk and physical manoeuvring.

¹ Jacqueline Kikutchi (1995) When the offender is a child, in Hunter, M. (Ed.) *Child Survivors and Perpetrators of Sexual Abuse*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, p108-24, at p121

² Hendrika Cantwell (1995) Sexually aggressive children and societal response, in Hunter, M. (Ed.) *Child Survivors and Perpetrators of Sexual Abuse*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, p79-107, at p99

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III.0 Introduction

This paper starts from the thesis that schools provide the embodiment of sexual and erotic “subcultures”³ where entry and exit may not entail crucial elements, but residence certainly does. The argument made is that school curricula dominate the shaping and curricularisation of Western children’s sexual and erotic trajectories, as they take form in the semi-public contexts of the school environment. This line of sociology has been elaborated upon since the early 1980s by many scholars including Best, Epstein, Connolly, Kehily, Luria, Nayak, Lee, Mac an Ghaill, Redman, Renold, Skelton, Thorne, Walkerdine, and Wolpe. On the basis of these interpretations, the globalisation of sex can in part be reformulated in reform measures relative to schooling systems. The ethnographic delineation of the fundamental preconditions of human erotic affiliation⁴, and of children’s initial tentative contributions to sexual discourses, is a valuable tool in addressing and operationalising these issues within wider cultural contexts. Taking over from the traditional family setting, schools define the key issues that shape the possibilities and probabilities of sexual trajectories (mobility and opportunity), and therefore are curricularising agencies (Camping, for instance, provides a change of this environmental opportunity⁵). “Sexualized” exchanges between peers, and between teachers and pupils⁶, can be focused on when exploring how sexuality is “employed” in schools, how it is curricularised and how it is segmentalised.

The following paragraphs provide a general localisation ([§III.1](#)), and specific localisations of behavioural ([§III.2](#)) and predominantly verbal interactions ([§III.3-8](#)). The data for a large part draw upon previous chapters.

III.1 Site and Sexuality: Contemporary Formulations

School environments provide the primary erotic and sexual playground for children in industrialised societies⁷. Extrascholastic environments⁸, one may argue, complement and

³ E.g., Berg, D. H. (1975) Sexual subcultures and contemporary heterosexual interaction patterns among adolescents, *Adolescence* 10(40):543-8; Redman, P. (1996) Curtis Loves Ranjit: Heterosexual Masculinities, Schooling, and Pupils’ Sexual Cultures, *Educ Rev* 48:175-82; Epstein, D. (1997) Cultures of schooling / cultures of sexuality, *Int J Inclusive Educ* 1:37-53; cf. Epstein, D. & Johnson, R. (1998) *Schooling Sexualities*. Buckingham: Open University Press; Clarricoates, K. (1987) Child culture at school: a clash between gendered worlds, in Pollard, A. (Ed.) *Children and their Primary Schools: A New Perspective*. London: Falmer Press; Tirkkonen, J., Hukkila, K. & Kontula, O. (1989) *Tyttöjen ja Poikien Seksuaalikulttuurit. Teenage Girls’ and Boys’ Sexual Cultures*. Lääkintöhallituksen Julkaisuja. Sarja Tutkimukset 15. (Publication of the National Board of Health, Finland. Series Original Reports 15) Helsinki

⁴ E.g., Deegan, J. G. (1991) *An Ethnography of Children's Friendships in a Fifth-Grade Culturally Diverse Class*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Chicago, IL, April 5

⁵ Ponton, L. E. (2000) Teenagers and Sexuality at Camp: Understanding Teen Sexuality and Tips for Talking with Them, *Camping Mag* 73,5:20-4

⁶ Consider Kehily, M. J. & Nayak, A. (1996) “The Christmas Kiss”: Sexuality, Story-Telling and Schooling, *Curriculum Stud* 4, 2:211-27

⁷ For an annotated paper discussing the role of sexuality in classroom environments, see Middleton, S. (1996) *Canes, Berets and Gangsta Rap: Disciplining Sexuality in School, 1920-1995*. Paper presented at

expand on the central school discourses. Early literature (e.g., Carrera, 1980)⁹ pointed to “the total ecology of the school setting and its role in communicating sexual learning to children—with special emphasis on the incidental, adventitious, and informal learning about sexuality that occurs in elementary schools”. The insights at that time were classified “minimal” (cf. Wolpe, 1988:p97)¹⁰. Two decades later, Wallis and Van Every (2000)¹¹ typified primary schools as “institutions structured by gender and (hetero)sexuality [...] which, in their practices, construct heterosexualized masculinities and femininities”¹². Renold (2000)¹³ portrays primary school as “a key cultural arena for the production and reproduction of sexuality and sexual identities” (cf. Renold, 2003)¹⁴. “Breaking the myth that heterosexual relations symbolise entry into “adolescence””, Renold writes, authors “note how 6 year-olds date, dump and two-time and how 4 and 5 year-olds practice heterosexuality” [¹⁵]. Research, thus, is directed at

“[...] pupils’ active engagement, from a very early age, in the production of sexual meanings, practices, power relations and identities, and on schools as significant cultural sites in which sexualities are produced, reproduced and contested” (Redman, 1996).

Kehily (2001)¹⁶ suggested that school processes produce sites for the enactment of heterosexual masculinities that suggest the normative presence of heterosexuality and the fragility of sex/gender categories. Sexualities are “shaped and lived through pupil cultures

Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, April 8-12. Cf. Middleton, S. (1998) *Disciplining Sexuality: Foucault, Life Histories, and Education*. New York: Teachers College Press

⁸ E.g., Fine, G. A. (1987) *With the Boys: Little League Baseball and Preadolescent Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

⁹ Carrera, M. (1980) Sexual learning in the elementary school, in Roberts, E. J. (Ed.) *Childhood Sexual Learning: The Unwritten Curriculum*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, p139-59

¹⁰ Wolpe, A. (1988) *Within School Walls: The role of Discipline, Sexuality and the Curriculum*. London & New York: Routledge. See particularly p95-175

¹¹ Wallis, A. & Van Every, J. (2000) Sexuality in the Primary School, *Sexualities* 3,4:409-23

¹² Cf. . Skelton, Ch. (1996) Learning to be tough: the fostering of maleness in one primary school, *Gender & Educ* 8:185-97; Skelton, Ch. (1997) Primary Boys and Hegemonic Masculinities, *Br J Sociol Educ* 18,3:349-69; Skelton, Ch. (2001) *Schooling the Boys: Masculinities and Primary Education. Educating Boys, Learning Gender*. Florence, KY: Taylor & Francis Inc./Open University Press, chapter “Heterosexuality in the Primary Classroom”; Mac an Ghaill, M. (1994) *The Making of Men: Masculinities, Sexualities and Schooling*. Buckingham: Open University Press; Mac an Ghaill, M. (1996) Deconstructing heterosexualities within school arenas, *Curriculum Stud* 4:191-207

¹³ Renold, E. (2000) “Coming Out”: Gender, (Hetero)Sexuality and the Primary School, *Gender & Educ* 12,3:309-26. Cf. Renold, E. (1999) *Presumed Innocence: An Ethnographic Exploration into the Construction of Sexual and Gender Identities in the Primary School*. Unpubl. Diss. University of Wales, Cardiff.; Renold, E. (2001) ‘Tales of the unexpected’: researching sexuality in the primary school, in Pugsley, L. & Welland, T. (Eds.) *Ethics and Qualitative Research*. Aldershot: Avebury

¹⁴ Renold, E. (2003) ‘If You Don’t Kiss Me, You’re Dumped’: boys, boyfriends and heterosexualised masculinities in the primary school, *Educ Rev* 55,2:179-94

¹⁵ Walkerdine, V. (1996) Popular culture and the erotization of little girls, in Curran, J., Morely, D. & Wolpe, A. M. (Eds.) *Cultural Studies and Communications*. London: St. Martin’s Press; Walkerdine, V. (1990) *Schoolgirl Fictions*. London: Verso. See also Walkerdine, V. (1999) Childhood Sexuality and the Subjectivity of the Researcher, in Maiers, W., Bayer, B. et al. (Eds.) *Challenges to Theoretical Psychology*. Toronto: Captus Press; Walkerdine, V. (2001) Safety and danger: Childhood, sexuality, and space at the end of the millennium, in Hultqvist, K. & Dahlberg, G. (Eds.) *Governing the Child in the New Millennium*. London: RoutledgeFalmer, p15-34; Connolly, P. (1995) Boys will be boys? Racism, sexuality and the construction of masculine identities amongst infant boys, in Holland, J. & Blair, M. (Eds.) *Debates and Issues in Feminist Research and Pedagogy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters in association with the Open University, p169-95. Reprinted in Cosin, B. & Hales, M. (Eds.) *Families, Education, and Social Differences*. London: Routledge, p164-89

¹⁶ Kehily, M. (2001) Bodies in school: Young men, embodiment, and heterosexual masculinities, *Men & Masculinities* 4,2:173-85

that are often marginalized or overlooked by teachers and rarely find their way into the official curriculum". Heterosexual identity is argued to be "a socially constructed phenomenon" in which schools are "significant cultural sites that not only reflect the sexual ideology of the patriarchal-heterosexist state, but actively produce and reproduce a range of differentiated, hierarchically ordered heterosexual masculinities and femininities through a variety of mechanisms, e.g., preparing students for the sexual division of labor in domestic and employment sites and deploying resources that help shape sexual subjects. Students negotiate their sexual identities in the school site and peer group sexual subcultures" (Mac an Ghaill, 1996). Redman¹⁷ argues that school sexualities are "produced at a dynamic interface between historically available discursive positions, wider social relations, the immediate social environment, and unconscious processes". To study these patterns, it is advocated "to hold onto the tension between materialist, deconstructionist, and psychoanalytic accounts of the formation of sexual subjectivities, without attempting to resolve the contradictions between them"¹⁸.

III.2 Situational Erotics: Behavioural Compartment

The preschool setting, particularly, may actually provide a place for semi-public intimacies¹⁹. Langfeldt (1990:p191)²⁰ speaks of Norway kindergarten "fucking rooms". At times the school

¹⁷ Redman, P. (1996) Curtis Loves Ranjit: Heterosexual Masculinities, Schooling, and Pupils' Sexual Cultures, *Educ Rev* 48:175-82

¹⁸ Haywood, Ch. & Mac an Ghaill, M. (1995) The Sexual Politics of the Curriculum: Contesting Values, *Int Stud Sociol Educ* 5,2:221-36

¹⁹ Isaacs, S. (1933) *Social Development in Young Children*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1945 ed., p113-71, 280-365. Cf. Isaacs, S., *Social Development in Young Children*. Students' Abridged ed., p224-9; Burlingham, D. & Freud, A. (1944) *Infants Without Families: Reports on the Hampstead Nurseries*. London: Allen & Unwin. Cf. *Writings* (1973); Freud, A. & Dann, S. (1949) [An experiment in group upbringing] *Psychoanal Study Child* 6:127-68. Also in *Writings* 4. Partially repr. in Stendler, C. B. (Ed.) *Readings in Child Behavior and Development*. 2nd.ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; Wolffheim, N. (1958) Wie Kinder wirklich sind, *Prax Kinderpsychol & Kinderpsychia* 7:16-23; Cf. Wolffheim, N. (1966) *Psychoanalyse im Kindergarten*. München [etc.]: E. Reinhardt Verlag, p124-33. Also in Kentler, H. (Ed.) *Texte zur Sozio-Sexualität*. Opladen: UTB Leske Verlag, p80-6; Johnson, T. C. (1991) *Behaviors Related to Sex and Sexuality in Kindergarten Through 4th Grade Children*. Unpublished; Gundersen, B. & Skår, J. (1977) *Der seksuelle utvikling fra fødsel til 3 års alderen belyst gjennom intervju med foreldre og dagheimpersonell*. Research Report, Dept. of Somatic Personality Psychology, University of Bergen. See Gundersen, B., Melås, S. & Skår, J. (1981) Sexual behavior in preschool children: teachers' observations, in Constantine, L. L. & Martinson, F. .M. (Eds.) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p45-61; Lindblad, F., Gustafsson, P., Larsson, I., Lundin, B. (1995) Preschooler's sexual behaviour at daycare centers: an epidemiological study, *Child Abuse & Negl* 19,5:569-77. See also Spiro, M. E. (1958) *Children of the Kibbutz*. 1975 rev. ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p219-28, 275-82. See also Hattwick, L. A. (1937) Sex differences in behavior of nursery school children, *Child Developm* 8:343-55; Dillon, M. S. (1934) Attitudes of children toward their own bodies and those of other children, *Child Developm* 5:165-76; Blaylock, J. (1976) Students' Expressions of Sexuality and the Primary Teacher, *Educ Horizons* 1:22-4, F 76; Kaeser, F., DiSalvo, C. & Moglia, R. (2000) Sexual behaviors of young children that occur in schools, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 25,4:277-85; Long, N. J. (1986) Incidents of sexuality in an urban elementary school according to grade during a two-month observation period, *Pointer* 30,3:26-7; Klein, M. (1993) Masturbation im Kindesalter, in Bach, K., Stumpe, H. & Weller, K. (Eds.) *Kindheit und Sexualität*. Braunschweig: GJ Holtzmeier, p46-9; Larsson, I. & Svedin, C. G. (2002) Teachers' and parents' reports on 3- to 6-year-old children's sexual behavior- a comparison, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 26,3:247-66; López, F., Campo, A. del & Guijo, V. (nd/1997?) *Sexualidad Prepuberal. Prepuberal Sexuality*. Report, Madrid

²⁰ Langfeldt, Th. (1990) Early childhood and juvenile sexuality, development and problems, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology*, Vol.7. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p179-200

would have seemed sexualised epidemically and overtly²¹. At any rate, nursery school teachers are probably not corrected by reality when arguing that sexual development “constitutes an important aspect of children’s personality” (Kakavoulis)²². The opportunities for overt sexuality decline after kindergarten to give way for a more verbally oriented and role/narrative-based discourse.

Best (1983)²³ regards the sexual curriculum (p109-25) as the third of three, the former two being designed for academic and gender development. This curriculum is primarily “self-devised”. The author found “House” playing primarily occupied with kissing (p110), and “fucking” by genitogenital rubbing (p121-3).

III.3 The Homoerotic Performance

III.3.1 The Girlhood School Homoerotic Performance

DeGiorgio²⁴ discusses a survey of teenage sexuality published in 1898²⁵, *Le “Amicizie” di Collegio: Ricerche sulle Prime Manifestazioni dell’Amore Sessuale*, by Giulio Obici and Giovanni Marchesini, a psychiatrist and an educator. The authors discuss boarding school friendships between girls, in which they discover “hitherto unsuspected sexual undertones”, and recommend the formation of a “vigorous conscience”.

Adolescent “special” same-sex friendships²⁶ containing the emotional intensity of “romantic” relationships, yet supposedly lacking sexual activity, have been documented in numerous cultures and historical periods²⁷. A pattern noted for African and Euro-American schools, girls associate under the pretence of pseudo-gender- or pseudo-age-stratified friendships (Blacking, 1959, 1978²⁸; Gay, 1979, 1985/1993²⁹; Thanadi, 2000³⁰; Propper, 1982³¹, cf. 1978,

²¹ Stirt, S. S. (1940) Overt mass masturbation in the classroom, *Am J Orthopsychia* 10:801-4; Schade, G. H. (1958) Masturbation in children, *Pediatr Clin N Am* 5,3,:767-74

²² Kakavoulis, A. (1998) Early Childhood Sexual Development and Sex Education: A Survey of Attitudes of Nursery School Teachers, *Eur Early Ch’h Educ Res J* 6,2:55-70

²³ Best, R. (1983) *We’ve All Got Scars*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

²⁴ DeGiorgio, M. (1981) Primi Sintomi di un Carattere Appassionato: Dal Collegio [The first signs of a passionate character: from school days], *Memoria: Rivista di Storia delle Donne* [Italy] 1:94-102

²⁵ Obici, G. & Marchesini, G. (1898) *Le “Amicizie” di Collegio: Ricerche sulle Prime Manifestazioni dell’Amore Sessuale*. Roma

²⁶ More on girls’ “friendships” in Hilhorst, M. (1989) *Bij de Zusters op Kotschool*. Utrecht [Holland]: Bruna, esp. p127-46. Girls’ “special friendships” (D., “bijzondere” or “particuliere vriendschappen”) were discouraged for fear of homosexual intimacies. An alike situation was noted for boys’ boarding schools by Perry. Cf. Hilhorst, M. (1986) *Pas à Deux Mes Enfants! Vriendschappen en Dagelijks Leven op Katholieke Meisjeskotscholen in Nederland : 1920-1965*. Research project, Nijmegen [Holland]: Nijmegen University; Vicinus, M. (1989) Distance and desire: English boarding school friendships, 1870-1920, in Duberman, M. B., Vicinus, M. & Chauncey, G. (Eds.) *Hidden from History : Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*. New York, NY: New American Library, p212ff. Orig. in *Sign*, 9 (1984) 4; Kersten, A. (1987) *Het Is Gewoon Zo : Homoseksuele Identiteitsontwikkeling, Leefwereld en Ervaringen van Adolescente Meisjes*. Utrecht [Holland]: RUU

²⁷ Diamond, L. M. (2000) Passionate friendships among adolescent sexual-minority women, *J Res Adol* 10,2:191-209

²⁸ Blacking, J. (1959) Fictitious Kinship Amongst Girls of the Venda of the Northern Transvaal, *Man* 59:155-8; Blacking, J. (1978) Uses of the kinship idiom in friendships at some Venda and Zulu

1981³²; Mueller and Hopkins, 1979³³; Omari, 1963:p152-3³⁴; Selling, 1931³⁵; Holycak, 1972³⁶; Carter, 1973³⁷; Baker, 1992³⁸; Steet, 1998a,b³⁹). The situational nature of these homoerotic affiliations is not to be doubted, Omari argues: "If this practice is not to be called homosexuality it is only because this is essentially an adolescent subculture of the boarding school which is most often done in fun. Affection for the girl "lover" is easily and readily transferred to men when school is in recess and at the end of boarding school days" (cf. Holycak). Lesbianism was a common associate of delinquent girls in reform schools and institutions⁴⁰. "Courting relationships in reform school, like those on the outside, are highly charged emotionally and commonly short-lived. The most prominent feature of going with girls is the exchange of notes. Girls may get married one day and divorced several days later, taking the name of the Butch. Girls use kin terminology to describe close relationships with their peers, speaking of "sisters", "mothers", and "daughters" (Carter). The "play mother" and "play child" declare their love to each other, and the mother may help the child in her first amorous approaches (Blacking). Thus, "[m]ake-believe boyfriends, girlfriends and families provide, at least temporarily, the romantic, sibling and parental relationships that these girls crave". "In the secondary boarding school where hundreds of students live together, a female student may share the same bed with a girl friend; this female friend of a

schools, in Argyle, J. & E. Preston-Whyte (Eds.) *Social System and Tradition in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, p101-17

²⁹ Gay, J. (1979) Mummies and Babies' and Friends and Lovers in Lesotho, *Cambridge Anthropol* 5,3:32-61; Gay, J. (1985) Mummies and Babies' and Friends and Lovers in Lesotho, *J Homosex* 11,3/4:97-116/ in Blackwood, E. (Ed.) *The Many Faces of Homosexuality: Anthropological Approaches to Homosexual Behavior*. Harrington Park Press, New York. Reprinted in, David N Suggs, D. N. & Miracle, A. W. (Eds., 1993) *Culture and Human Sexuality*. Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., p341-55. Murray and Roscoe (1998:p183). See also Kendall (1998) "When a woman loves a woman" in Lesotho: love, sex, and the (Western) construction of homophobia, in Murray, S. O. & Roscoe, W. (Eds.) *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands. Studies on African Homosexualities*. New York: St. Martin's Press, p223-41, at p231

³⁰ Cf. Thanadi, G. (2000) Indiginous cultures, in Zimmerman, B. (Ed.) *Lesbian Histories and Cultures: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland, p392-7, at p394. Also p395-6

³¹ Propper, A. M. (1982) Make-believe families and homosexuality among imprisoned girls, *Criminol: Int J* 20,1: 127-38

³² Propper, A. M. (1978) Lesbianism in female and coed correctional institutions, *J Homosex* 3,3:265-74. See also Propper, A. M. (1981) *Prison Homosexuality: Myth and Reality*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books

³³ Mueller, M. & Hopkins, L. (1979) Momma-baby relationships: female bonding in Lesotho, *Women's Studies Int Quart* 2:439-47

³⁴ Omari, T. P. (1963) Role Expectation in the Courtship Situation in Ghana, *Social Forces* 42,2:147-56

³⁵ Selling, L. S. (1931) The pseudo-family, *Am J Sociol* 37:247-53

³⁶ Holycak, W. H. (1972) Playing Out Family Conflicts in A Female Homosexual "Family" Group (Chick-Vot) among Institutional Juveniles: A Case Presentation, *Adolescence* 7,26:153-68

³⁷ Carter, B. (1973) Race, Sex, and Gangs: Reform School Families, *Trans-Action* 11,1:36-43

³⁸ Baker, K. H. (1992) Delinquent desire: race, sex, and ritual in reform schools for girls, *Discourse* 15,1:49-68

³⁹ Steet, L. (1998a) Girl Stuff: Same-Sex Relations in Girls' Public Reform Schools and the Institutional Response, *Educ Studies* 29,4:341-58. See also Steet, L. (1998b) Traditional stories of female students in an alternative school, in Books, S. (Ed.) *Invisible Children in the Society and its Schools*. Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers, p111-20

⁴⁰ E.g., Otis, M. (1913) A perversion not commonly noted, *J Abnorm Psychol* 8:113-6; Stockwell, S. L. (1953) Sexual experience of adolescent delinquent girls, *Int J Sexol* 7:25-7; Halleck, S. L. & Hersko, M. (1962) Homosexual behavior in a correctional institution for adolescent girls, *Am J Orthopsychia* 32,5:911-7. The same was true for boys: Nestele, A. (1938) Geschlechtliche Verwahrlosung bei schulentlassenen Fürsorglingen, *Ztschr Päd Psychol & Exp Päd* 39:284-95; Mora-Anto, A. et al. (1987) Estudio descriptivo sobre las experiencias sexuales de los adolescentes delincuentes y predelincentes internos en un centro de reeducacion de la ciudad de Cali, *Rev Latinoam Sexol* 2,2:173-200

girl is called supi but the term does not have the sexual connotations which lesbianism has in the West" (Warren)⁴¹. Selling:

"Because of the fact that these girls have for years addressed each other as "honey" when meeting or talking over the telephone, the relationship is known as "honies". The usual behavior of the girl consists in putting her arm around her "honey", occasional kissing, and some fondling. [...] obscene notes were passed, and girls sent each other messages and presents". [...] Most of these relationships, where they not forced by convention, particularly where actual bodily contact was desired, could be looked upon as pseudohomosexuality, according to Hirshfeld's terminology. [...] There are about ten girls out of five hundred who definitely find each other in an overt homosexual existence. They are usually shrewd enough to conceal this relationship from the authorities, but almost all the girls are aware of the Lesbianism which is going on between them. These girls are considered pariahs and very much looked down upon by others and even when two of them get together for their relationship, they are not classed as "honies" and certainly do not exist on the family plane".

Cale⁴² argues that Victorian reformatory school managers' control on girls' sexuality was informed not by a horror of lesbianism, but "from the belief that an introduction to sexual feelings would inevitably lead to heterosexual activity, and eventually to prostitution, the principal dread of the rescuers of females of all ages".

III.3.2 The Boyhood School Homoerotic Performance

Nonincident-based homosexuality is often recorded for "depriving environments", such as sex-segregated boarding school systems⁴³. "Juvenal deplors the habit amongst schoolboys of mutually rendering this service to one another"⁴⁴. The British case is a notorious one in this respect (e.g., Ellis, [1913, I:p240; 1936, I:p240-3]⁴⁵; Bullough and Bullough, 1978, 1979)⁴⁶. The high levels of homosexuality in **English** boarding schools (Schofield, 1965a,b)⁴⁷ were also noted in their 20th century **Indian** counterparts⁴⁸ (see further Brongersma, 1987:p156-8)⁴⁹. In **Zaire**, informants pointed to homosexuality, between older and younger students at boarding schools, which among the region of Bandundu carried varied names, such as *kinsukadi* (*sukadi*, sugar) (Erny, 1971:p107-8)⁵⁰. Late 19th century **South-African** boarding schools experienced the problems with this type of scholastic system as anywhere. "Initiation into the "under-life"

⁴¹ Warren, D. M. (1975) *The Techiman-Bobo of Ghana: An Ethnography of an Akan Society*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Pub. Co., p31

⁴² Cale, M. (1993) Girls and the Perception of Sexual Danger in the Victorian Reformatory System, *History [Great Britain]* 78(253):201-17

⁴³ E.g., Perry, J. (1991) *Jongens op Kotschool*. Utrecht [Holland]: A. W. Bruna, p131-44. Cf. Hilhorst (1989)

⁴⁴ Burton, in *The Priapeia*. Translated by L.C. Smithers, notes by Sir Richard Burton [1890]. See under "Masturbation"

⁴⁵ Ellis, H. ([1936]) *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. 2 vols. New York: Random House

⁴⁶ Bullough, V. & Bullough, B. (Sept, 1978) *Nineteenth Century English Homosexual Teachers: The Up Front and Back Stage Performance*. Paper presented at Seventy-Third Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (San Francisco, California, September 4-8, 1978); Bullough, V. & Bullough, B. (1979) Homosexuality in Nineteenth Century English Public Schools, *Int Rev Modern Sociol* 9,2:261-9

⁴⁷ Schofield, M. (1965a) *Sociological Aspects of Homosexuality*. 1970 Dutch transl., Utrecht/Antwerpen: Het Spectrum, p43-4, 80, 109-10, 124, 146; Schofield, M. (1965b) *The Sexual Behavior of Young People*. 1968 Penguin ed., p61-2

⁴⁸ Lingānanda (1990) India, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol. I, p586-93, at p588

⁴⁹ Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde*, Deel 1. Amsterdam: SUA

⁵⁰ Erny, P. (1971) Vie et éducation sexuelles chez l'enfant et l'adolescent Zairois, *Probl Soc Cong* 94/5:89-118

of the reformatory could be through homosexual rape, while younger boys were soon drafted into service, sexual and otherwise, for older boys. Masturbation and homosexuality were common, while fagging, a common boarding school phenomenon, also appears to have been in practice [...]” (Chisholm, 1986:p490)⁵¹. The Hamburg juvenile house of correction was also troubled by the practice of mutual liberties⁵². Boys’ clubs were an important factor in spreading masturbation⁵³.

Boyhood homoerotic societies are known to be organised by a number of stereotypical elements. The “work” consists of “initiations”, the formation and maintenance of age stratified exchange systems, labelling, “booking”, secrecy, etc.

As in girls’ boarding schools (Hilhorst), “special” friendships (cf. Brongersma, 1987:p160-3) in **Dutch** boarding schools were discouraged, as were dyadic congregations (Perry): “On est à deux, le diable est au milieu”. Diverse terms were used to describe the sexual element in the friendship: “klemen” (Germanism of claiming, vague erotic references), “kazen” (“a kind of beginning sexual offence”), and “kluppen” (club, clubbing, exclusive hanging out). In age stratified patterns (with older comrades, teachers) the younger parties were given their own title (“poepie”, F., poupée, doll; “hum”, which could be pronounced as a semi-cough).

Homosexual “initiations” are noted cross-culturally.

Rajani and Kudrati (1994, 1996)⁵⁴ found that at that among **Tanzania** male street adolescents anal sex, *kunyenga*, was often practised as an “initiation rite”. For negro adolescents, it was known that homosexuality was “often used in a ceremony of initiation by groups of boys”⁵⁵. Pipal (1932)⁵⁶ describes that novices in **German** boy gangs were initiated by being urinated upon.

The boarding school examples parallel ethnographic examples of unisex dormitories, and cases of sexual segregation in general⁵⁷.

⁵¹ Chisholm, L. (1986) The Pedagogy of Porter: The Origins of the Reformatory in the Cape Colony, 1882-1910, *J Afr Hist* 27,3:481-95

⁵² Fetscher, R. (1929) Einweihungsriten, *Zeitschr f Sexualwiss & Sexualpol* 16:346-7

⁵³ Strüder, J. (1937) Beitrag zur Homosexuellenfrage, *Kriminal Monatsh* 11:248-51

⁵⁴ Rajani, R. & Kudrati, M. (1996) The varieties of sexual experience of the street children of Mwanza, Tanzania, in Zeidenstein, S. & Moore, K. (Eds.) *Learning about Sexuality: A Practical Beginning*. New York: International Women’s Health Coalition, p301-23. Based on the authors’ (1994) *The Variety of Sexual Experience of Street Children in Mwanza and their Implications on Sex Education/HIV Prevention Programs*, Mwanza: Kuleana Center for Children’s Rights

⁵⁵ Walker, D. R. (1945) The Need of Sex Education in Negro Schools, *J Negro Educ* 14,2:174-81, at p178

⁵⁶ Pipal, K. (1932), *Ztschr f Psychoanal Päd* 6:261ff. Cited by Christoffel, H. (1934) Zur Biologie der Enuresis II, *Zeitschr f Kinderpsychia* 1:76-86, at p81-2

⁵⁷ Preparatory material. Positive statements on more than incidental curricular preadult homosexuality was gathered for the Iraqese, Moroccans, Tschama, Mbum and Lakka, Marquesans, Marind Anim, Tanzania, Samburu, Ruanda and Burundi, Dogon, Tutsi, Wawihé, Kaffa, Hottentots, !Kung, Pangwe, Bafia, Maasai, Nyakyusa, Yolngu, Kurds, Tikopia, Ho, Wogeo, Dahomey, Kaska, Apache, Lebanon, “Antler”, Lau Fiji, “East Bay”, Mbuti, Samoa (little), Cayapá, Tukano, Yanomamö, Yaruros, Kogi, Cubeo, Kgatla, Peruan Indian tribes (esp. Tessmann, 1930), Batak, Shavante, Ngonde, Mexico, Brazil (e.g., Bahia), Ifugao (?), Puerto Rico, Selk’nam, Norwegians. Cf.

III.4 The Homophobic Performance

Homophobic terms have a rich developmental history and play a central role in U.S. adolescent male peer-group dynamics. Starting from the fourth grade, a very powerful use of homophobic terms occurs prior to puberty, which would, Plummer argues, rarely carry “sexual connotations” [sic]⁵⁸. The “homosexual tease” is noted in American third graders (e.g., Voss, 1997:p245)⁵⁹. Sexism, homophobia, and harassment were said to make American schools “a highly sexualised site” (Epstein, 1997)⁶⁰. Francis and Skelton (2001)⁶¹ suggest that male teachers’ construction of masculinity involves “drawing on misogynist and homophobic discourses”, which raises further questions to the question of the schooling of gender⁶². Swain⁶³ suggests that the “cultural imperative of heterosexuality” in schools leads to the feminisation and subjectification to various types of homophobic commentary of boys not participating in masculine activities.

III.5 The Sexist Performance

III.5.1 Semi-Public Trajectories and the Rough Edges of Early Genderism

Epstein et al. (2001)⁶⁴ argue that children will use the means available to them to construct gender in their playgrounds and that this will frequently involve the reproduction of “hegemonic cultural identities and relations of power”. Children’s public life contains a variety of “heterosexually charged rituals” (Thorne and Luria, 1986)⁶⁵, such as bra-snapping (cf. Best, p112-3). On the playground, the threat of kissing is a “ritualised form of provocation” (Th&L; cf. Best, p113-5), and some kinds of playground chasing were forbidden

⁵⁸ Plummer, D. C. (2001) The quest for modern manhood: masculine stereotypes, peer culture and the social significance of homophobia, *J Adolesc* 24,1:15-23. Cf. Kehily, M. J. & Nayak, A. (1996) Playing it straight: masculinities, homophobias and schooling, *J Gender Stud* 5:211-29

⁵⁹ Voss, L. S. (1997) Teasing, Disputing, and Playing: Cross-Gender Interactions and Space Utilization among First and Third Graders, *Gender & Society* 11,2:238-56

⁶⁰ Epstein, D. (1997) Boys’ own stories: masculinities and sexualities in schools, *Gender & Educ* 9,1:105-15. Reprinted in Martino, W. & Meyenn, B. (Eds.) *What About the Boys?: Issues of Masculinity in Schools*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press, p 96-109

⁶¹ Francis, B. & Skelton, Ch. (2001) Men teachers and the construction of heterosexual masculinity in the classroom, *Sex Educ* 1,1:9-21

⁶² Letts, W. (2001) When Science Is Strangely Alluring: Interrogating the Masculinist and Heteronormative Nature of Primary School Science, *Gender & Educ* 13,3:261-74

⁶³ Swain, J. (2000) “The Money’s Good, The Fame’s Good, The Girls Are Good”: The Role of Playground Football in the Construction of Young Boys’ Masculinity in a Junior School, *Br J Sociol Educ* 21,1:95-109, at p105

⁶⁴ Epstein, D. et al. (2001) Boys and girls come out to play: Making masculinities and femininities in school playgrounds, *Men & Masculinities* 4,2:158-72

⁶⁵ Thorne, B. & Luria, Z. (1986) Sexuality and gender in children’s every daily worlds, *Social Problems* 33,3:176-90. Reprinted in Henslin, J. M.. (Ed., 2001) *Down to Earth Sociology: Introductory Readings*. 11th ed. New York: Free Press, p156-67; and in Heeren, J. W. et al. (Eds., 1999) *Sociology Windows on Society: An Anthology*. 5th ed. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury

Cf. Thorne, B. (1993) *Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School*. New Brunswick, NJ.: Rutgers University Press

because of their “inappropriate” touch. Paikoff (1995)⁶⁶ found that of situations providing “sexual” possibilities, the most popular was that of participating in running or chasing games with the opposite sex. From elementary school on, children’s alleged romantic inclinations are the focus of gossip and teasing, marking social hierarchies. The loading is heterosexual, and predominantly male homophobic.

Epstein (1996)⁶⁷ suggested that “heterosexuality is a part of the stuff of every day life on playgrounds and in classrooms” and is represented in: (1) imagined futures; (2) traditional games and rhymes; (3) versions of games involving running and catching; (4) sexist/sexual harassment; (5) assays into the world of “going out”; and (6) gossip networks. The element of humour should also be taken into consideration⁶⁸. Boys would use (1) symbolic sexual performances, (2) public sexual innuendoes, (3) sexual storytelling, and (4) sexual objectification of girls and women to identify with a heterosexual image (Renold). Little boys adopt a definition of masculinity as avoiding whatever is done by girls⁶⁹. Humour can be an unofficial resource through which boys learn about the culture of manhood and test out these values among one another⁷⁰.

Janikas (1993)⁷¹ found that, comparing contemporary hand-clapping games among girls on a southern California elementary school playground with those played by previous generations in this area, the most obvious change was a change in sexual norms. In this light playground behaviour represents a barometer for sexual development without the problematised need for more intimate details.

III.5.2 *The Quasi- and Pseudo-Aggressive Performance: Transitional and Curricular “Sexual” Play-Aggression along the Gender Axis*

Teasing, it could be argued, is a “gendered identity project”⁷². Fine (1986:p64)⁷³ classifies “aggressive pranks”, or “playful terrorism” among “dirty play”. Indeed it is noted that

⁶⁶ Paikoff, R. L. (1995) Early heterosexual debut: Situations of sexual possibility during the transition to adolescence, *Am J Orthopsychia* 65,3:389-401

⁶⁷ Epstein, D. (1996) *Cultures of Schooling, Cultures of Sexuality*. Paper presented at the 77th Annual Conference of the American Educational Research Association. New York, April 8-12

⁶⁸ Kehily, M. J. & Nayak, A. (1997) Lads and laughter: humour and the production of heterosexual hierarchies, *Gender & Educ* 9,1:69-87. Cf. Kehily, M. J. (1993) *Tales We Heard in School: Sexuality and Symbolic Boundaries*. Unpublished M. Soc. Sci. Thesis, Dept. Of Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham

⁶⁹ Jordan, E. (1995) Fighting Boys and Fantasy Play: The Construction of Masculinity in the Early Years of School, *Gender & Educ* 7,1:69-86

⁷⁰ Nayak, A. & Kehily, M. J. (2001) “Learning to laugh”: A study of schoolboy humour in the English secondary school, in Martino, W. & Meyenn, B. (Eds.) *What About the Boys?: Issues of Masculinity in Schools*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press, p110-23

⁷¹ Janikas, K. (1993) Hand Clapping Games: Rhythmic Recordings of Girlhood Socialization, *Quart Newsl Lab Comparat Hum Cogn* 15,3:97-102

⁷² Korobov, N. (2001) “Alex is a NICE kid”: The Socialization Functions of Teasing for Adolescent Males, *Texas Linguistic Forum* 44,2:313-27

⁷³ Fine, G. A. (1986) The dirty play of little boys, *Society*, Nov/Dec:63-7

genital themes readily enter boys' play fighting, including a variety of techniques⁷⁴, such as pantsing, hitting and squeezing genitalia, as well as a veritable competition in verbal expertise lasting at least a school term. Pseudoaggressive tendencies carry over to the "ethologisms" of adolescent courtship, at times in an apparent continuous relationship with preadolescent amorous, and play-aggressive, rehearsals. This "transitional" courtship takes verbal and physical forms, including "pushing and poking" courtship behaviours (Maccoby, 1998:p70⁷⁵; cf. Pellegrini, 2001:p121)⁷⁶. Pellegrini concluded that bullying becomes sexual bullying, especially in the transition of primary to secondary school, coinciding with the redirection of homosocial to heterosocial interests. Study⁷⁷ suggests that cross-gender harassment, distinct from same-gender harassment, increased in frequency from Grade 6 to Grade 8, and was linked to pubertal maturation and participation in mixed-gender peer groups. Other research⁷⁸ indicates that the majority of 3- to 5-graders experience peer "harassment" and that the boys and girls had experienced about equal amounts. Alternative definitions bring about lower statistics⁷⁹. Nevertheless, students report that "sexual harassment" (both words and actions) happened frequently in school, occurred under the noses of teachers, and began in elementary school⁸⁰. Girl actors were more likely to think their victim would be frightened and boys more likely to think that the victim would be flattered by the attention.

The issue of teasing has become under a strain lately, the conduct of certain six- and seven-year-olds being measured by adult sexual "harassment" standards⁸¹. The interpretation of behaviours may strongly be influenced by situational factors. An Ontario junior high counsellor described boys complaining about other boys who rubbed against them or grabbed them in informal settings, enjoying such contact when it occurred in the formal setting of a sanctioned football game⁸². On the other hand: in a study by Land (2001)⁸³ adolescent students' descriptions of "sexual harassment" were much more uniform than those of teasing and bullying. In their qualitative descriptions and quantitative reports of

⁷⁴ E.g., Stein, N. (1993) *Secrets in Full View: Sexual Harassment in Our K-12 Schools*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association (101st, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, August 20-24)

⁷⁵ Maccoby, E. E. (1998) *The Two Sexes: Growing Up Apart, Coming Together*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

⁷⁶ Pellegrini, A. D. (2001) A longitudinal study of heterosexual relationships, aggression, and sexual harassment during the transition from primary school through middle school, *J Applied Development Psychol* 22,2:119-33

⁷⁷ McMaster, L. E., Connolly, J., Pepler, D. & Craig, W. M. (2002) Peer to peer sexual harassment in early adolescence: A developmental perspective, *Developm & Psychopathol* 14,1:91-105

⁷⁸ Murnen, S. K. & Smolak, L. (2000) The experience of sexual harassment among grade-school students: Early socialization of female subordination? *Sex Roles* 43,1-2:1-17

⁷⁹ Roscoe, B. et al. (1994) Sexual Harassment: Early Adolescents' Self-Reports of Experiences and Acceptance, *Adolescence* 29,115:515-23

⁸⁰ Hostile Hallways: Bullying, Teasing, and Sexual Harassment in School, *Am J Health Educ* 32(2001)5:307-9

⁸¹ Routh, J. L. (1999) The \$100,000 Kiss: What Constitutes Peer Sexual Harassment for Schoolchildren under the "Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education" Holding? *J Law & Educ* 28,4:619-36; Abdel, G., Jehan, A. (1997) Kiddie sex harassment: how Title IX could level the playing field without levelling the playground, *Arizona Law Rev* 39:727-68. Cf. Edwards, T. M. & Harrison, L. (1999) Playground Predators? *Time*, 01/25/99,153,3:35

⁸² Lewis, M. & Karin, B. (1994) Queer Stories/Straight Talk: Tales from the School Playground, *Theory into Practice* 33,3:199-205

⁸³ Land, D. J. (2001) Teasing, bullying, and sexual harassment among adolescents, *DAI-B* 61(9-B):5029

experience, students primarily equated being “sexually harassed” with being sexually touched. The issue would press for the selective re-institution of single-sex classes⁸⁴.

Eder (1993)⁸⁵ argued that teasing based on “romantic” and sexual themes provides girls with ways of reinforcing bonds among themselves, experimenting with and reversing traditional gender roles, and managing newly experienced feelings of jealousy. Mathis (1970)⁸⁶ marked that sexual teasing, “motivated by psychosexual immaturity”, can be seen as a method of controlling anxiety. When this mechanism fails, a loss of self-esteem, coupled with depression, occurs.

III.6 The Hetero-Romantic Performance⁸⁷

Redman (2001)⁸⁸ argues that romance provides boys with “a cultural repertoire --that is, a narrative resource or set of discursive practices-- through which they negotiated and made imaginative sense of the “little cultural world” of their college”. In particular, Redman’s article suggests that romance “served to police and discipline relations of class, gender ethnicity, and sexuality in the pupils’ culture while providing for the boys a mode of subjective orientation to key disciplinary practices of schooling”. As such, romance may be seen as “a resource through which the boys “worked themselves into” the dispositions of a middle-class or professional habitus.

Thus,

“[...] romance provided the boys in the study with a means of locating themselves (and thereby constructing a heterosexual masculine identity) in relation to a cast of hierarchically arranged social others. More particularly, I argue that this process had a disciplinary function. Romance [...] was one way in which the boundaries of gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality were policed within the pupils’ culture. It served to assert and validate a particular and socially powerful kind of masculinity—white, heteronormative, and professional or middle class—that simultaneously contested (and in some cases, punished) those forms of masculinity and femininity that failed to compliment it” (R., 2001:p189).

Romanticism follows pseudo-, quasi- and semi-institutional patterns, including the use of “love games” (§s 2.4 and 15.2.1), including “love tokens”⁸⁹, love letters, etc.

⁸⁴ Hudson, K. & Stiles, J. (1998) Single-Sex Classes: A Plus for Pre-Adolescent Girls, *Principal* 78,2:57-8

⁸⁵ Eder, D. (1993) “Go get ya a French!”: Romantic and sexual teasing among adolescent girls, in Tannen, D. (Ed.) *Gender and Conversational Interaction*. Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics. New York: Oxford University Press, p17-31

⁸⁶ Mathis, J. L. (1970) The Sexual Tease, *Med Asp Hum Sex* 4,12:21-5

⁸⁷ Cf. **chapter 15**.

⁸⁸ Redman, P. (2001) The discipline of love: Negotiation and regulation in boy’s performance of a romance-based heterosexual masculinity, *Men & Masculinities* 4,2:186-200

⁸⁹ Opie, I. & Opie, P. (1959 [1967]) *The Lore & Language of Schoolchildren*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1967 paperback, p328-9

III.7 The Obscenity Performance: Footnotes to Western⁹⁰ Folklore

Attempts to study obscene subcultures retrospectively most probably turn out to be “wholly abortive because adults unconsciously censor such verses and reproduce them in mutilated form” (Borneman, 1990:p204), and compromise the chronology of events. As Borneman did, Fine (1981)⁹¹ argues that children’s (obscene) talk must be examined “in situ”. Goldman (1990)⁹² recognises four types of “sexual languages” in children and early adolescents (clinical, common usage, family traditional, and *erotic*), a compartmentalised organisation suggestive of a preparedness to face variable situational demands. Whether explicit songs are used or consumed by children with an erotogenetic intent is not clear, though it seems reasonable to speculate on its universality at least northern of the equator⁹³.

An early German-language collection was offered by Godelück (1906)⁹⁴. Later, Ernest Borneman would write extensively on children’s forbidden song (1973, 1974, 1976a,b; 1978a,b; 1985:p167-210, 216-36)⁹⁵, drawing material from an intriguing mode of fieldwork in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other regions (Borneman, 1985:p174). A Russian collection of poems, sayings, hints, riddles, songs and jokes illustrating the evolution of the erotic perception of children ages 4 to 14 years old is done by Armalinkij (1995)⁹⁶. The Russian *Draznilkas* (Weiss, 1999)⁹⁷ or taunting rhymes, are typical of childhood. A Bulgarian sample was collected by Badalanova (1993, 1995, 1996)⁹⁸. A Samoa parallel is called *ula* (to tease; sexual, aggressive, humor) (Mageo, 1992)⁹⁹. Observations on Nordic school children are reported by Heitmann (1988)¹⁰⁰. Two French works (Gaignebet, 1974¹⁰¹; Bournard, 1979¹⁰²) add to this list. More

⁹⁰ A number of non-european examples were collected in preparatory drafts, but most cases were not extensively researched.

⁹¹ Fine, G. A. (1981) Rude Words: Insults and Narration in Preadolescent Obscene Talk, *Maledicta* 5,1-2:51-68

⁹² Goldman, J. (1990) The importance of an adequate sexual vocabulary for children, *Austral J Marr & Fam* 11,3:136-48

⁹³ For comments on the phenomenon, see Berges E. T. et al. (1983) *Children & Sex: The Parents Speak*. N.Y.: Facts on File, p161-91; Harrison (1968) When children use obscene language, *Med Asp Hum Sex* 2,12:6-11; Lieberman, J. (1967) On obscenity in childhood and youth, *Sexology* 34,3:156-7 / Obscenity in childhood and youth, in Rubin, I. & Kirkendall, L. A. (Eds., 1970) *Sex in the Childhood Years*. New York: Association Press, p107-8; Jay, T. (1992) *Cursing in America: A Psycholinguistic Study of Dirty Language in the Courts, in the Movies, in the Schoolyards and on the Streets*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company. Cf. Jay, T. (1985) The role of obscene speech in psychology, *Interfaces* 12,3:75-91

⁹⁴ Godelück, W. (1906) Erotische und skatologische Kinder- und Jugendreime, *Anthropophyteia* 3:218-43. Cf. *Anthropophyteia* 9(1912):473-4

⁹⁵ Borneman, E. (1973) *Unsere Kinder im Spiegel ihrer Lieder, Reime, Verse und Rätsel. Studien zur Befreiung des Kindes*, Vol. 1. Olten: Walter; Borneman, E. (1974) *Die Umwelt des Kindes im Spiegel seiner "Verbotenen" Lieder, Reime, Verse und Rätsel. Studien zur Befreiung des Kindes*, Vol. 2. Olten: Walter; Borneman, E. (1976a) *Die Welt der Erwachsenen in den "Verbotenen" Reimen Deutschsprachiger Stadtkinder. Studien zur Befreiung des Kindes*, Vol. 3. Olten: Walter; Borneman, E. (1976b) “Verbotene” Kinderreime und das Geschlechtsleben des Kindes, in *Kindersexualität, Betrifft Erziehung* 6:20-4. Also in B. (1985); Borneman, E. (1978a) Kindersprüche, in Bauer, K. W & Hengst, H. (Eds.) *Kritische Stichwörter zur Kinderkultur*. Munich, p199-205; Borneman, E. (1978b) Oben und Unten im Kinder- und Jugendreim, *Jahrb f Volksliedforsch* 23: 151-64. Also in Borneman, E. (1985) *Das Geschlechtsleben des Kindes: Beiträge zur Kinderanalyse und Sexualpädagogie*. München-Wien-Baltimore: Urban & Schwarzenberg

⁹⁶ Armalinkij, M. (Comp., 1995) *Detskii Eroticeskii Fol’klor*. Minneapolis: M.I.P. Co. Reviewed in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 1996, issue 17, April 24, and in *Strani Jezici* (1998), 27,1:52-4, by Irena Luksic

⁹⁷ Weiss, H. (1999) *Draznilkas: Russian Children’s Taunts* (1), *SEEFA Journal* 4,2: 35-46

⁹⁸ Badalanova, F. K. (1993) *Folklore Erotikon*, Edited by Impressario & Publishing House “ROD”, Sofia. Vol. 1., Ch. 2.3; Vol.2 (1995), Ch. 4; Vol. 3 (1996), Ch. 21

⁹⁹ Mageo, J. M. (1992) Male transvestism and cultural change in Samoa, *Am Ethnol* 19,3:443-59

¹⁰⁰ Heitmann, V. (1988) *Obsceniteit, Romantiek en Dood in de Mondelinge Traditie van Noorse Schoolkinderen*. University of Amsterdam, Netherlands. 2 vols.

ethnographic examples include that provided by Lipponen¹⁰³, Bregenhøj¹⁰⁴ and others¹⁰⁵. Sherman and Weisskopf's (1995)¹⁰⁶ *Greasy Grimy Gopher Guts*, a collection of traditional children's rhymes from Canada and the United States, caused outrage among Ontario parents who wanted the book removed from the public library. Stating they are racist, homophobic and sexually explicit: "We don't feel that it's suitable for general reading in the children's section. My feeling is that the children are reading this book and just skipping over the commentary which is quite adult [!] in nature. And they may think the verses are OK to repeat". To these people, the selection by Goldings (1974)¹⁰⁷ would prove a more placid digest. (Goldings observes "easy regression to pregenital themes and issues", while only some rhymes "give "practice" to the girl's fantasy of her future fortune and heterosexuality (as older folklorists would have predicted").)

III.8 The "Crush" Performance: The Vertical Compartment of Scholastic Erotics

Some authors¹⁰⁸ argue for a "right" for "eroticism" in classrooms. The realities of such an image, however, are for a large part limited to the age-dismatched "crush phase" theme that has traditionally dominated (at least Western) folklore of schooled female peripubescence. In this tradition, it is the adolescent who has the "teacher crush"¹⁰⁹, but folklore allows a wide age range for the phenomenon. Teachers were warned about these crushes¹¹⁰, though on the whole, the issue seems a rarely addressed area of the school experience¹¹¹.

Some authors¹¹² drew the conclusion that the modern urban environment and education tend to direct the adolescent toward heterosexual fixations rather than toward "the old-fashioned

¹⁰¹ Gaignebet, C. (1974) *Le Folklore Obscène des Enfants*. Collection L'Erotisme Populaire 3. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose

¹⁰² Boumard, P. (1979) *Les Gros Mots des Enfants*. Paris: Stock

¹⁰³ Lipponen, U. (nd) The Cultural Construction of Femininity and Masculinity: Clues from Girls' Notebooks of the 1980s. *Online paper*. Cf. Lipponen, U. (1987) *Kilon Poliisi ja Muita Koululaisjuttuja*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Cited by Kaivola-Bregenhøj, A. (1997) Sexual riddles: the test of the listener, *Elektroloristi* 1,4

¹⁰⁴ Bregenhøj, C. & Johnson, M. (Eds., 1988) *Blodet Droppar, Blodet Droppar*. Skolbarns Humor. Helsingfors: Holger Schildts Förlag

¹⁰⁵ [no author indicated] (1977) Malas Palabras: Talking Dirty in Cuban Spanish, *Maledicta* 1,1:19-22 [includes the category dirty insults exchanged between children]; Bolton, K. & Hutton, Ch. (1995) Bad and Banned Language: Triad Secret Societies, the Censorship of the Cantonese Vernacular, and Colonial Language Policy in Hong Kong, *Language in Society* 24,2:159-86 [includes an examination of taboo language use among school children]

¹⁰⁶ Sherman, J. & Weisskopf, T. K. F. (1995) *Greasy Grimy Gopher Guts: The Subversive Folklore of Childhood*. Little Rock, AR: August House

¹⁰⁷ Goldings, H. J. (1974) Jump-rope rhymes and the rhythm of latency development in girls, *Psychoanal Study Child* 29:431-50

¹⁰⁸ Phelan, A. M. (1997) Classroom management and the erasure of teacher desire, in Tobin, J. J. (Ed.) *Making a Place for Pleasure in Early Childhood Education*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p76-100

¹⁰⁹ Pierson, K. (1986) Intimate Relationships: Teachers, Students and Teen Crushes, *School Lib J* 33,1:31-4

¹¹⁰ Berman, S. et al. (1969) Crushes: What Should You Do About Them, *Today's Educ* 58,9:12-6; Stone, J. (1984) When Sex Sneaks into the Classroom, *Instructor* 93,6:84-6; Valentine, G. (1997) Ode to a Geography Teacher: Sexuality and the Classroom, *J Geogr in Higher Educ* 21,3:417-24

¹¹¹ Gehrke, N. (April, 1982) *The Affectionate Relationships of Fifth Year Teachers and Their Secondary Students*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York

¹¹² Hurlock, E. B. & Klein, E. R. (1934) Adolescent "crushes", *Child Developm* 5:63-80

teacher or counsellor crush". Haups (1938)¹¹³ argued that crushes may be utilised for educational purposes by transforming them into a pedagogically desirable relationship through creating confidence, giving the child attention which shows "genuine interest", and attempting a constructive understanding. Woodard (1933:p388-9)¹¹⁴ was less optimistic:

"At its worst, the "crush", if intense and towards a teacher of the same sex, may be the preliminary of a homosexual trend later to develop. At best, this prolonged dependence may produce the person who has never learned really to stand on his [*sic*] own feet, in his behavior so thoroughly molded and conformed as not to be able to shift attitudes and values and to analyze out his subjectivated mores even when changed conditions urgently demand readjustment [...]"

Broderick conceptualised the crush as a "super-safe" rehearsal, in contrast to the classroom sweetheart, a theory to some extent supported by research (Karniol, 2001)¹¹⁵ (cf. §8.2.2.1). This suggests the peripubescent defines, invests in and finally discards social/sexual "orientations": horizontal, vertical and back again. In this format, school-inspired crushes may be used as an auto-erotic substrate, or provide an entry in erotic role-play. Yates (1978:p218)¹¹⁶:

"Edith and Candy have been good friends since the fifth grade. At least one night out of each weekend is spent together. They giggle and whisper until two A.M. Candy has a crush on her math teacher and Edith is in love with Stevie Wonder. Edith is well aware that her parents won't let her date until she's sixteen; Candy knows that her math teacher is married. As they spin fantasies about a beloved, each is intensely aroused. Soon Edith is playacting; she's Candy's math teacher and this is their wedding night".

III.9 Concluding Arguments

Hallinan and Smith (1987)¹¹⁷ argued that "structural and organizational features of a classroom constrain the interaction patterns of [preadolescent] students in such a way as to affect the probability of dyadic friendship relationships and the network of social ties that evolve within a classroom". Even when taken a more reserved approach, it may have become clear that schools are among the prime arenas for sexual development. This study field lends itself for "ethnographic observation". The reciprocal relationship between fieldworker and preadolescents in the process of field entry and data collection are of imminent importance for the quality and nature of its outcome¹¹⁸. Controlled studies might address the hypothesis that children's semi-public sexual cultures can be studied only by soundly defined persona as it pertains to the social involvement with the boys or girls. This

¹¹³ Haups, J. (1938) *Das Schwärmen des Sittlich Verwahrlosten Weiblichen Fürsorgezöglings als Erziehungsaufgabe*. Lucerne: Institut Für Heilpaedagogik. See also Motta, B. (1937) *Das Schwärmen beim Sittlich Verwahrlosten Weiblichen Fürsorgezögling*. Lucerne: Institut Für Heilpaedagogik

¹¹⁴ Woodard, J. W. (1933) The Socio-Psychology of Learning, *J Educ Sociol* 6,7:387-400

¹¹⁵ Karniol, R. (2001) Adolescent Females' Idolization of Male Media Stars as a Transition into Sexuality, *Sex Roles* 44,1-2:61-77

¹¹⁶ Yates, A. (1978) *Sex Without Shame*. New York: William Morrow

¹¹⁷ Hallinan, M. T. & Smith, S. S. (1987) *Classroom Characteristics and Student Friendship Cliques*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Washington, DC, April 20-24

¹¹⁸ Evaldsson, A. C. (2000) *Don't Write That We're Children! On the Dual Nature of Ethnographic Research with Preadolescents*. Paper for the American Sociological Association

may put forward a basis for dismissing parents, and perhaps teachers, as observers for phase-identified sexualities. These issues are to produce a reliable monitoring of school-based sexual organisations and environments as they are of importance in areas such as harassment, identity / orientation matters, racism, etc.

III.x Additional Reading

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IV

Ontogeneticist Sexologies and the Manufacture of Sexual Trajectories.

Impressions from a Literature Inventory

Summary: This concluding Appendix argues for a reappraisal of hegemonic *ontogeneticist* (especially *ethnocentric developmentalist*) theories of sexual (gendered, erotic) trajectories. The paper further recommends a critical reinterpretation of structural elements through which the sexual-sexological is expressed, particularly in curricular perspective.

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IV.0 Reviewing “Developmental Sexualities”: A Short Introduction

Sexuality, sexology and sexual socialisation are part of an intimate circle of reality, whether addressed within behavioural, “transitional”, or identity discourses¹. As Herdt² states:

“The creation of a sexual culture is an epistemology, a system of knowledge about the world, and about things in the world. Sexual culture provides for a culture its received theory of what human nature is. What is a man? What is a woman? What is manliness? What is womanliness? What is a boy? What is a girl? What is heterosexuality? What is homosexuality? What is sex for? What is good about sex? What is bad about sex? Those questions are all being iterated as a set of distinctions from the locally created theory of human sexual nature. This theory is then being promoted and taught to children, becomes part of their individual ontologies, and then feeds back into what we might call the collective pool of the sexual culture and its public representations for the culture as a whole”.

Hostetler and Herdt (1998)³ more recently have positioned the “ontological” within the sexologist discipline, sexology including a “narrative of origins (an ontology)”, next to teleological and deontological agenda. Exemplifying matters, Herdt⁴ previously discussed the “Western heterosexist bias in seeing normative development as a function of the individual biology or subjective desire, rather than as a function of social regulations and control”. Far from being unique for the “Western” tradition⁵, biologist interpretations of the sexual “development” curriculum are legion in non-Western local sexologies as well [e.g., §3.3]. One may legitimately ask, however, whether “[...] childhood and sexual maturation [are] the result of biological age, or [...] ideas constantly emerging in the structure of the family, an institution that is itself historically changeable and culturally diverse”⁶. Contesting developmental segmentation of society, we may further pursue to question the idea of “sexual development”: when does play become practice, and practice performance? And how would this be “development”?

¹ Brooks-Gunn, J. & Graber, J. A. (1999) What's sex got to do with it? The development of sexual identities during adolescence, in Contrada, R. J. & Ashmore, R. D. (Eds.) *Self, Social Identity, and Physical Health: Interdisciplinary Explorations*. New York: Oxford University Press, p155-82

² *Semiannual Newsletter of the Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities* 6,2 (Spring, 1998). Taken from http://www.vanderbilt.edu/rpw_center/examine.htm

³ Hostetler, A. J. & Herdt, G. H. (1998) Culture, sexual lifeways, and developmental subjectivities: rethinking sexual taxonomies, *Soc Res* 65,2:249-91

⁴ Herdt, G. (1991) Commentary on status of sex research: Cross-cultural implications of sexual development, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 4,1:5-12. Cf. Herdt, G. (1990) Cross-cultural issues in the development of bisexuality and homosexuality, in Money, J. & Musaph, H. (Eds.) *Handbook of Sexology*, Vol. VII. Amsterdam [etc.]: Elsevier, p51-63

⁵ Cf. Janssen, D. F. (July, 2001) *Paradoxia Sexualis: The Bio-Othering and Psychopathia Sexualis of the Child*. Unpublished manuscript

⁶ Mohammed, P. (1997) The idea of childhood and age of sexual maturity among Indians in Trinidad: A sociohistorical scrutiny, in Roopnarine, J. L. & Brown, J. (Eds.) *Caribbean Families: Diversity Among Ethnic Groups*. Advances in Applied Developmental Psychology, Vol. 14. Greenwich: Ablex Publishing Corporation, p115-46

The bipartite project *Growing Up Sexually*⁷ involves a comprehensive review and positioning of ethnographic and historiographic materials pertaining to preadult sexualities. Originally reviewing the proceedings and history of various sociological models and agendas on the issue (e.g., the statistical “cross-cultural” method, psychoanalysis, psychohistory, feminism, etc.), a late-stage attempt was undertaken to formulate a performance based sexology of the early life span. Using this format for the presentation of data, it was concluded that *ontogeneticist* interpretations inform social agendas for sexology which are thus rationalised, normalised and operationalised. This decursus is compromised by the paucity of qualitative, prospective and empirical research, particularly as addressing childhood.

Organised over four paragraphs, the present article serves as a legitimisation and interpretation of the choices made during the compilation of the volumes. The first section identifies the major bias of sexology in the unilateral addressing of sexual trajectories from an ethnocentric developmentalist perspective (1). It is suggested that recent reformulations of traditional interactionist axiomata have progressively argued for a relocation of agency onto the child, rendering concepts of “sexual development”, if not obsolete, negotiable and relative to activist pursuits (2). Next, a broad, general impression is provided of the current ongoing project which entails the reappraisal of ethnohistorical material within a “postdevelopmentalist” ramification, stressing the continuity of performative identities rather than individuals’ step-wise approximation of structural curricula (3). An ensuing paragraph (4) provides an identification of the subgenres that might live up to the task of visualising such a ramification. A concluding paragraph (5) briefly addresses prospects.

IV.1 Developmentalist Ontological Sexologies

It is appreciated that developmentalist discourses represent a limiting force⁸, a restraint on trajectorial plurality and self-determination. Developmentalist discourses aid normalising projects⁹ at the expense of tolerance (read: investigation) of plurality, polymorphy and ambiguity. A most compelling statement posited by the author’s literature reviewing implies the conceptualisation of “childhood” and “adolescence” as continua in the course of “turning adult” (e.g., “turning erotic”) indeed is a cross-culturally diverse issue. That is, both the process and the goals of this functional perspective are entitled to their cultural relativism. This puts contemporary quests for “normative” baselines (e.g., Frayser, 1994)¹⁰ into cultural perspective. The present material was collected partly in the hope that it would contribute to avoidance of, as Walkerdine phrases the thing, “fetishizing western rationality as the

⁷ Janssen, D. F. (Aug., 2002a,b) *Growing Up Sexually*. Interim report of an ongoing research project. Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Volume I: *Ethnohistorical Atlas of Erotic Curricula and Curricularisation*; Volume II: *The Sexual Curriculum: The Manufacture and Performance of Pre-Adult Sexualities*. For a further historical account of biologised developmental theories, see Morss, J. R. (1990) *The Biologising of Childhood: Developmental Psychology and the Darwinian Myth*. Hove UK/New Jersey: Erlbaum. For an account of the child as a biologised Other, see chapter “Rearing its ugly head: Children and sexuality” in Rogers, R. S. & Rogers, W. S. (1992) *Stories of Childhood: Shifting Agendas of Child Concern*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press / London: Harvester Wheatsheaf

⁸ Howley, Ai., Spatig, L. & Howely, C. (1999) Developmentalism deconstructed, in Kincheloe, J. L., Steinberg, Sh. R. et al. (Eds.) *Rethinking Intelligence: Confronting Psychological Assumptions about Teaching and Learning*. New York: Routledge, p27- 49

⁹ Schwartz, D. (1999) The temptations of normality: Reappraising psychoanalytic theories of sexual development, *Psychoanal Psychol* 16,4:554-64

¹⁰ Frayser, S. G. (1994) Defining normal childhood sexuality: An anthropological approach, *Ann Rev Sex Res* 5:173-217

universal pinnacle of development”¹¹. This is particularly true in projects addressing “phases” as “monolithic cultural categories”¹². The study requires a challenge of “sexualities” as well as “sexologies”, while by no means pretending these are separable or to be separated in any substantial or monopolist manner.

The application of the (numeric) cross-cultural method to sexual socialisation did not generate a precise sociological description of situational sexual development. It did hint at sociological models situated at larger structural levels, but data to support such models are still fragmentary. Judging from Broude’s (1981)¹³ overview (which title is tale-telling), the main theoretical position taken by cross-culturalists was an essentialist structuralist one, predominantly motivated by or geared toward psychodynamic perspectives. A cursory schematic appraisal of constructionist imaging of the “developmental process” of sexuality reveals at least five essentialist traditions, arranged within four principally differing “topographic” concepts of such processes¹⁴ (Table 1).

Table 1 Theoretical Developmental Models of Sexual Status Trajectories: Theoretical Topographic Appraisal

Model		Space	Faculty / Agency	“Development”	
				Normalised	Variance / Aberrance
Formative / monotransitional		unicompartimental	initiation	out to in; without to within	(pace-related) / not-in
Transformative	expansive	concentric multicompart.	progressively inclusive, epigenesis / compilation	inner to outer, small to large; single nuclear to complex multi-compart.	non-concentric expansion (non-expansion)
	convergent	multifocal, multicentric	progressively exclusive	all (potential) to some (definite) / vagabond / homeless to settled	atypical focalisation (non-focalisation)

¹¹ Walkerdine, V. (1993) Beyond developmentalism? *Theory & Psychol* 3,4:451-69. See further Bradley, B. S. (1993) The future of developmental theory, *Theory & Psychol* 3,4:403-14

¹² Burman, E. (1995) “What is it?” Masculinity and femininity in cultural representations of childhood, in Wilkinson, S. & Kitzinger, C. (Eds.) *Feminism and Discourse: Psychological Perspectives*. London: Sage, p49-67

¹³ Broude, G. (1981) The cultural management of sexuality, in Munroe, R. L., Munroe, R. & Whiting, B. (Eds.) *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Human Development*. New York: Garland STPM, p633-73

¹⁴ These include (1) the **transitional** (in/out, precultural, monocultural, accultural, inaugurational) model; (2) the **expansive** (multi-axial/multi-stage transitional, epigenetic, divergent, concentric, accumulative) model; (3) the **convergent** (specialist, conformist) model; (4) the **segmental-compartmental** (up/down, cohort, subcultural, hierarchical-polycultural, sequential) model; and (5) the **post-structural** (pseudo-cultural, appositional-oppositional, opportunist) models. Specified elsewhere¹⁴, the fifth model describes pre-adult (as adult) individuals occupying individual, diverse and transitory cultural spaces, moving in and out of larger or smaller insular spaces, conjoining and individualising within given environments. The concept of culture as a monolithic entity is rejected. Rather, there are (perhaps unstable, evolving, and temporary) discursive spaces in which one may or may not come to position oneself, or the Other, individuals “meeting” within these spaces. “Culture”, if anything, is a convolute of various exchangeable sexual discourses, which may be used by individuals to construe curricular identities (positions). Development is best imagined as a journey (going back and forth, lateral, not-going, etc.). “Culture” may be age-structured through (more or less situational and temporary) identification and complementation processes. Development is achieved through peer-mediated relocation performances.

Reformative / segmental	layered / multisegmental	exchange, replacement; adaptation	lower to higher	pace/direction- related, (non-evolution, involution)
Per-Formative / post- structural (post-developmental?)	self-designed (indefinite / variable)	situational (indefinite / variable)	versatile	(unidirectional, ...)

IV.2 Contemporary Specifications / Modifications of Script Theory [= Chapter 1 section]

Contemporary authors argue that it is essential to consider the ways in which individuals “construct a sense of themselves as sexual beings”¹⁵. Gender, for instance, is not so much a construed, but a negotiated *performance* in which the child represents an assertive and productive agent, however choosing from available choices. Gender is a “social contract”, renegotiated and relocated through “a cycle of practice”¹⁶. Constructionists describe “how pubertal events (menarche, breast development, shaving, voice change, weight gain) evoke cultural meanings about gender and gendered bodies that adolescents then use to construct personal meaning and sexual subjectivity”¹⁷. Research suggests that individual scripts are in fact personal modifications of subcultural scripts. Exploring developmental Ghetto sexual identities, Hillman¹⁸ found that girls had to “negotiate the dominant [stereotypical black, “ghetto”] sexual script and their own personal narrative to create personal and social equilibrium”. Using Edwards’ theory on “script formulations”, it could be argued that “[d]iscourse does not simply reflect or express ready-made cognitive schemas; rather, scripts are actively constructed in interactions through which people ‘work up’ events as scripted (or as breaches of scripts), and this ‘script talk’ is analysable in its own right” (Frith and Kitzinger, 2000:p216)¹⁹. Scripts, thus, do not create (sexuality), they get created. This concept of “performed sexualities” reinvents essentialist and monolithic notions such as “sexual learning”, “informing”, “thinking”, “knowing”, “perceiving” and “understanding”²⁰, educating, “theorising” (Freud)²¹, and so on. Ergo, as Carpenter (1995)²² has verbalised,

¹⁵ Buzwell, S. & Rosenthal, D. (1996) Constructing a sexual self: Adolescents’ sexual self-perceptions and sexual risk-taking, *J Res Adolesc* 6,4:489-513

¹⁶ Jordan, E. & Cowan, A. (1995) Warrior Narratives in the Kindergarten Classroom Renegotiating the Social Contract? *Gender & Society* 9,6:727-43, at p740

¹⁷ Martin, K. A. (1995) Puberty, sexuality, and the self: Gender differences at adolescence, *DAI-A* 55(9-A):3006

¹⁸ Hillman, Ph. L. (2000) Negotiating the Dominant Sexual Script: Middle-Class Black Girls Tell Their Story, *DAI-A* 60, 7, Jan,2698-A

¹⁹ Frith, H. & Kitzinger, C. (2001) Reformulating Sexual Script Theory: Developing a Discursive Psychology of Sexual Negotiation, *Theory & Psychol* 11,2:209-32

²⁰ E.g., Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1981a) *Children’s Sexual Thinking: A Comparative Study of Children Aged 5-15 Years in Australia, the United States of America, England, and Sweden*. London: Routledge: & Kegan Paul; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1981c) Children’s concepts of why people get married, *Austr J Sex, Marr & Fam* 2,3: 105-18; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1981d) What children want to know about sex, *Austr Sci Teachers J* 27:61-9; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1981b) Children’s perceptions of clothes and nakedness, *Genet Psychol Monogr* 104:163-85; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1981) Sources of sex information for Australian, English, North American and Swedish children, *J Psychol* 109:97-108; Goldman, J. (1990) The importance of an adequate sexual vocabulary for children, *Austral J Marr & Fam* 11,3:136-48

²¹ Freud, S. (1905) *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*. Leipzig & Wien: Franz Deuticke

²² Carpenter, C. H. (1995) *In Our Own Image: The Child, Canadian Culture and Our Future*. Paper for the 9th Annual Roberts Lecture, March 29

"[...] it is through the manipulation, rejection and re-creation of their cultural world that young people simultaneously search for and validate their voice and so situate themselves culturally".

IV.3 Ramification of Ethnohistorical Data within a Performative Format

The rationale for applying this approach to the presentation of ethnographic accounts of early sexuality was multiplicate:

- ◆ The description of sexuality as performative aids in establishing and advocating a sexologist's "child's perspective"²³ in which activities, as structurally mediated "tasks", become central elements;
- ◆ It meets the paucity of psychometric and psychosocial material in ethnographic materials using children and adolescents as key informants, and the bias toward material and practical social anthropology in older data covering many "traditional" non-western societies;
- ◆ It provides for a positivist, bottom-up theory building; as such, it counterweights hegemonic negativist (e.g., "control", "abuse") entries and operationalisations, as well as "referent" models based on inference and extrapolation.

The method was first piloted in a preliminary review article on gender/sexuality within the American school environment, a field pioneered by many contemporary sociologists since the early 1980s²⁴ [Appendix 3]. This line of work argued that the "sexual-erotic" takes its place within a curricular, multi-layered set of discourses which govern grand unifying principles such as (i) genderedness and gender performances, (ii) embodiment and body performances, and (iii), less convincingly, eroticisation proper and the erotic performance. The social construction and performance of the first two of these three pillars could be most clearly demonstrated, the third one being much more perfused with diverse idealist-moralist (rather than merely activist-pragmatic) agendas. It was further suggested that some aspects of these principles could alternatively be approached via a "clinical" entry, exceptional situations (biomedically or socially) triggering "cultural" performances otherwise hidden from the public space.

A review of ethnographia has provided ample material for the performance sexology of the pre-adult. Exploring children's negotiations and explorations of the coitocentric/coitarchic culture, prepubescent children were described as "using" legitimising scripts (e.g., marriage) to facilitate the fulfilment of thus *hidden scripts* (genital behaviour). In this sense, children may *modify existing scenarios* to fit specific agendas, and within such ad hoc scenarios recruit (operationalise) potential partners. The children may erect entire villages that accommodate sexual politics. Coital *patterning* scripts (*curricular scripts*) are closely related to other patterning scripts, such as those addressing intimacy and pairbonding. Thus, form and timing of coitarche proper and coital patterning proper are shaped according to curricularising tendencies that, cross-culturally, are variably operationalised and organised. Genitality in

²³ Cf. Rademakers, J., Laan, M. & Straver, C. J. (2000) Studying children's sexuality from the child's perspective, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12, 1-2:49-60

²⁴ Including Best, Epstein, Connolly, Fine, Kehily, Luria, Nayak, Lees, Mac an Ghaill, Redman, Renold, Skelton, Thorne, Walkerdine, and Wolpe.

nonprototypical (self-invented scenarios, nondyadicism) or protovariant (non-quasi “marital”) contexts were interpreted allowing for the situational generating and modification of scripts, as opposed to the adoption of complete and stereotypical “dominant” ones.

IV.4 Doing Children's Sexology: The Non-Performative, Activist, The Positivist, the Folklorist, the Subversive, and the Per-Formative

As Thorne (1987)²⁵ has argued, the (re-)issuing of children's agency is a complex task. In a useful (and prize-winning) read, Mullaney²⁶ observed what she terms “never identities,” a subcategory of the “various identities based on not engaging in particular acts (simply, “not doings”).” Thus, passivity of innocence is replaced by “active purity”. As evidenced in nineteenth-century British novels,

“[...] the central female character begins at what we would consider the traditional zero point in terms of sexual behavior—i.e., she is a technical virgin. In most cases, we are introduced to these women during their childhood years well before they become sexually active. The introduction of these women at such a time serves not only to expose the reader to their state as technical virgins, but also to prepare the reader for the first rite of passage which these girls will undergo. Not only are the girls virgins during their childhood, they are *innocent*, lacking any awareness of the social value of virginity. One of the first lessons the reader must learn, then, is that the zero in childhood differs from the zero of later years, particularly during adolescence or when a woman comes of age. While quantitatively these “nevers” may be the same, they are qualitatively very different. In particular, these novels suggest that there is a shift from innocence to purity that accounts for these qualitatively different states of neverness, that it is counterintuitive to refer to childhood innocence as purity, since purity involves an awareness of a society's moral code and an active effort to uphold it. With many of these women, the reader witnesses such a shift from innocence to purity, manifested in various instances where the women realize their behavior is under the scrutiny of others” (p11).

Thus, elementary transitions within the sexual sphere take place from not-doings not to other doings, but to other, more elaborate not-doings.

“Agency” debates need to incorporate these concepts in the *politics of doing* associated with sexuality. Concepts of children's agency have been pioneered in narrowly developmentalist perspectives (e.g., Zigler and Seitz, 1978:p739-40)²⁷. There are, however, options, as “critical psychologists” and antidevelopmentalists²⁸ have pioneered. Agency is a major issue in constructionist approaches of sexual abuse, but little has been written about what could be considered “normative trajectories”. The project will not be one of empowerment; rather, a less ethnocentric view is within reach.

²⁵ Thorne, B. (1987) Re-Visioning Women and Social Change: Where are the Children? *Gender & Society* 1,1:85-109. For an elaboration of this theme, see Thorne, B. & Thai, H. (1999) *Making Friends: Children's Agency and the Multiple Caring Projects of “Their Adults”*. Paper for the Society for the Study of Social Problems

²⁶ Mullaney, J. (2001) Like A Virgin: Temptation, Resistance, and the Construction of Identities Based on “Not Doings”, *Qualitative Sociol* 24,1:3-24

²⁷ Zigler, E. & Seitz, V. (1978) Changing Trends in Socialization Theory and Research, *Am Behav Scientist* 21,5:731-56

²⁸ Morss, J. R. (1996) *Growing Critical: Alternatives to Developmental Psychology*. London: Routledge; Burman, E. (1994) *Deconstructing Developmental Psychology*. London: Routledge

Contemporary American constructionist-interactionist-performative ideologies of sexuality are definitely inspired by, operationalised by and directed to certain activist agendas, all closely related to the concept of abuse within fraudulent, naturalised hierarchies; these authors typically address “sexist” / gynaecomysic, “homophobic”, and otherwise victimising, abusive performances. Apparently normalising less extremist, more “adult” (but nonetheless “hegemonic”) sexual discourse, the U.S. male adolescent trajectory is characterised as a culpable, unjust, abject and erratic sexualist scene, to be corrected by the apparently erroneous pedagogical context in which they arise. This discourse is increasingly encroaching on the “pre-adolescent” phase. While one may or may not identify with these of other reformatory, protectionist and accusatory agendas, the unilateralism tends to compromise an open understanding of processes, as well as non-political hypothesis testing.

Activist agendas embrace their own developmentalist notions of sexual change, formulated within, as Carr (1999)²⁹ has suggested, “essentialist”, “anarchist” and “constructionist” ontologies. Incidental works on children’s subversive sexual subculturing pursue a celebration of curricular anarchic sexual identities. However, it cannot be downplayed that studying the folkloristic, the per-formative and the interactionist in children’s sexual subcultures and spaces provides a superior entry to factual processes, rather than acclaimed developments. This is not to say that one does not gain from structuralist, Marxist, psychoanalytic, activist, or other models; however, it can be argued that these projects tend to be used to naturalise developmental principles that thus become natural to the academic elite, and not necessarily reflect on the object of study. The child needs to be approached as a sexologist, and as a probable *developmental* sexologist. How is developmental reality *in sexualibus* incorporated in processes of change and enculturation? That is, how is development *manufactured*?

Comparing traditional European and African sexual education scenes, it was argued that in the latter case the input and output are proscribed rather than prescribed, as are the *dramatis personae*. The re-construction of the self within the performance of being educated (and educating), therefore, is not to be mis-taken, a social truth, a pathway to be followed rather than to be ventured. It represents a case of assimilation rather than individuation, a case of recruitment and inauguration rather than development *per se* and revolution (§10.2.5; cf. *Atlas*, Africa, *Generalia*). It can be argued that these sexualities are *structurally* diverse processes, warranting a localisation within teleological spheres.

IV.5 *Prospectives: Relocating the Agency and Performance of “Development” Sexology*

Recapitulating, and to some extent reviving Freud on the matter, the cultural child is, among other disciplines, a sexologist, performer, folklorist, developmentalist, and anthropologist. This entails a self-concept integrating such universal structuring devices as identity-orientation and agency-objectivity. The sexual performance, imagined or factual, takes place

²⁹ Carr, C. L. (1999) Cognitive scripting and sexual identification: essentialism, anarchism, and constructionism, *Symbolic Interaction* 22,1:1-24

through the situational employment of these structural elements, situating possibilities through biographical positioning. By doing so, the child may or may not accept or discard specific hegemonic developmentalisms. This inclusion of the child in the sexological society requires analysis of the work and research done by children within that society rather than the application of developmental models inspired by some activist (or interventionist, e.g., medical) agenda. In other words, the doing of sexuality is in the process of the understanding of it, a process that not necessarily expands, improves or fails to do so, but, hypothetically, adapts, reorganises and gets revised in the interaction of political (biographical and situational) economics.

The methodological limitations involved in this approach will not be considered here, further than taking up the position that such limitations are hegemonic (yet negotiable) sexological performances which shape and legitimise children's spaced curricular subcultures on sex matters.

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List of Terms That Might Cause Ambiguous or Inconclusive Reading

Author's Note:

The author has noted that sociological processes associated with sexual behaviour lack a vocabulary that reflects the neutrality, perspective and framework proposed in the current project. Terms commonly used in academics are strongly influenced by theoretical or activist underpinnings. Conceptualising sexuality as sexology, as follows from previous choices of perspective, requires a lexicon reflecting this interpretation. Since the use of particular expressions by the author raised questions pertaining to the appraisal of fundamental concepts among the expert board supervising this project, some definitions are listed below in response to, and to anticipate on, these criticisms. Particularly, the use of “operationalisation” and “curricularisation” is considered critically important in the conceptualisation of pedagogical principles, and in culture-identifying practices.

Definitions of Terms pertaining to Pedagogical Processes of the Sexual as used in the Current Project [inspired by *Encyclopedia Britannica* 2002]¹

Age Stratified/Structured	Pertaining to interaction of roles identified by specific age brackets, or specific [e.g., “substantial”] difference in age. Legitimacy of use discussed in §14.2.0
Basiarche	First kiss
Coitality	Essential [essentialised] orientation to coitus, as informing “discourses” and “curricula”. Cf. coitocentrism*
Coitarche	First sexual (genitogenital) intercourse
Coitocentrism	Centralisation of coitus within sexual “discourses” and “curricula”*
Complementarism, sexual	Complementation* being applied as a principle
Complementation, sexual	To appropriate within a dyad of mutually completing parts, or counterparts [particularly as used within the context of age disparate partner affiliation]. Original use: e.g. John Money
Cross-culturalism	A culturalist* tendency to “explain”, discuss or “apologise” for behaviours by addressing their alleged significance or prevalence in ranges of “cultures”, including “Other Cultures”
Culturalism	The tendency to “explain”, discuss or “apologise” for behaviours by addressing their alleged ethnic embeddedness. Closely associated with relativist doctrines. An interesting subspecies is cross-culturalism*. Associated are exo-* and

¹ *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate(r) Dictionary*, Tenth Edition, copyrighted 2001 by Merriam-Webster, Incorporated

	endoculturalism*
Curricularisation (of sexual behaviour)	Appropriation to or causing to fit a particular curriculum*
Curricularism	See Curriculum*.
Curriculum, sexual behaviour	[Proscribed appropriate course [=an ordered process of succession]; particularly as used within the phrases “sexual behaviour curriculum” and “curricularisation” processes. “Curriculum” refers to a culturally defined schema that is used as an operational template for individual trajectories, and as such provides a focal environmental specification of what others might call “script” (Simon), or “map” (Money)]
Development, sexual	To go through a process of natural growth, differentiation or evolution by successive changes; to become gradually manifest; to come into being gradually [particularly significant in relation to “developmentalism”*]
Developmentalism	Development* applied as informing an idiosyncratic doctrine / cult. Developmentalism is a cultural normative, and addresses concepts of sexual/sexological* development*
Discourse, sexual	Formal and orderly and usually extended expression of thought on a subject
Endoculturalism	Within culturalist* curricula, a flaw in addressing possible foreign equivalents of or parallels for native phenomena. Opposing exoculturalism*, it biases cross-culturalist projects
Erotarche	Contested perspective in discussions on erotogenesis* which assumes that erotic processes develop* in step-wise cascades, adding up to a “first” experience of the erotic
Eroticisation (de-)	[see chapter 16 for an appraisal of variable use in academia]
Erotogenetics, erotogenesis	Study and process of the development of erotic function (arousal). Needs to be studied within constructionist / interactionist formats (see chapter 16 for a dissatisfying preliminary attempt)
Exoculturalism	With in culturalist* curricula, a flaw in addressing native phenomena as possible equivalents of or parallels for foreign ones. Opposing endoculturalism*, it biases cross-culturalist projects
Gonadocentrism	In biological sexology, the underrepresentation of the potential significance of the extragonadal system for the human erotic experience
Horaiocentrism	Term used in §3.0.3 implying the use of adult representations as a template for preadult situationality. Significantly related to developmentalism*
Identification	To establish identity [more specifically, (1) incorporation of properties on the basis of modelling; and (2) to appoint, single out, to define by authority]
Instrumentalisation	To make available as utility or tool [particularly, in the process of “operationalising”* sexual organs and bodies]
Koitomimesis	Imitation of coitus [used in discussion of its distinction to “coitus”]
Legitimation	To provide legal status or authorisation; to show or affirm to be justified
Libidarche	The arguable concept of “libido development” as condensed in a moment or short period of awakening, of “first” expression. See also erotarche*
Macronymphia	Term used by Bryk to address nonbloody modifications of anatomical structures associated with the female pudenda
Masturbarche	First “masturbatory” occasion, “masturbation” being variably described
Medicalisation	Appropriation or causing to fit medical “discourses” [=related to the maintenance of health, and prevention, alleviation or cure of disease]

Objectification, sexual	[see chapter 16 for an appraisal of variable use in academia]
Operationalisation, of sexual behaviour/identity	Use of term discussed in §3.0.5. To prepare for or condition to undertake a destined function. [emphasis is put on the intergenerational, familial setting, and on the pragmatic interpretation of “function” as “operable”: fit, possible or desirable to use]
Orgasmarche	First orgasm [cultural and methodological problems detailed a separate addendum]
Pedagogisation	Relevant use of the term introduced by Foucault (§1.1.5; 3.0.3), issuing the operationalisation of pre-adult sexual behaviour as a pedagogical agenda and imperative
Performative (sexuality)	[generally, pertaining to performances. Entails that sexuality is formed by its being performed]
Phallopoesis, artificial	Modification of normal penile development
Positioning	To put in proper position [more specifically: to assume position, a process which may be assigned or proscribed in a sense of “being positioned”]
Proto-eroticism	Tentative concept of biopsychological appraisal of stimuli and scenarios before causing manifest erotic arousal in later life, due to assumed stage-wise physiological development of such a response
Pseudocoitus	Nonpenetrative coitus-resembling behaviour [used to demonstrate coitality]. See §6.2.11
Pubarche	Formally, the transition between P1 and P2 stages on Tanner’s scale. Pubic development
Recruitment	Entitled [also: prescriptive] adoption within a social community [particularly: access of young individuals within a sexual exchange economy]
Segmentalisation	[of sexual society:] compartmentalisation and stratification based on life-phase effected through spatial or other restrictions
Sexarche	Lit., de emergence of the sexual. Usually, “coitarche” [acc. coitocentric* definition]
Sexologisation	Incorporating or situating within academic sexual discourses (sexologies*)
Sexology	Study of things sexual, explicitly not confined within an academic connotation, but rather as the larger part of the performance of sexuality in general. Study of sex and interaction among the sexes [(i) specifically not confined to academic curricula; (ii) used in discussions on its replacement of the concept “sexuality” as performance]
Sexosophy	Term coined by John Money to cover folklorist and lay notions of sexuality processes which evade academic review. Opposes Money’s concept of “sexology”*
Sexualisation (de-)	[see chapter 16 for an appraisal of variable use in academia]
Socialisation, sexual	To fit or train for [functions within] a social environment [hence phrases such as “sexual behaviour socialisation” and “organ socialisation”]
Spermarche	[variably, first ejaculation, spermaturia, spermatogenesis]
Subculture, curricular	Use detailed in §3.2.1. See also curriculum*
Teleiophilia	(§8.2.2.1) Introduced as a general term for the attraction to adult aged individuals, particularly in age mismatching configurations. Rarely used, originally coined by Freund.
Thelarche	Onset of female breast development. Formally, transition of Tanner M1

	(prethelarchic) to M2 (neothelarchic)
Thelopoesis, artificial	Modification of normal female breast development
Trajectory, of sexual behaviour	Pathway [as in the phrase “sexual behaviour trajectory”; used as a nondevelopmentalist* alternative to “development” and as a cultural pendant of “curriculum”*]